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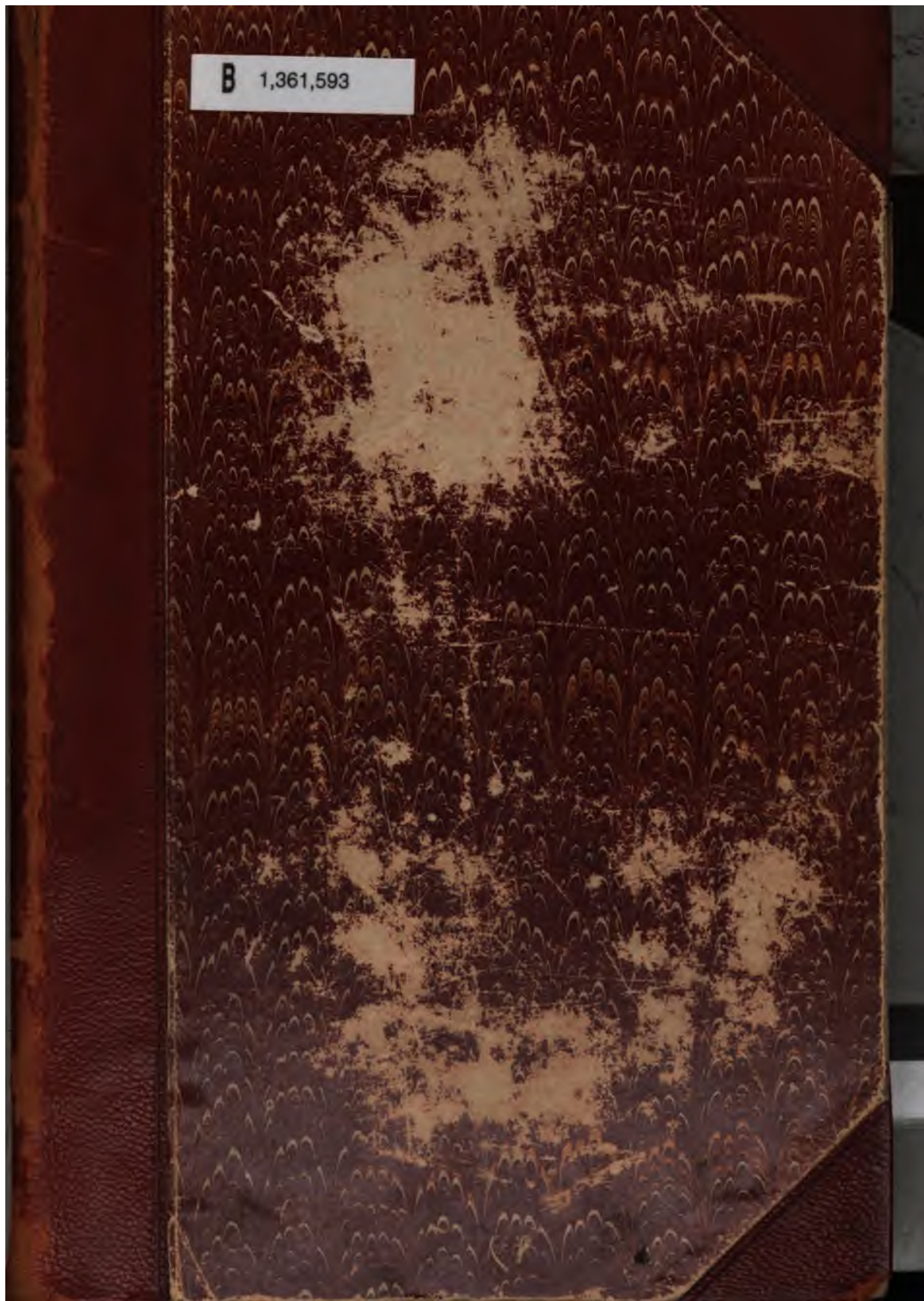
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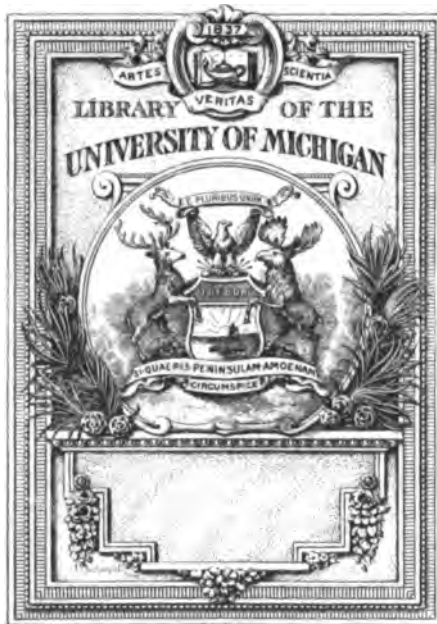
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# HOMERIC GRAMMAR

*D. B. MONRO*

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# A GRAMMAR

OF THE

# HOMERIC DIALECT

BY

D. B. MONRO, M.A.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

L'objet de cette science est de rechercher dans l'esprit de l'homme  
la cause de la transformation des idiomes.

M. BRÉAL.

**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE REV.

JAMES RIDDELL

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF BALLIOL

1842



## PREFACE.

It may be said, without fear of giving offence, that a new Grammar of the Homeric dialect is sorely wanted. The admirable *Griechische Formenlehre* of the late H. L. Ahrens is now just thirty years old, and is confined, as its title indicates, to the inflexions. Not only has the course of discovery been going on since Ahrens wrote (and with hardly less rapidity than in the first years of the new science), but the historical method has been carried into the field of syntax. And apart from 'comparative philology,' the researches of Bekker, Cobet, La Roche, and many other students have brought together a wealth of material that only needs careful analysis and arrangement to make it accessible to the general body of learners.

The plan of this book has sufficient novelty to call for some explanation. I have not attempted to write a Comparative Grammar, or even a Grammar that would deserve the epithet 'historical:' but I have kept in view two principles of arrangement which belong to the historical or genetic method. These are, that grammar should proceed from the simple to the complex types of the Sentence, and that the form and the meaning should as far as possible be treated together. Now the simplest possible Sentence—apart from mere exclamations—consists of a *Verb*, or word containing in itself the two elements of all rational utterance, a Subject and a Predicate. We begin, therefore, by analysing the Verb, and classifying (1) the Endings, which express the Person and Number of the Subject (§§ 1-7), and serve also to distinguish the 'Middle' or Reflexive use (§ 8), and (2) the modifications of the Stem which yield the several Tenses and Moods. These modifications, we at once perceive, are more numerous than the meanings which they serve to express, and we have therefore to choose between classifying according to *formation*—i.e. according to the process by which each Tense-Stem and Mood-Stem is derived from the simple Verb-Stem or Root,—and the

ordinary classification according to meaning (Present, Future, Perfect, Aorist, &c.). The former course seemed preferable because it answers to the historical order. The problem is to find how pre-existing forms—common to Greek and Sanscrit, and therefore part of an original 'Indo-European' grammar—were adapted to the specifically Greek system of Tense-meanings. I have therefore taken the different formations in turn, beginning with the simplest (§§ 9-20, 22-27, 29-69, 79-83), and introducing an account of the meaning of each as soon as possible (§§ 21, 28, 70-78). This part of the subject naturally includes the accentuation of the different forms of the Verb (§§ 87-89).

The next great division of the subject is concerned with the first enlargement of the Sentence. A word may be added which taken by itself says nothing—contains no Subject and Predicate—but which combines with and qualifies the primitive one-word Sentence. The elements which may gather in this way round the basis or nucleus formed by the Verb are ultimately of two kinds, Nouns and Pronouns; and the relations in which they may stand to the Verb are also two-fold. A Noun or Pronoun may stand as a Subject—limiting or explaining the Subject already contained in the Person-Ending—or may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. These relations are shown by the Ending, which again may be either a Case-Ending or an adverbial Ending. We begin accordingly by an account of the *Declensions*, supplemented by a list of the chief groups of Adverbs (Chapter V).

When we pass from the Endings to the Stems of Nouns and Pronouns, we find that they are essentially different. A 'Nominal Stem' consists in general of two parts, (1) a *predicative* part, usually identical with a Verb-Stem, and (2) a Suffix. Each of these two elements, again, may be complex. The addition of a further Suffix yields a fresh Stem, with a corresponding derivative meaning; and thus we have the distinction between *Primitive* or Verbal and *Secondary* or Denominative Nouns. The Suffixes employed in these two classes are generally distinct, and deserve a more careful enumeration than is usually given in elementary grammars. The predicative part, again, may be enlarged by a second

Nominal Stem, prefixed to the other, and qualifying it nearly as a Case-form or Adverb qualifies the Verb. The Compounds thus formed are of especial interest for the poetical dialect of Homer. The analysis which I have given of the chief forms which they present must be taken to be provisional only, as the subject is still full of doubt. With respect to the meaning I have attempted no complete classification. It is always unsafe to insist on distinctions which may be clear to us, but only because we mark them by distinct forms of expression.

The chapter on the formation of Nouns should perhaps have been followed by one on the formation of Pronouns. The material for such a chapter, however, lies for the most part beyond the scope of a grammar. It is represented in this book by a section on Heteroclite Pronouns (§ 108), which notices some traces of composite Pronominal Stems, and in some degree by another on the Numerals (§ 130).

When we come to examine the syntactical use of the Cases, we find ourselves sometimes dealing with sentences which contain at least two members besides the Verb. Along with the constructions which may be called 'adverbial' (using the term *Adverb* in a wide sense, to include all words directly construed with the Verb), we have the constructions in which the governing word is a Noun or Preposition. And in these again we must distinguish between the government of a Case *apparently* by a Noun or Preposition, really by the combined result of the Noun or Preposition and the Verb, and the true government by a Noun alone, of which the dependent Genitive and the Adjective are the main types. These distinctions, however, though of great importance in reference to the development of the use of Cases, cannot well be followed exclusively in the order of treatment. I have therefore taken the Cases in succession, and along with them the chief points which have to be noticed regarding the 'concorde' of Gender (§§ 166-168) and Number (§§ 169-173).

In the Infinitive and Participle (Chapter X) we have the first step from the simple to the complex Sentence. The predicative element in the Verbal Noun is treated syntactically like the same element in a true or 'finite' Verb; that is to say, it takes 'adverbial' constructions. Thus while retaining



the character of a Noun it becomes the nucleus of a new imperfect Sentence, without a grammatical Subject properly so called (though the Infinitive in Greek acquired a quasi-Subject in the use of the Accusative before it), and standing to the main Sentence as an adverb or adjective.

While the Infinitival and Participial Clauses may thus be described as Nouns which have expanded into dependent Sentences, the true Subordinate Clause shows the opposite process. In many instances, especially in Homeric syntax, we can trace the steps by which originally independent Sentences have come to stand in an adverbial or adjectival relation. The change is generally brought about, as we shall see, by means of Pronouns, or Adverbs formed from Pronominal stems. Hence it is convenient that the account of the uses of the Pronouns (Chapter XI) should hold the place of an introduction to the part in which we have to do with the relations of Clauses to each other.

The next chapter, however, does not treat directly of subordinate Clauses, but of the uses of the Moods in them. It seemed best to bring these uses into immediate connexion with the uses which are found in simple Sentences. In this way the original character of Subordinate Clauses, and especially the cardinal distinction (due to Delbrück) between Conditional and Final Clauses, comes into a clearer light. In the account of the Particles (Chapter XIII) we examine the relations of co-ordinate Sentences, so far at least as these are expressed by grammatical forms.

The last chapter contains a discussion of the Metre of Homer (Chapter XIV), and of some points of 'phonology' which (for us at least) are ultimately metrical questions. Chief among these is the famous question of the Digamma. I have endeavoured to state the main issues which have been raised on this subject as fully as possible: but without much hope of bringing them to a satisfactory decision.

A book of this kind is necessarily to a great extent a compilation, and from sources so numerous that it is scarcely possible to make a sufficient acknowledgment of indebtedness. The earlier chapters are mainly founded on the great work of G. Curtius on the Greek Verb. More recent writers—I will

not say the 'new school,' since they have neither the common tendencies nor the collective importance implied by the word—have cleared up some difficulties, especially in the phonology. I have learned very much from M. de Saussure's *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles*, and from several articles by K. Brugman and Joh. Schmidt, especially the last. I would mention also, as valuable on single points, the papers of J. Paech (Vratisl. 1861) and H. Stier (*Curt. Stud.* II) on the Subjunctive, B. Mangold on the 'diectasis' of Verbs in *-áw* (*Curt. Stud.* VI), F. D. Allen on the same subject (*Trans. of the American Phil. Assoc.* 1873), Leskien on *σσ* in the Fut. and Aor. (*Curt. Stud.* II), and K. Koch on the Augment (Brunsvici 1868). On the subject of Nominal Composition I may name a paper by W. Clemm in *Curt. Stud.* VII, which gives references to the earlier literature of the subject, and one by F. Stolz (Klagenfurt 1874). On the forms of the Personal Pronouns there is a valuable dissertation by P. Cauer (*Curt. Stud.* VII): on the Numerals by Joh. Baunack (*K. Z.* XXV): on the Comparative and Superlative by Fr. Weihrich (*De Gradibus*, &c. Gissae 1869). Going on to the syntax of the Cases, I would place first the dissertation of B. Delbrück, *Ablativ Localis Instrumentalis*, &c. (Berlin 1867), and next the excellent work of Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre* (München 1875). On the Accusative I have obtained the greatest help from La Roche, *Der Accusativ im Homer* (Wien 1861): on the Dual from Bieber, *De Duali Numero* (Jena 1864). On the Prepositions I have used the papers of C. A. J. Hoffmann (Lüneburg 1857–60, Clausthal 1858–59), T. Mommsen (see p. 147), Giseke, *Die allmälliche Entstehung der Gesänge der Ilias* (Göttingen 1853), La Roche, especially on *ἐπό* (Wien 1861) and *ἐπί* (in the *Z. f. öst. Gymn.*), Rau on *παρά* (*Curt. Stud.* III), and the articles in Ebeling's *Lexicon*. On this part of syntax the fourth volume of Delbrück's *Forschungen* is especially instructive. Of the literature on the Infinitive I would mention J. Jolly's *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen* (München 1873), also a paper by Albrecht (*Curt. Stud.* IV), and a note in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* (IV. p. 49 ff.). The use of the Participle has been admirably treated by Classen, in his *Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch*

(Frankfurt 1867). A paper by Jolly in the collection of *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1874) is also suggestive. On the subject of the Pronouns the chief source is a dissertation by E. Windisch in *Curt. Stud.* II. On the Article almost everything will be found in H. Foerstemann's *Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch des Artikel's bei Homer* (Magdeburg 1861). The controversy on the Reflexive Pronoun is referred to on p. 173. On the Homeric uses of the Moods, besides Delbrück's great work, I would mention Jolly's monograph entitled *Ein Kapitel vergleichender Syntax* (München 1872), and L. Lange's elaborate papers on *ei* (Leipzig 1872-73). It is to be regretted that they have not yet been carried to the point of forming a complete book on the Homeric use of *ei*. For the general theory of the subject Prof. Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses* is of the very highest value. Regarding the cognate question of the uses of *ἄν* and *κέν* the main principles have been laid down by Delbrück. It is worth while to mention that they were clearly stated as long ago as 1832, in a paper in the Philological Museum (Vol. I. p. 96), written in opposition to the then reigning method of Hermann. For the other Particles little has been done by Homeric students since Nägelsbach and Hartung. I have cited three valuable papers; on *τέ* by Wentzel, on *ῆ* (*ῆε*) by Praetorius, and on *μή* by A. R. Vierke. I would add here a paper on the syntax of Causal Sentences in Homer, by E. Pfudel (Liegnitz 1871). On all syntactical matters use has been made of the abundant stores of Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*. And it is impossible to say too much of the guidance and inspiration (as I may almost call it) which I have derived from the *Digest of Platonic Idioms* left behind by the lamented friend to whose memory I have ventured to dedicate this book.

On the collateral subjects of Metre I have profited most by Hartel's *Homerische Studien*, La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1869), Knös, *De digammo Homeric* (Upsaliae 1872-79), and Tudeer, *De dialectorum Graecarum digammo* (Helsingforsiae 1879).

OXFORD, July 18, 1882.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 4, line 2, for § 81 read § 82.  
 " 3, for § 82 read § 83.  
 " 28, for § 81 read § 82.  
 " 10, " 5, for ἡ-αται read ἡ-αται  
 " 20, for 2 Dual read 3 Dual.  
 " 33, dele ἦν, ἔην.  
 " 11, " 2, dele 1 Sing. ἔην and the.  
 " 38, " 7, for § 82 read § 83.  
 " 41, last line, for § 75 read § 86.  
 " 50, line 39, for § 82 read § 83.  
 " 66, " 14, for ἔπει read ἔπει.  
 " 76, " 20, add *venvins* (Od. 14. 524).  
 " 81, " 3, for ἡκιστος read ἡκιστος.  
 " 86, " 30, for εὐ-ώνυμος read εὐ-ώνυμος.  
 " 94, " 44, for 24. 375 read 24. 735.  
 " 120, " 1, for 872 read 782.  
 " 167, " 1, for 13. 16 read 13. 353.  
 " 186, " 15, for § 259 read § 262.  
 " 197, " 29, for κέ read κε.  
 " 210, " 17, for δέ read δέ.  
 " 224, " 28, for ὄνως read ὄνως.  
 " 251, line 38, for τάθε read τάθε.  
 " 255, heading, for TAP read ΓΑΡ.

# HOMERIC GRAMMAR.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.—THE PERSON-ENDINGS.

1.] ALL language of which grammar takes cognisance consists of SENTENCES.

The simplest Sentence must express the combination of a SUBJECT—that about which we speak (or think); and a PREDICATE—that which we say (or think) about the Subject.

2.] In Greek (and generally in languages whose structure resembles that of Greek) every Verb is a complete Sentence, consisting of two parts, the *Stem*, which expresses the Predicate, and the *Ending*, which expresses the Subject. Thus *ἐσ-τί* *he* (or *it*) *is*, *φα-θί* *say thou*, *ἦλθο-μεν* *we came*, are Sentences; the Predicates are expressed by the Stems *ἐσ-*, *φα-*, *ἦλθο-*, and the Subjects by the Endings *-τι*, *-θι*, *-μεν*. As the Endings of a Verb may always be translated by Personal Pronouns they are called the *Person-Endings*.

*Note.* It may happen that the ending has been lost by phonetic corruption, as in *ἔλαβε* (for *ἔλαβε-τ*) *he took*. This however does not form a real exception, because in Greek such words are used exactly as if the lost ending were still sounded. In English the case is different. The form *took*, for example, can only be used to express a Predicate. The original Subject is lost to the mind as well as to the ear.

It may be worth while to notice that the term 'Verb' is used in Grammars with a double meaning, sometimes of a single form—as when we say that *ἐρύπτο-μεν* is 'a Verb'—sometimes collectively, as when we say that *ἐρύπτο-μεν* is a 'part' of 'the Verb *ρύπτω*.' Here 'a Verb' means a group of forms.

3.] There are three main sets of Person-Endings:—

1. Those used in the 'Principal' Tenses (the Present, Perfect, and Future Indicative), and in the Subjunctive; these are called the *Primary Endings*.

2. Those used in the 'Historical Tenses' (the Imperfect, Aorist, and Pluperfect), and in the Optative; these are called the *Secondary Endings*.

3. Those of the Imperative.

1) 4.] The further modifications which the Endings undergo depend chiefly upon the final letter of the Stem.

In certain Stems the Ending is preceded by O or E: that is to say, O before the nasals  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and E before other letters; e.g.  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\text{O}-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\text{E}-\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\text{O}-\nu\tau\iota$  (older and Dor. form of  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\text{ουσι}$ ). We shall call this the *Thematic Vowel*,\* and the Stems which contain it *Thematic Stems*. The term will naturally include the corresponding Subjunctives, in which the final letter of the Stem varies in the same way between  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , as  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\eta-\tau\epsilon$ , &c. The 1 Sing. Ending  $-\omega$  probably stands, in the Indic. for  $-\text{o}-\mu\iota$ , in the Subj. for  $-\omega-\mu\iota$ .

The forms which do not contain this variable  $\epsilon$  or  $\text{o}$  are called *Non-Thematic*. Among these, again, we have to distinguish a group of Tenses with Stems ending in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$ , viz. the Perfect, the First Aorist, and some forms peculiar to the Ionic Dialect, as the Plpf.  $\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$  I *knew*, the Impf.  $\eta\alpha$  I *was*,  $\eta\iota\alpha$  I *went*, &c. In these Stems the  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  changes in the 3 Sing. to  $-(\nu)\dagger$ .

The distinction between Thematic and Non-Thematic applies in strictness only to *forms*, but may generally be extended to Tenses and Moods. E.g. the Future is Thematic, the Optative is Non-Thematic, &c. But it does not apply to 'Verbs' (in the collective sense of the term), because almost every Verb is made up of forms of both kinds.

5.] In the following Table of the Person-Endings found in Homer the Endings distinguished by larger type are those of the Non-Thematic Tenses. The Endings in smaller type are, first, those of the forms with  $-\tilde{\alpha}$ , and, under them again, those of the Thematic forms. In the Dual and Plural (except the 3 Plur.) the Endings are the same throughout.

\* This vowel has also been termed the 'Connecting' or 'Auxiliary' Vowel—names given on the supposition that it is originally euphonic, inserted in order to allow the Stem and the Ending to be distinctly heard in pronunciation. The name 'Thematic' implies the opposite theory, viz. that it serves to form a 'Theme' from a simpler element or 'Root,' as  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma-\epsilon$  from the Root  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma-$ ; see Curt. Chron. p. 40. On this theory the Stem  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma-\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma-\text{o}$  is originally the same as the Theme of the Noun  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\text{o}-\varsigma$ .

† The  $\tilde{\alpha}$  of these Stems is of course quite different from the final vowel of the Stem in such forms as  $\phi\alpha-\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\alpha-\theta\iota$ , where it is part of the Verb-Stem or 'Root.' For the non-radical  $\tilde{\alpha}$  has the character of a 'connecting' vowel, and so far it resembles the Thematic  $\epsilon$  or  $\text{o}$ . That it is distinct from the Thematic Vowel is well shown by Brugman, who points out (in Curt. Stud. ix. p. 293) that there is a consistent set of differences between the 'connecting'  $\tilde{\alpha}$  and the Thematic  $\epsilon$  or  $\text{o}$ , in the Noun as well as in the Verb;—that, for example, the  $\tilde{\alpha}$  of the Acc. Sing. and Plur. of the *consonantal* Declension is analogous to the  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  of Verbs, just as the  $-\text{o}$  (Voc.  $-\epsilon$ ) of the Second (or *Thematic*) Declension answers to the  $\epsilon$  or  $\text{o}$  of Verbs. Thus—

the  $\alpha$  of  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\tilde{\alpha}$  and  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\varsigma$  is to the  $\text{o}$  of  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\text{o}-\nu$  and  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\text{o}\nu\varsigma$  ( $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\text{o}-\nu\varsigma$ )

as the  $\alpha$  of  $\eta\alpha$  ( $\eta\varsigma\text{-}\alpha$ ) I *was* to the  $\text{o}$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\text{o}-\nu$ , and again—

as the  $\tilde{\alpha}$  of  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\chi\text{-}\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma\iota$  to the  $\text{o}$  of  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{o}\nu\varsigma\iota$ .

And while  $\epsilon$  or  $\text{o}$  is carried regularly through all Numbers and Persons (as well as all Cases of a Noun), we shall see that the forms of a Tense with  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  often interchange with forms which have no 'connecting' or 'auxiliary' vowel. Whether the  $\tilde{\alpha}$  is *originally* auxiliary is a further question, on which see Appendix A.

	PRIMARY.		SECONDARY.		IMPERATIVE.	
	ACT.	MID.	ACT.	MID.	ACT.	MID.
1 Sing.	-μι -ᾶ	-μαι	-ν -ᾶ	-μην -ᾶμην	—	—
2 Sing.	-ω, Subj. -ω, -ωμι -σι, -ς, -σθα -ᾶς	-ομαι, S. -ωμαι -σαι, -αι	-ον -ς -ᾶς -ες	-όμεν -σο -ᾶω -εο	-θι, -ς -σο, -ο -ον -ασο, -αο -ε, -ες -εο	
3 Sing.	-εις, S. -ης -τι(ν), -σι(ν) -ε(ν)	-ται	-(τ) -ε(ν) -ε(ν)	-το -ᾶτο -ετο	-τω -σθω -ᾶτω -ᾶσθω -έτω -έσθω	
1 Dual	—	-εται, S. -ηται -μεθον	-τον	-σθον	—	—
2 ...	-τον	-σθον	-τον	-σθον	-τον -σθον	
3 ...	-τον	-σθον	-την, -τον	-σθην	-των -σθων	
1 Plur.	-μεν	-μεσθα, -μεθα	-μεν	-μεσθα, -μεθα	—	—
2 ...	-τε	-σθε	-τε	-σθε	-τε -σθε	
3 ...	-σι(ν), -ᾶσι(ν), -ᾶσι(ν) -ουσι(ν), S. -ωσι(ν)	-νται, -ᾶται -ονται, S. -ωνται	-ν, -σαν -αν -ον	-ντο, -ᾶτο -αντο -οντο	-ντων -σθων -ᾶντων -ᾶσθων -όντων -έσθων	



*Remarks on the Table of Person-Endings.*

**1 Sing.** On the Subjunctives in *-ω-μ* see § 81, and on the Optatives which take *-μ* in the 1 Sing. see § 82.

**2 Sing.** The original *-σι* remains only in *ἔσ-σί* *thou art*.

*ἔς* (or enclitic *ἔς*) is read in nine places, but there is only one (viz. Od. 17. 388) in which the metre does not allow *ἔσσ'* to be read instead. Probably therefore *ἔσσι* is the genuine Homeric form. The Attic *ἐλ* is not found in Homer.

*-σθα* is the regular ending in *οἶσθα* (*\*οἶδ-σθα*) *thou knowest* (*οἶδα-s*, Od. 1. 337 only), *ἦσθα* *thou knowest*, *ἦσθα* *thou wast*, *εἰ-σθα* (Il. 10. 450) *thou wilt go*. It occurs as an alternative form in *ἔφη-σθα* or *φῆ-σθα* *thou saidst*; in some Subjunctives, as *ἴθιλη-σθα*, *εἰπῆ-σθα*; in two Optatives, *βάλοι-σθα* (Il. 15. 571) and *κλαῖοι-σθα* (Il. 24. 619); and in *τίθῃ-σθα*, *δοδοῖ-σθα* (Il. 19. 270).

In the Mid. *-σαι*, *-σο* are the usual Non-Thematic Endings: but the Opt. always has *-οι-ο*.

We find *μέμνη-αι* (Il. 21. 442), as well as *μέμνη-σαι* (Il. 23. 648), *δίζη-αι* (Od. 11. 100), *βέβλη-αι* (Il. 11. 380, scanned *βεβλήαι οὐδ'*), *ἐμάρνα-ο* (Od. 22. 228), and Imper. *μάρνα-ο* (Il. 15. 475), *παρίστα-ο* (Il. 10. 291); contracted *μέμνη* (Il. 15. 18, but see § 27), *ἐκρέμω* (Il. 15. 18), *δαμνά* (Il. 14. 199).

Verbs in *-ω*, which would form *-εσαι*, *-εσο*, usually drop one *ε*; *μύθεαι*, *ἄποαίρεο*, *ἔκλεο* (from *κλέω*, Il. 24. 202); but *μυθείαι* (Od. 8. 180). There is one instance of *-αι*, viz. *δύσαι* (Il. 23. 620).

In the Imper. *-θι* is commonly retained in Non-Thematic forms, as *κλύ-θι* *hear*, *τέτλα-θι* *endure* (Imper. of *τέτληκα*), *δίδω-θι* (Od. 3. 380). It is dropped in *ἵστη* (Il. 21. 313), *δαίνυ* (Il. 9. 70). Sometimes it becomes *-ς*, as *θέ-ς*, *δό-ς*, *πρό-ε-ς*; also in the Thematic *ἐνί-σπε-ς* *tell*, cp. the Attic *σχέ-ς*.

**3 Sing.** The original *-τι* remains only in *ἔσ-τί(ν)*. On the Subjunctives with *η-σι* see § 81.

**3 Plur.** The Ending *-ᾶσι* (for *-αντι*) is found in *ἔ-ᾶσι* (for *\*ἔσ-ασι*) *they are* and *ἔ-ᾶσι* *they go*.

Stems in *α*, *ε*, *ο*, *υ* form *-ᾶσι*, *-εῖσι*, *-ουσι*, *-ῦσι* (for *-α-ντι*, &c.), as *ἰσῶσι*, *τιθεῖσι*, *διδούσι*, *ζευγνύσι* (not *τιθέ-ασι*, &c., as in Attic).

The Perfect Act. has *-ᾶσι*, and (rarely) *-ᾶσι*. The latter occurs twice in Homer, *πεφύκ-ᾶσι* (Od. 7. 114), *λελόγγᾶσιν* (Od. 11. 304); for other examples in Ionic see Curt. Verb. ii. 166. In these forms the *ᾶ* belongs to the Ending, since *-ᾶσι* is for *-ᾶτι*, which corresponds to the *-ντι* of the Doric *φα-ντί*, *λέγο-ντι* (as *-ᾶται* in the Mid. to *-νται*). The forms with *-ᾶσι* are of later origin, and belong to two essentially distinct groups; see § 7.

*-ᾶν* is found in *ἦσ-αν*. The Ending *-ν* is common in Homer, as *ἔφα-ν*, *ἔτιθε-ν*, though partly displaced by the later *-σαν*. The vowel preceding *-ν* is always short, e.g. *ἔστα-ν*, but *ἔστη-σαν*.

*μάνθην* (Il. 4. 146) must be a Dual: perhaps for *ἑ-μά-σθην* (cp. *μα-ρός*).

In the Middle, the forms *-ᾶται*, *-ᾶτο* are regular after consonants and the vowel *ι* (including the diphthongs *ει*, *η*, *οι*, &c.); the forms *-νται*, *-ντο* after *ᾶ*, *ε*, *ο*. After *υ*, *η* both forms are found: e.g. *εἰρύ-αται*, *εἰρύ-ατο*, but *λέλυ-νται*, *κέχυ-νται*; *βεβλήγαι* (Il. 11. 656), but *μέμνη-ντο*, *ξύμβλη-ντο*.

The Imper. Endings *-τωσαν*, *-σθωσαν* are post-Homeric.

1 Dual. *-μεθον* occurs only in *περιδόμεθον*, Il. 23. 485.

2 and 3 Dual. In the Historical Tenses, according to the ancient grammarians, the regular Endings are—

2 Dual Act. *-τον*, Mid. *-σθον*.

3 „ „ *-την*, „ *-σθην*.

This scheme, however, is open to some doubt; for—

(1) Homer has three instances of the 3 Dual Impf. in *-τον*, where the metre does not admit of *-την*, viz. *δύκε-τον* (Il. 10. 363), *ἐτέλχε-τον* (Il. 13. 345), *λαφύσσε-τον* (Il. 18. 583). Three others in *-σθον* occur as various readings, where the metre admits of either *-σθον* or *-σθην*, viz. *ἀφίκε-σθον*, read by some ancient critics (probably Zenodotus) in Il. 13. 613; *θαρήσσε-σθον*, the reading of A. (the Cod. Venetus) and Eust. in Il. 16. 218; *πίτε-σθον*, a marginal variant of A. in Il. 23. 506.

(2) Three forms of the 2 Dual in *-την* were read in the text of Zenodotus, viz. *καμέ-την* (Il. 8. 448), *λαβέ-την* (Il. 10. 545), *ἡθέλε-την* (Il. 11. 782). Aristarchus read *κάμε-τον*, *λάβε-τον*, *ἡθέλε-τον*. The metre gives no help to a decision.

(3) In Attic the examples of the 2 Dual in *-την*, *-σθην* are so common that Elmsley (on Ar. Ach. 733) held these to be the only correct forms, thus making the Dual of Historical Tenses uniformly end in *-ην*, as the Dual of the Principal Tenses ends in *-ον*. Cobet maintains the same view (Misc. Crit. pp. 279 ff.). But the account of the Greek grammarians is strikingly borne out by the forms of the Sanscrit Dual. In Sanscrit we find that in the Historical Tenses the 2 Dual ends in *-tam*, 3 Dual in *-tām*, answering perfectly to the Greek *-τον*, *-την*. This therefore is to be regarded as the rule. The exceptions which have been quoted are evidently due to the tendency towards uniformity: and it is to be noticed that this tendency seems to have acted in Homer in the direction of making all Duals end in *-τον*, *-σθον*, whereas in Attic the Endings *-την*, *-σθην* were extended to the Second Person.

### *Influence of the Ending on the Stem.*

6.] In Thematic Stems it is plain that the Ending influences only the final *ε(ο)*, leaving the rest of the Stem unaffected. Non-Thematic forms, on the other hand, are liable to variations in *quantity* which affect the main vowel of the Stem. These variations are governed by the general rule that *of two forms of the Stem the longer is found with the Endings of the Sing. Indic. Act., the shorter with all other Endings*, viz. those of the Dual and Plural, the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus:—

(1) *ᾱ*, *ε*, *ο* interchange with the corresponding long vowels *α* (in Ionic *η*), *η*, *ω*; as *φη-μί*, *ξ-φην*, but 1 Plur. *φᾶ-μέν*, Imper. *φᾶ-θι*, Mid. *ξ-φα-το*; *τίθη-μι*, Mid. *τίθε-μαι*; *δίδω-μι*, Mid. *δίδο-μαι*.

(2) *ι* with *ει* and *οι*: as *εἶ-μι*, 1 Plur. *ἱ-μεν*, Imper. *ἱ-θι*; *οἶδα*, 1 Plur. *ῶ-μεν*.

(3) *υ* with *ευ* and *υ*: as *ξ-χευα*, Mid. *χύ-το* (§ 15); *δείκνυ-μι*, 1 Plur. *δείκνυ-μεν*.

The same law governs the interchange in the Perfect of—

(4) *ā* with *ov*: as *γέγονα*, 1 Plur. *γέγα-μεν*; *πέπονθα*, Part. Fem. *πεπᾶθ-υῖα*.\*

(5) *ōp* with *op*: as *ἔφθορα*, Mid. *ἔφθαρ-ται*.\*

(6) Sometimes the longer Stem contains an additional consonant, viz. in the Perfects and Aorists in *-κᾶ*, as *ἔστηκα*, 1 Plur. *ἔσταᾶ-μεν*; *ἔθηκα*, 1 Plur. *ἔθε-μεν*.

The Endings which are found with the long Stem have been called the *Light*, the others the *Heavy* Endings.

7.] The 3 Plur. offers some exceptions to the general rule:—

(1) The Ending *-ᾶσι* (for *-ᾶτι*, *-NTI*) is used with the long Stem, as *λελόγγᾶσι*, *πεφύκᾶσι*. Cp. *τετεύχᾶται*, *ἑ-τετεύχᾶτο* (§ 22, 3).

(2) The long Stem is also found in a few forms of the 3 Plur. Pf. in *-ᾶσι*, as *πεποιθᾶσι*, *ἐστήκᾶσι* (§ 24), and the 3 Plur. of the Aor. in *-κα*, as *ἔθηκᾶν*, *ἔδωκᾶν* (§ 15). These are apparently formed on the analogy of the Singular, like *οἶδα-μεν*, *οἶδᾶσι* in Herodotus.

(3) The Endings *-(σ)ᾶσι*, *-σαν* (for *-ΣANTI*, *-SANT*) are found with the short Stem. The leading examples are:—

With Simple Stems: *ἑ-φα-σαν*, *ἑ-θε-σαν*, *ἑ-δο-σαν*, &c.

Presents: *τιθέ-ασι*, *διδό-ασι* (Att.); *ἑ-τίθε-σαν*, *ἑ-δίδο-σαν*, &c.

Perfects: *ἵσασι* (*ἰδ-σασι*), *ἵσαν*; *εἰζασι* (Att. 3 Plur. of *ἔοικα*).

*βεβᾶ-ασι*, *γυγά-ασι*, *μεμά-ασι*; *βέβα-σαν*, *μέμα-σαν*.

*ἑστᾶσι* (\**ἑστά-ασι*), *τεθνᾶσι*; *ἑστα-σαν*, *τέθνα-σαν*.

*πεφύ-ασι*, *δεδῶ-ασι*; *δεῖδι-σαν*.

The hiatus shows that *-ᾶσι* is for *-σᾶσι*, the Primary Ending answering to *-σᾶν*. The corresponding Mid. *-σᾶται* is found in Doric (*γεγράφεται*, Tab. Heracl. i. 121, in C. I. 5774).

In the Plpf. Ending *-εσᾶν* the *-σα* belongs to the Stem (*ῥῥεα* for *ῥῥε-εσᾶ*).

The contraction in *ἑστᾶσι*, *τεθνᾶσι* is evidently due to the impossibility of *ἑστά-ασι*, *τεθνᾶ-ασι* in the hexameter. Brugman regards them as wrongly accented, and derives them directly from *ἑστα-ντι*, *τέθνα-ντι* (Curt. Stud. ix. 296). This is open to the objection that in all other Stems which take *-κα* the Endings *-ντι* and *-ν* are confined in Homer to the long forms: thus we find—

<i>πεφύκ-δοσι</i>	and	<i>πεφύ-δοσι</i>	but not	<i>πέφυσι</i>
<i>ἐστήκᾶσι</i> , &c. „		<i>βεβᾶ-ασι</i> ,	„	<i>βέβασι</i>
( <i>οἶδᾶσι</i> Hdt.) „		<i>ἵσασι</i>	„	<i>ἰδ-ασι</i>
<i>ἔθηκα-ν</i>	„	<i>ἑθε-σαν</i>	„	<i>ἑθε-ν</i>
<i>ἔδωκα-ν</i>	„	<i>ἑδο-σαν</i>	„	<i>ἑδο-ν</i> (Hesiod).

The short form with *-ντι*, *-ν* is therefore confined to Verb-Stems ending in a vowel, as in *φασί*, *τίθεισι* (for *φαντί*, *τίθε-ντι*). And even in these it might be maintained that the short vowel is due to the (original) following *-NT*, as in *ἑ-σᾶν*, *ἡγεσθᾶν*, *ἀλό-ντες*, &c.

\* The interchange of *ā* with *ev*, and of *ōp* with *ep* (parallel to that of *ι* and *υ* with *αι* and *ευ*) cannot be exemplified within the Non-Thematic conjugation.

*Meaning of the Middle.*

8.] The original force of the Middle Person-Endings is 'Reflexive;' that is to say, they denote that the action of the Verb is directed towards the agent.

Greek has no Passive Endings distinct from those of the Active and Middle: it is desirable therefore to speak, not of Passive forms, but of the Passive meaning or use of a form.

The chief uses of the Middle are—

(1) The use to signify that the agent is also the *indirect object* of the action—that the action is done by some one *for* or *toward* himself, or in his own interest: *ἐννυ-μαι* *I put* (clothes, &c.) *on myself*; *δέχο-μαι* *I take to myself*; *ἄορ δὲν ἐρυσσάμενος* *having drawn him his sharp sword*; *ἤρείτο τόξον* *took his bow with him*; *φερέσθω* *let him bear away as his prize*.

(2) The use in which the agent is the direct object of the action, as *λούο-μαι* *I wash myself*. This is comparatively rare.

(3) The Intransitive use, in which the reflexive sense is faint, as *φαίνε-ται* *appears* (but *φαίνει ἑαυτὸν* *he shows himself*). So, generally, when the action centres in the agent; as in Verbs of motion (*έρχομαι, πέτομαι, ἄλλομαι, οἶχομαι, &c.*), and in such uses as *λαβέσθαι* *to gain a hold of* (not *to take* a thing); also in Verbs of feeling and thinking (*αἰσθάνομαι, αἰδέομαι, βούλομαι, οἶομαι, μέμνημαι, ἐπίσταμαι, μέλομαι, μέμφομαι, &c.*) So in French, 'je m'aperçois' *I perceive*, 'je me doute' *I suspect*.

(4) The Reciprocal use; *ἀμειβόμενος* *taking his turn, λέγεσθαι* *to tell over* (in talk).

(5) The Passive use, as *ἔχε-ται* *is possessed*. It may be illustrated from the similar use of some Reflexive Verbs in French, as 'je me trouve' *I am found*; so in Italian, 'dicesi' *it is said, &c.*

The Middle is rather more common in Homer than in later Greek. For example, in the class of Verbs of feeling and thinking we may add the Homeric *ἐραμαι* *I love, γάννυμαι, ἔλδομαι, ἔλπομαι, ὀθομαι, ὄνομαι, στένομαι, κεχάροντο, ὀδύσασθαι*. And the use is extended to Verbs of seeing and hearing, as *ὀρῶ-μαι* *I see* (Aor. *ὶδῆ-σθαι*), *ἀκούο-μαι* *I hear* (used as well as *ὀρῶ, ἰδεῖν, ἀκούω*), *δέκκομαι, ὀσσομαι, σκέπτομαι, φράζομαι*; cp. the Attic *σκοποῦ-μαι* *I consider*.

Conversely, Homer has the Act. *ὄλω* *I think*, as well as the Mid. *ὀλο-μαι* *I harbour the thought, suspect*.

Sometimes (esp. in Homer) the Middle appears to be used because the Verb implies acting arbitrarily, as a superior, &c.; e.g. *σινόμαι* and *θηλέομαι* *to do mischief for one's pleasure*; *ἐφίλατο* *made a favourite of*; *διε-νται* *run in a race, διεσθαι* *to chase* (but *διον* *I fled*); *δειδίσσεσθαι* *to terrify*; *κέκλετο* *shouted in command*.

A use intermediate between the Reflexive and the Passive (pointed out by Riddell, Dig. § 88) may be exemplified in *ἀπήχθετο* *incurred hatred*.

On the Futures only used in the Mid., see § 66.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE TENSES.

9.] **Verb-Stem and Tense-Stem.** A comparison of the different forms of a Greek VERB usually enables us to see that some one syllable or group of syllables is present in them all: as *τυπ-* in the forms of *τύπτω*, or *βουλευ-* in those of *βουλεύω*. This we shall call the *Verb-Stem*. A Verb-Stem not derived from more primitive elements is called a *Root*.

Again, the different forms belonging to any one TENSE are based upon a common part, which we shall call the *Tense-Stem*. This part may be the same as the Verb-Stem; or it may contain an additional element, as *δι-* in *δι-δο-μεν*, *δι-δο-ιην*, &c.; *-τε*, *-το* in *τύπ-τε-τε*, *τύπ-το-μεν*, *ἔ-τυπ-το-ν*, *τύπ-το-ι-μι*, &c.

The Subjunctive and Optative, again, are distinguished by a Suffix to the Tense-Stem: e. g. *δο-ιην*, *διδο-ιην*, *τύπτο-ι-μι*, *στήσα-ι-μι*. These may be called *Mood-Stems*.

Finally, the Stems used in the 'Historical' Tenses—the Impf., Aor., and Plpf.—are formed from the Tense-Stem by prefixing the *Augment*.

The Stems of the augmented forms are therefore parallel to the Mood-Stems, the only difference being that they are formed by a prefix, while the Mood-Stems are formed by a suffix. They may be described as Time-Moods of the several Tenses,—combining the notion of Past Time, which is expressed by the Augment, with the meaning contained in the Tense-Stem.

Each Tense-Stem furnishes an *Infinitive* and a *Participle*.

Thus we have (supplying one or two links by analogy) from the three Tense-Stems *βάλλε* (or *-ο*), *βαλε* (or *-ο*), *βεβληκα*.

	PRES.	AOR.	PERF.
Principal Tense	<i>βάλλε-τε</i>	wanting	<i>βεβλήκα-τε</i> .
Historical	<i>ἔ-βάλλε-τε</i>	<i>ἔ-βάλε-τε</i>	<i>*ἔ-βεβλήκε-α</i> .
Subjunctive	<i>βάλλη-τε</i>	<i>βάλη-τε</i>	<i>*βεβλήκη-τε</i> .
Optative	<i>βάλλο-ι-τε</i>	<i>βάλο-ι-τε</i>	<i>*βεβλήκο-ι-τε</i> .
Imperative	<i>βάλλε-τε</i>	<i>βάλε-τε</i>	<i>*βεβλήκα-τε</i> .
Infinitive	<i>βαλλέ-μεναι</i>	<i>βαλέ-ειν</i>	<i>βεβληκ-έναι</i> .
Participle	<i>βάλλο-ντος</i>	<i>βαλό-ντος</i>	<i>βεβληκ-ότος</i> .

It is evident that there might have been a Future 'Time-Mood' as well as a Past for each Tense-Stem. In English indeed we can distinguish progressive action in the future as well as in the present and past: *I shall be writing* as well as *I am writing* and *I was writing*. See Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 25, N. 1;

Driver's Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, § 4. Modern Greek has two such Futures:  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$  and  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega$  differ almost precisely as  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha$ .

10.] **Formation of Tense-Stems.** Leaving out of sight the meanings of the several Tenses, and looking to the mode of their formation, we may distinguish the following groups:—

- (1) With the Verb-Stem serving as Tense-Stem—

The Simple Non-Thematic Present, as  $\phi\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\eta\text{-}\nu$ .

- (2) With Reduplication—

The Perfect.

The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present, as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

- (3) With the Thematic Vowel—

The Simple Thematic Present, as  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{-}\omega$ .

The Simple Thematic Aorist, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ .

- (4) With Reduplication (Thematic)—

The Thematic Reduplicated Aorist, as  $\acute{\eta}\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ .

The Thematic Reduplicated Present, as  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\gamma\nu\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ .

- (5) With other Suffixes (Non-Thematic)—

The Present in  $\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$  and  $\text{-}\nu\nu\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ , as  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\text{-}\nu\nu\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

It may be that the Suffixes  $\text{-}\nu\eta$  ( $\text{-}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ) and  $\text{-}\nu\nu$  are properly speaking 'Thematic' (i. e. are suffixes used to form Noun-Themes from 'Roots'), but as they vary like Non-Thematic Stems this group of Verbs belongs practically to the Non-Thematic Conjugation.

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ .

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\eta\text{-}\nu$  (Aor. II. Pass.).

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\nu$  (Aor. I. Pass.).

- (6) With other Suffixes (Thematic)—

The Present in  $\text{-}\tau\omega$  (T-Class of Curtius).

The Present in  $\text{-}\nu\omega$  (Nasal Class).

The Present in  $\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , and the Iterative forms.

The Present in  $\text{-}\iota\omega$  or  $\text{-}\gamma\omega$  (I-Class).

The Future in  $\text{-}\sigma\omega$ .

It will be more convenient however to bring the 'Verbs in  $\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ' together; we shall therefore treat first of the Non-Thematic Present ( $\phi\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ), and Simple Aorist ( $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\eta\text{-}\nu$ ); then of the Perfect; and then of the remaining groups of Tenses in their order.

*The Non-Thematic Present and Aorist.*

11.] **The Simple Non-Thematic Present.** The chief Presents in which the Tense-Stem is the same as the Verb-Stem are—

εἰ-μί (for ἐσ-μί) *I am*, εἶ-μι *I go*, φη-μί *I say*, ἦ *he said*, κεῖ-ται *lies*, ἦσ-ται *sits* (3 Plur. εἶ-αται, properly ἦ-αται, for \*ἦσ-αται), ἐπί-στα-μαι *I know*, ἀγα-μαι *I wonder*, ἔρα-μαι *I love*, δύνα-μαι *I am able*, ἐ-κρέμω (for ἐ-κρέμα-ο) *didst hang*, δέα-το *seemed*, δέε-νται *race* (ἐν-δέε-σαν *tried to scare*), ὄνο-σαι *dost blame* (ὄνα-το Il. 17. 25), ἀη-τον *blow*, Ἰλη-θι *be appeased*, κιχῆ-την *caught*, ἔδ-μεναι *to eat*, ἔρῳ-το *protected*, στεῦ-ται *is ready*, *threatens*.

Some apparently Non-Thematic forms are due to Syncope, as αἶ-μαι, for αἶο-μαι, *I think*, λού-σθαι, for λούε-σθαι (or λέε-σθαι) *to wash*, φέρ-τε *bring*. So Curtius explains στεῦ-ται for στεύε-ται; so perhaps ἔρῳ-το for ἐρύε-το (§ 18, *fin.*), and δμεναι *to be satiated* (δ). On the Non-Thematic forms of Contracted Verbs (such as φορή-μενος), see § 19.

12.] **Variation of quantity** according to the 'weight' of the Ending takes place with great regularity in φη-μί *I say*, φή-ς, φη-σί; Impf. ἔ-φη-ν, ἔ-φη-σθα, ἔ-φη; but φᾶ- in all other forms.

So εἶ-μι *I go*, εἶ-σθα, εἶ-σι; Plur. ἔ-μεν, ἔ-τε, ἔ-ασι; Impf. 2 Dual ἔ-την, 3 Plur. ἦ-ῖ-σαν, ἔ-σαν; Imper. ἔ-θι, ἔ-τω, ἔ-τε.\*

The vowel of the Stem is long before Heavy Endings in—  
ἀη-, 3 Dual ἀη-τον, Inf. ἀή-μεναι, Mid. ἀη-το, Part. ἀή-μερος.

κίχῃ-, in κιχῆ-την, ἐ-κίχῃ-μεν, κιχῆ-μεναι, κιχῆ-μενος.  
Except before -ντ and -ι, as ἀέ-ντες *blowing*, κιχέ-ῃ *may find*. (On the long vowel in these Stems, see § 19.) Also in κεῖμαι, ἔρῳ-το (Inf. ῥῶ-σθαι), Ἰλη-θι.

It is short throughout in εἰμί (for \*ἐσ-μί) *I am*, which is inflected as follows:—

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Pres.	1. εἰμί	—	εἰμέν (for ἐσ-μέν)
	2. ἐσ-σί, εἶς (§ 5)	ἐσ-τόν	ἐσ-τέ
	3. ἐσ-τί(ν)	ἐσ-τόν	εἰσί (Dor. ἐντί), ἔ-ᾱσι.
Impf.	1. ἦα, ἔα, ἦν, ἔην, Them. ἐο-ν	—	ἦμεν
	2. ἦσθα, ἔησθα	[ἦσ-τον]	ἦτε (Il. 16. 557)
	3. ἦεν, ἦν, ἔην, ἦην	ἦσ-την	ἦσαν, ἔσαν.

The only shorter form of the Stem which analogy leads us to expect is that

\* The Sing. forms ἦα, ἦα-ς, ἦα are difficult of analysis. Comparing the Greek and Sanscrit forms—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>ais</i>	<i>ait</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>aitam</i>	<i>aitám</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>aima</i> , &c.
ἦ-α	ἦ-α	ἦ-α			ἦ-την.		

Delbrück points out that the *ai* of the Du. Plur. is *ā + i* (augm. + short Stem), while the *ai* of the Sing. may be *ā + e*, i. e. augm. + long Stem (Altind. Verb. p. 100). If so, ἦ-α-ς, ἦ-α answer exactly to *ai-s*, *ai-t*. In other words, the augm. being *ἦ*, the 3 Sing. ἦ-α is formed precisely as ἔ-φη. On this view, again, the 1 Sing. ἦ-α may be for an original ἦ-α, formed like ἔ-χεα (§ 15). Thus the Greek and Sanscr. forms go back independently to a primitive—

Sing. *d-ai-am*, *d-ai-s*, *d-ai-t*, Dual. *d-i-tam*, &c., Plur. *d-i-ma*, &c.

which results from dropping the initial *ε*, as in Lat. *'sumus, 'sunt*. The 1 Sing. *ῥα* (Sansk. *asam*) is the most primitive.\* The 1 Sing. *ῖην* and the 3 Sing. *ῖην* and *ῖην* are anomalous, and (like similar forms in Sanscrit and Latin) seem to require a Stem *ῖσα-*. The *-ν* of the 3 Sing. may be due to the influence of *ῖεν*, which is never found without the *-ν*.

13.] **The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist.** Examples: *ἔβη-ν* *I went*, *ἔστη-ν* *I stood*, *ἔγνω-ν* *I knew*, *ἔφυ* *grew*, *ἔδυ* *sank under*, *ἔφθη* *came before*, *ἔσβη* *was quenched*.

Variation of quantity occurs (e.g.) in *ἔβη-ν*, 3 Dual *βῆ-την* (also *ἔβῃ-την*), 3 Plur. *ὑπέρ-βᾶ-σαν* (Il. 12. 469). Generally, however, the Stem is long in all forms of the Active (except the 3 Plur. in *-ν*); e.g. *ἔστη-ν*, Plur. *ἔστη-μεν*, *ἔστη-τε*; *ἔγνω-ν*, 3 Plur. *ἔγνω-σαν*; *ἔδυ-μεν*; *κατα-πτή-την* (Du.) *covered*; *κλῦ-θι* *hear!*

On the Aorists *ἔπ-έ-πλω-ς* *didst sail over* (Part. *ἔπι-πλῶς*), *βιώ-τω* *let him live* (Inf. *βιώ-ναι*), *ἀλῶ-ναι* *to be taken* (Part. *ἀλούς*), *ἔ-γήρα* *grew old* (Part. *γηράς*), see § 20.

The vowel is also long in the Mid. *πλή-το* *was filled*, *ἀπ-όνη-το* *profited* (Part. *όνή-μενος* *blessed*, Opt. *όνα-ιο*), *ἄμ-πνῦ-το* *recovered breath*; but the regular quantity appears in *ἔ-πᾶ-το* *flew*, *πρίᾶ-το* *bought*, *φθά-μενος* *coming before*, *ἔ-φθῖ-το* *perished*, *κτί-μενος* *built*, *ἔσσυ-το* (*σύ-το*) *hastened*, *χύ-το* *was poured*, *λύ-το* *was loosed* (once *λῦ-το*, Il. 24. 1).

The vowel is short throughout in *ἔ-κᾶ-ν* *I slew*, 3 Sing. *ἔ-κᾶ*, 1 Plur. *ἔ-κᾶ-μεν*, Mid. *ἔ-κᾶ-το*, Part. *κᾶ-μενος*; also in *οὔτα* *he wounded*, Inf. *οὔτά-μεναι*, Part. *οὔτά-μενος*. On *ἀπηύρα* see § 31, n. 1.

It will be seen hereafter that *κᾶ-* is the regular short form answering to *κτεν-*. Hence *ἔ-κᾶ-μεν*, *ἔ-κᾶ-το* are formed according to the primitive rule.

Aorist-Stems ending in a consonant are only found in the Middle: *ἄλ-το* *leaped*, *ἔ-παλ-το* *was shaken*, *ῶρ-το* *started up* (Imper. *ῶρ-σο*, Part. *ῶρ-μενος*), *γέν-το* *seized*, *δέκ-το* *received*, *λέκ-το* *counted*, also *lay down*, *μίκ-το* *was mixed*, *κατ-έ-πηκ-το* *was fastened into*, *ἐλέλικ-το* † *wheeled*, and the Participles *ἄρ-μενος* *fitted*, *ἄσ-μενος* (for *ἄδ-μενος*) *welcome*, *ἱκ-μενος* 'coming', *favourable*. This group of forms is only found in Homer.

14.] **Metathesis.** Some Aorist-Stems are formed from the Verb-Stem by metathesis; *ξυμ-βλή-την* *the two encountered*, *βλή-το* *was struck* (from *βαλε-*), *ἔ-τλη* *endured* (*τάλα-ς*), *πλή-το* *came near* (*πέλα-ς*), *ἔ-στρω-το* *was strewed* (*στορε-*). The vowel in these Stems is always long.

\* For the 1 Sing. *ῖην* cannot well be derived from the hypothetical *ῖσ-ν*, orig. *ἄs-m*, which according to all analogy gives Gr. *\*ῖσ-α*, *ῖα*, and Sanscr. *ās-am*; cp. *ῖα*, Sanscr. *āy-am*.

† This form is probably an old misreading for *ἐέλικτο*, i.e. *φε-φέλικτο*; see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 278.



15.] **Aorists in -κᾶ and -ᾶ.** The three Aorists, ἔ-θηκα *I put*, ἔ-ηκα *I sent forth*, ἔ-δωκα *I gave*, are inflected as follows:—

In the Active—

1 Sing. ἔ-θηκα	—	1 Plur. ἔ-θε-μεν
2 „ ἔ-θηκα-s	2 Dual ἔ-θε-τον	2 „ ἔ-θε-τε
3 „ ἔ-θηκε(ν)	3 „ ἔ-θέ-την	3 „ ἔ-θε-σαν and ἔ-θηκα-ν.

In the Middle, ἔ-θέ-μην, &c. (with θε- throughout). Thus *θηκα-* and *θε-* serve as long and short Stems respectively. The only forms in Homer which do not conform to this scheme are ἔν-ηκα-μεν (Od. 12. 401) and θήκα-το (Il. 10. 31, 14. 187).

The four Aorists, ἔσσενα (σῦ-) *I urged*, ἔ-χενα, ἔχεα (χῦ-) *I poured*, ἔκ-ηα (for \*ἔ-κην-α, short Stem κᾶν-) *I burned*, ἠλεύα-το *I avoided* (Opt. ἀλέα-ι-το, Inf. ἀλέα-σθαι), take -ᾶ; ἔ-χενα and ἔσσενα standing to ἔ-χυν-το, ἔσσουν-το, as ἔ-φην-το to ἔ-φᾶ-το.

These forms are not to be explained by loss of σ (as if ἔχενα were for ἔ-χυν-σα, &c.). The α is ‘auxiliary’ (§ 4, note). The Mid. ἔ-χυν-το, found in Homer along with ἔ-χυν-το, is a duplicate form, created on the analogy of the Sing. Act., and accordingly related to ἔχυντο nearly as θήκατο to ἔθετο. It will appear that the regular Mid. of the Aor. in -σα was formed by a similar process; see Append. A.

On εἶπα, ἤνεγκα, see § 36.

16.] **The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present.** These Presents are formed by Reduplication, usually of the initial consonant with ι; τίθη-σι *puts*, δίδω-μι *I give*, ἵη-σι (for \*γιγιη-σι) *sends*, ἱστᾶσι (σι-στᾶ-) *they set*, πιμπλᾶσι *they fill* (the μ is euphonic: it is dropped after μ in ἐμ-πίπλη-θι), διδῶ *bound*, βιβᾶ-s *striding*; and with Attic Reduplication, δύνη-σι (for δύν-ονη-) *benefits*.

In these Present Stems the quantity of the vowel in the Stem regularly varies under the rules laid down in § 6 (1).

The vowel is long in ἐμ-πίπλη-θι (Il. 21. 311), δίδω-θι (Od. 3. 380),\* and the Inf. τιθή-μεναι (Il. 23. 83, 247) and Part. τιθή-μενος (Il. 10. 34). Also in δίζη-μαι *I seek* (for \*δι-σδη-), the Homeric Verb answering to Attic ζη-τέω.

17.] **Present Stems in -νη (-νᾶ) and -νυ.** The Tense-Stems of this class—which may be called the Non-Thematic Nasal class—form the Present-Stem from the Verb-Stem by the Suffixes -νη, -νῦ (which with Heavy Endings regularly become -νᾶ, -νῦ).

The Presents with -νη (νᾶ) are nearly all peculiar to Homer, δάμ-νη-μι *I subdue*, κίρ-νη *mixed*, πέρ-να-s *selling*, σκιδ-να-ται *is scattered*, πλ-να-ται *comes near*, μάρ-να-ται  *fights*. Note ι for ε in κίρ-, σκιδ-, πλ-; cp. the later Verbs πίτ-νω, κτίν-νυμι.

A few Presents with -νυ are common to all periods of Greek,

\* The variation is perhaps less regular in the Imper.; cp. ἱλη-θι, κλύ-θι.

δείκ-νυ-μι *I show*, ὅμ-νυ-μι *I swear*, ζεύγ-νυ-μι *I join*, ὀλλυ-μι (for ὀλ-νυ-μι) *I destroy*; but they are mainly Homeric or poetical; ὄρ-νύ-θι *arouse*, δαλ-νύ *feasted*, ἄγ-νυ-τον *break*, στορ-νύσα *spreading*, ἀπομόργ-νύ *wiped away*, ἐέργ-νυ *shut in*, ῥηγ-νύσι *they break*, γά-νυ-ται *is gladdened*, τά-νυ-ται *is stretched*, ἦ-νυ-το *was finished*, κί-νυ-ντο *were moved*, τί-νυ-νται *punish*, αἰ-νυ-ται *takes*, ἐ-καί-νυ-το *surpassed*, ἀρ-νύ-σθην *won*, ἄχ-νυ-μαι *I am vexed*, ὤγ-νυ-ντο *were opened*, ἐννυτο (for ἐσ-νυ-το) *put on*, ζώννυ-το (for ζωσ-νυ-) *girded himself*, ὄρεγ-νύ-ς *stretching out*.

In the Verbs in -νυμι the Verb-Stem is nearly always dissyllabic: cp. δαμά-σαι (παν-δαμά-τωρ, &c.), κερά-σαι, πετά-σαι, περά-σαι, σκεδά-σαι, πῖλα-ς. So in some Verbs in -νύμι; cp. ὀμβ-σαι, ὀλέ-σαι, στορῶ-σαι.

The Verb-Stem, it will be seen, has most commonly its short form (note especially τά-νυ-ται, Pf. τέ-τᾶ-ται), sometimes the long form, as in Present Stems, δείκ-νυ-μι, ζεύγ-νυ-μι, ῥηγ-νυ-μι.

The forms in -αννυμι and -εννυμι are post-Homeric.

18.] **Thematic forms.** Some forms of Non-Thematic Tenses follow the conjugation of the corresponding Contracted Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω (§ 56); especially in the Impf. Indic. and the Imperative. Thus we find:—

ἐδάμνα (as if from \*δαμνάω), ἐκίρνα (Od. 7. 182, &c), πίτνα: Imper. καθ-ίστα (Il. 9. 202).

ἐτίθει, ἔει (ἀφ-ίει, προ-ίει &c.), ἄει (v. l. ἄη), βλεω, κίχαις: Imper. τίθει, ἔει (ξυν-ίει).

ἐδίδου, ἐδίδου: Imper. δίδου.

Examples occur also in the Pres. Indic.; δαμνᾷ (3 Sing. Act.) in Od. 11. 221 (with v. l. δάμνατ'); δαμνᾷ (2 Sing. Mid.) in Il. 14. 199; ἀν-ιεύς (Il. 5. 880), μεθ-ιεύς (Il. 6. 523, Od. 4. 372), μεθ-ιεί (Il. 10. 121), τιθεῖ (Il. 13. 732, Od. 1. 192), for which the MSS. usually have ἀνίεις, &c.; διδοῖς (Il. 9. 164), διδοῖ (Il. 9. 519, Od. 4. 237). So for προφει in Il. 2. 752 we should read προιεί.

Add the Part. βιβῶντα (Il. 3. 22, cp. 13. 807., 16. 609), Fem. βιβῶσα (Od. 11. 539); for which Bekk. writes βιβάντα, βιβᾶσα.

Editors differ in their manner of dealing with these forms. The weight of authority seems to be for the spelling which follows the Thematic conjugation, viz. -εῖς, -οῖς in the 2. Sing. Pres., and -εις, -ει, -ους, -ου in the Impf. of τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 281, is extremely positive on this side). But Verbs which have η in the Dual and Plural (ἀη-τον, κίχη-την) should follow the analogy of the Passive Aorists: hence ἀη, κίχης. And we may leave undisturbed the form δίδη *he bound* (Il. 11. 105), for which no one has proposed to read δίδει.

The 1 Sing. προ-ῖεν (Od. 9. 88., 10. 100., 12. 9) stands alone.

Porson (in his note on Eur. Or. 141) condemns ξυνιεύς, τιθεῖς, &c. on the ground that if τιθεῖς were right we ought also to have τιθῶ, τιθεῖ, τιθοῦμεν, τιθεῖτε. It is possible, however, that a form like τιθεῖς may have crept in through the analogy of the Verbs in -εω, although no 'Verb' τιθέω was in use. It is characteristic of the working of analogy to be partial and gradual. In Homer we find the cor-

responding 3 Sing. Pres. *δαμνῶ, τιθεῖ, μεθειῖ, διδοῖ*—forms which are guaranteed by the metre. The forms so guaranteed are, indeed, few, and perhaps were not found in the oldest text of the poems; but they are supported by similar forms in Herodotus and other Ionic writers.\*

Similarly, in the Presents formed with *-νυ* there is evidence of a tendency to introduce the Thematic *-νυε* or *-νυο*. The instances are:—

*δρ-νυ-ον* (Il. 12. 142), *ῥμυνε* (Il. 14. 278), *ζεύγνυνον* (Il. 19. 393); Imper. *δμυν-έτω* (Il. 19. 175), *τανύ-ουσι, τανύ-ειω* (Il. 17. 391), *ἀνύω* (Il. 4. 56, but may be Fut.), *τανύ-οντο* (occurs four times).

*δανύη* occurs twice in the Od. as 2 Sing. Subj. In Od. 8. 243, where the metre requires  $\sim$ —, we should probably read *δανύ-σαι*, the Subj. answering to a Non-Thematic Indic. (§ 80). In Od. 19. 328 *δανύς* is equally admissible with *δανύη*.

Also, the Verb *ἐρύομαι* (or *ρύομαι*) *protect, save*, is for the most part Non-Thematic, see § 11. The Verb *ἐρύω* (*ἐρυσ-*) *draw* is wholly Thematic in Homer.

It should be observed that in all the foregoing cases the Thematic form is obtained by combining *ε(ο)* with the final vowel of the Non-Thematic Stem. In other cases the original final vowel is lost, as *κίχε(ν)* for *ἐ-κίχη πτέ-σθα* Inf. of *ἐ-πτα-το, δίξω* for *δίξη-μαι*, and the like.

19.] **Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs.** The following Homeric forms are usually regarded as instances of 'irregular Contraction' of Verbs in *-αω, -εω, -οω*:—

(*-αω*): *συναντή-την met, συλή-την spoiled, προσανδή-την spoke to, φοιτή-την went about, κνή scraped, ἀρή-μεναι to pray, γοή-μεναι to bewail, πεινή-μεναι to hunger, θῆ-σθαι to milk.*

(*-εω*): *ἀπειλή-την threatened, ὁμαρτή-την met, καλή-μεναι to call, πενθή-μεναι to mourn, ποθή-μεναι to regret, φιλή-μεναι to love, φορή-μεναι, φορή-ναι to carry, ἀλιτή-μενος sinning, τερσή-μεναι to get dry* (§ 42).

(*-οω*): *σάω* 3 Sing. Impf. and also 2 Sing. Imper. of *σαώω* *I keep safe.*

These forms cannot be explained by the ordinary contraction with the Thematic *ε* or *ο*: e. g. *φοιτή-την* cannot come from *\*φοι-ταέτην*, *φορή-ναι* from *\*φορεέ-ναι*, *ἀλιτή-μενος* from *\*ἀλιτεό-μενος*,

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\* In considering this and similar questions it should be remembered (1) that we do not know when the Homeric poems were first written down; (2) that we do not know of any systematic attention having been paid to spelling, accentuation, &c. before the time of the Alexandrian grammarians; (3) that the tendency of oral recitation must have been to substitute later for earlier forms, unless the metre stood in the way; (4) that the older Ionic alphabet confused *ε, αι, η* and *ο, ου, ω*.

σάω from σάοε, &c. On the other hand, as Curtius has shown (Stud. iii. 377-401, Verb. i. 352 ff.) they agree exactly with those Non-Thematic forms in which *the vowel before the Ending is long except before -ντ and -ι*, such as the Pres. κίχῃ-μεναι, ἀή-μεναι (§ 12), the Aor. στή-μεναι, τλή-ναι, γνῶ-μεναι, &c. and (as we may add by anticipation) the Passive Aorists in -ην and -θην.

Moreover, the same type of inflexion appears in the peculiar 'Verbs in -μι' of the Æolic dialect, as φίλη-μι, 1 Plur. φίλη-μεν, 3 Plur. φίλεισι (for φίλε-ντι), Part. φιλή-μενος; so γέλαι-μι, σάω-μι: and also in the Latin Verbs in -āre and -ēre, except in the 1 Sing.; e.g. amā-mini is parallel to πεινῇ-μεναι, docemini to φορῇ-μεναι, docemus, doce-nt to φίλη-μεν, φίλεισι.

Further traces of Non-Thematic formation may be recognised in the 'irregular contraction' of Attic—πεινῇ, διψῇ, ζῇ, ψῇ, σμῇ, χροῇ-σθαι, ῥιγῶν (Inf.), ἰδρῶντι\*—and in the Opt. in -ψη-ν, οη-ν (for which however, in the case of Verbs in -εω, we expect -ειν-ν, as in κίχε-λη and Æolic φίλε-λη).

The agreement of the Homeric forms given above with the Æolic forms of the same Verbs, and of both, again, with the similar Latin Verbs, seems to show that this formation is older than the corresponding Thematic Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω. The relation is doubtless, as Curtius maintains, the same as that which we traced between τίθη-ς and τιθείς, δείκνυ-μι and δεικνύ-ω (§ 18); that is to say, the regular Contracted Verbs represent the extension of the Thematic type beyond its original limits. We shall return to this when we come to treat of the class of Thematic Verbs to which these belong (§ 54).

The origin of the unvarying long vowel is not necessarily the same in all cases. Thus in ἔστη-σαν, ἔγνω-σαν it is probably due to imitation of the Sing.; † in ἔβλη-το, ἔστρω-το it is connected with the metathesis (§ 14). In the Homeric forms now in question (ἀρή-μεναι, φιλή-μεναι, σάω, &c.) it is explained by the fact that they are *Denominative*, i. e. derived from Nouns (ἀρή, φίλο-ς, σάο-ς) by means of a Suffix which has amalgamated with the final vowel of the Noun-Theme. The vowel in these cases is therefore the result of *contraction*, and the Verbs so formed may be called the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs.

The theory now stated can hardly be proved without resorting to the parallel Sanscrit conjugation, that which forms the Present Stem in -aya. From this comparison it is evident that the original Suffix was -ya, which in prehistoric

\* See Veitch. In the Inf. of these Verbs the same shortening has taken place as in the Æolic Inf. κάλην (κάλην-αι). In the 3 Sing. the final -σι is similarly lost. The i *subscr.* of πεινῇ &c. may be due to ancient epenthesis—as Curtius explains λέγγ from λέγγ-σι—or merely to analogy.

† But see Curt. Verb. i. 195, and on the other side, De Saussure, Mém. p. 146.

Greek might appear in the forms *-γη*, *-ye*, perhaps varying (like *-νη*, *-νδ*) according to the Endings. To explain the long vowels *η*, *ω* we have only to suppose (with Curtius) that the *y* of the Suffix, before it ceased to be pronounced in Greek, had the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel, as in the Genitive *πόλη-ος* (for *πόλε-y-ος*). Thus *φιλε-γη(ε)-*, *σαο-γη(ε)-* would become *φιλη-η(ε)-*, *σαω-η(ε)-* throughout the Pres. and Impf., and by contraction *φιλη*, *σαω*.

20.] **Aorists.** Of the Aorist Stems noticed in § 13, several are probably derived from Nouns, and do not differ in formation from the Presents discussed in the preceding section: e. g. *ἐ-γήρα* (*γήρα-ς*), *βιώ-τω* (*βίο-ς*), *ἐπ-έπω-ς* (*πλόο-ς*), *ἀλῶ-ναι*, perhaps *ἀπ-όνη-το*. Regarding the Passive Aorists, see §§ 42-44.

The forms *τιθή-μεναι* (Il. 23. 83, 247), *τιθή-μενον* (Il. 10. 34) are probably due to the analogy of the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs. The 2 Sing. Imper. *ἵστη* (Il. 21. 313) is perhaps for \**ἵστη-θι* (like Æolic *φάη* for *φάη-σι*).

21.] **Meaning of the Non-Thematic Pres. and Aor.** The Presents formed by Reduplication, and by the Suffixes *-νη* and *-νυ*, are nearly always Transitive or 'Causative' in meaning, as *ἵστη-μι*, *σκιῶ-νυ-μι*, *ὄρ-νυ-μι*; whereas the simpler Verbs, whether Present or Aorist, are usually Intransitive, as *ἕστη-ν*, *ἕσβη*.

Regarding the Tense-meaning, it is enough to point out here that the difference of the Present and Aorist is not given by the form of the Tense: thus the Impf. *ἐ-φην* is the same in formation as the Aor. *ἐ-βην*, *ἐ-στη-ν*.

### *The Perfect.*

22.] The Perfect-Stem is formed by Reduplication, and is liable to vary with the Person-Endings (§ 6). This variation is the rule in the Homeric Perfect. In Attic it survives in a few forms only; it is regular in *οἶδα* and *ἕστηκα*.

The short form of the Stem is the same (except for the Reduplication) as in the Tenses already discussed. The long Stem is often different, with a predilection for *ο* (*ω*, *οι*, *ου*), where the Present and Aorist have *ε* (*η*, *ει*, *ευ*).

The variation appears in the interchange of —

(1) *η* (*ᾱ*) and *ᾶ*: as *τεθήλ-ει* *bloomed*, Part. Fem. *τεθᾶλ-υῖα*; *ἄρρη-ει* *is fitting*, *ἄρᾶ-υῖα*. So *λεληκ-ώς*, *λελᾶκ-υῖα* *yelling*, *μεμηκ-ώς*, *μεμᾶκ-υῖα* *bleating*; Mid. *λέλασται* (for *λελαθ-ται*) *has forgotten*, *ἀκαχ-μένος* *sharpened*, *πέφαν-ται* *has appeared*; and the long forms *σέσηπε*, *τέτηκα*, *τέθηπα*, &c.

*η* and *ε* (doubtful): in *ἐδ-ηδ-ώς* *having eaten*, *μέμηλε* *is a care* (but *μεμᾶλότας*, Pind.).

*ω* and *ο*: in *δέδο-ται* (*δω-*), *ἐκ-πέπο-ται* *is drunk* *υρ*, *ὄρωρε* *is aroused*, *ὄλωλα*, *ὄπωπα*, *ὀδῶδ-ει*.

Of the interchange of *ω* and *ᾶ*, as in *ἔρωγα* (Pres. *ρήγ-νυμι*,

Aor. ὑπ-εργράγ-η), and of ω and ε, as in the Noun ἐδωδή, there is no clear Homeric instance.\*

ηυ in δέδηκε is on fire (for δέδηνε, δέδηFe) answers to αυ (ǎf-) in δαίω (δαf-yω): cp. καίω, Aor. ἔ-κηα (§ 15).

(2) οι and ι: as οἶδα, 1 Plur. ἴδ-μεν; πέποιθα 1 Plur. Plpf. ἔ-πέπιθ-μεν; ζοικα, Dual. ἔικ-τον, Part. Fem. ἔικ-υῖα.

(3) ευ and υ: as πεφευγ-ώς having escaped, Mid. πεφυγ-μένος; τετεύχ-αται are made, 3 Sing. τέτυκ-ται; κέκευθε hides (Aor. κύθη).

Other short Stems: κέχϋ-ται, ἔσϋ-ται (§ 15), πέπυσ-μαι, κέκλυ-θι.

ου interchanging with υ is much less common. It is found in εἰλήλουθα I am come, perhaps in βέβουλα (but not if it is connected with Lat. col-o, vël-im), and the Part. δεδουπ-ότος (cp. κτύπ-ος). υ in μέμυκε (Aor. μύκε).

(4) ορ (ρο) and ᾱρ (ρᾱ) } as ἔμμορε has a share, Mid. εἵμαρ-το was  
ολ ᾱλ } fated (cp. μέρ-ος).

So δι-έφθορα-s art destroyed, δίδρομε runs, τέτροφε is thickened, δέδορκα, ἰολπα, ἰοργα and the short forms πεπαρ-μένος pierced, τέτραπτο (cp. τρέπ-ω, τρώπ-ος), ἔ-τίταλ-το. But ep. ελ of the Pres. appears in ἑρ-μένος strung, ἔρχ-αται are packed in, and ἑλ-μένος cooped in; cp. § 31, 6.

(5) ον and α: as γέγονε is born, 1 Plur. γεγᾶ-μεν (cp. γέν-ος); πέπονθα I suffer, 2 Plur. πέπασθε (for πεπαθ-τε), Part. πεπαθ-υῖα.

So μέμονα-s art eager, 2 Plur. μέμᾶ-τε; λελόγγ-ασι have as portion (cp. ἔ-λαχο-ν); πέφᾶ-ται is slain (cp. φόν-ος); τέτᾶ-ται is stretched (τόνο-ς). But we find αν in κεχανδ-ώς containing (Aor. ἔ-χᾶδε).

πέπασθε, not πέποσθε, should be read (with Aristarchus) in Il. 3. 99, Od. 10. 465, 23. 53.

(6) ο and ε: as in τέτοκα (Hesiod). The examples in Homer are doubtful: εἴωθα (if it is for \*ἔ-σφοθα); ἀνήροθε mounted up, ἔπ-ευήροθε is upon; possibly κεκοπ-ώς striking.

The form ἀν-ήροθε supposes a Pres. \*ἀνίθ-ω, perhaps related to ἀνθ-ος as ἀλέγω to ἀλγ-ος: cp. the Attic use of ἑπανθίω. So ἐνήροθε supposes \*ἐνίθ-ω, and a short form \*ἐνθ-. (Dor. ἐνθ-εῖν?).

The short Stem with ε occurs in δέδεγ-μαι I await (cp. προδοκ-αί ambush), ἔεσ-το was clothed. In these cases loss of ε is phonetically impossible: see § 37.

(7) -κᾶ (preceded by a long vowel), interchanging with—

(a) A short vowel: as ἔστηκε stands, 1 Plur. ἑστᾶ-μεν; πέφυκε, 3 Plur. πεφύ-ασι; δαῖδοικα I fear, 1 Plur. δαῖδι-μεν; so βέβηκα, τέβηκα, τέτληκα.

μέμυκε is closed (of a wound) and δίδυκε is sunk in are similar, but the short Stems are not actually found.

\* Unless εἴωθα is for ἔ-σφοθα, short Stem σφεθ-; see De Saussure, Mém. p. 168.

(b) A long vowel: as *βεβλήκ-ει struck*, Mid. *βέβλη-ται* (βλη- by metathesis, § 14).

So *κέκμηκα-s art weary* (κάμα-τος), *βεβρωκ-ώς having eaten* (βορ-ά), *μέμβλωκε is gone* (Aor. ἔ-μολον), Mid: *πεπλη-μένος brought near* (πέλα-s), *πίπνυ-ται has his senses*, *κέκλη-μαι, εἴρη-ται, μέμνη-μαι, τετμη-μένος, πεπρω-μένος*.

A Perfect in -θα occurs in *ἐγρηγόρ-θασι* (Il. 10. 419) *keep awake*; perhaps in the Opt. *βεβρώθ-ους* (Il. 4. 35).

(8) The Perfects of Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω, -υω (§ 51, 4) resemble those of the last class, the vowel being invariable. They are chiefly found in the Middle and in the Part. Act.; e. g. *κεκοτη-ότε, κεκορη-ότα, τετιη-ότες, βεβαρη-ότα, κεχαρη-ότα, κεκαφη-ότα*—all forms peculiar to Homer. The only examples of the Indic. Act. are—*τεθαροσῆκασι* (Il. 9. 420, 687), *βεβίη-κεν* (Il. 10. 145, 172., 16. 22), *παρ-ώχηκεν* (Il. 10. 252); *ὑπ-εμνήμυκε* (Il. 22. 491), *δεδάηκε* (Od. 8. 134, 146), *τετύχηκε* (Od. 10. 88); *δεδειπνήκ-ει* (Od. 17. 359).

*ἰλήκησι* (Od. 21. 366) may be a Pf. Subj., see § 81; cp. *ἰλη-θι*, § 11.

These examples represent the earliest steps taken by the language towards forming the class of regular Perfects in -κᾶ. They are evidently suggested by the Perfects *βέβηκα, ἴσθηκα* &c. which are a well-established group in Homer.\*

Other Perfects of Verbs of the I-Class (§ 50) are invariable, as *κεκορυθ-μένος, πεπόλισ-το, κεκονι-μένος*. They are only found in Homer in Middle forms.

23.] The Reduplication takes the following forms:—

(1) An initial consonant is repeated with ε. This is the general rule: we need only notice the Perfects in which an original consonant has been lost, viz.:—

A labial semi-vowel (which we may write *F*) in *ἐ-ελ-μένος coopered in* (for *Fε-Fελ-μένος*), *εἴλυ-το* (*Fελν-*), *ἐ-οργα* (*Fέργ-ον*), *ἐ-ολπα, εἰκα*, Mid. *ἦικ-το* (unless this comes from *εἰσκα*).

A sibilant (*σ*) in *ἐ-σθηκα* (for *\*σέ-σθηκα*), *ἐ-ερ-μένος strung together* (Lat. *sero*).

\* A word may be said here on the origin of the Perfects in -κᾶ. They may be regarded as formed in the ordinary way from Stems in which a Root has been lengthened by a suffixed κ, as in *ὀλέ-κ-ω, ἐρύ-κ-ω* (§ 45), *πήσσω* (for *πηκ-γω*, cp. *ἔ-πτα-κ-ον*), *δεδίσσομαι* (for *δει-δφικ-γο-μαι*). Thus *ὀλώλεκα* is the regular Pf. of *ὀλέκω*, and *πέπτωκα, δεῖδουκα*, answer to the short Stems *πᾶκ-, δφικ-*. So *βέβηκα, ἴσθηκα* answer to (possible) Presents *\*βή-κω* (cp. *βάκ-τρον*), *\*σθή-κω*. It is not necessary to suppose an actual Stem in κ in each case; a few instances would serve to create the type. The reason for the use of the longer Stems *βηκ-, σθηκ-,* &c., was probably that the forms given by the original Stems were too unlike other Perfects. The 1 and 3 Sing. would be *\*βέβη, \*ἴσθη, &c.*

The Aorists in -κᾶ are to be accounted for in the same way. The κ may be traced in *θήκ-η*, which points to a Verb-Stem *θηκ-*. It is worth notice that in Homer the Pf. in -κᾶ is almost as exceptional as the Aor. in -κᾶ. (See Curt. Gr. p. 61, ed. 1879; Verb. ii. 206 ff.)

(2) Stems beginning with two consonants (except when the second is a Liquid), or with  $\lambda$ , usually prefix  $\epsilon$  only:  $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\phi\theta\omicron\rho\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\text{-}\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha\rho\omicron$  (but  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\tau\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ );  $\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

The group  $\sigma\phi$  has been lost in  $\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\delta\text{-}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (either  $\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\phi\alpha\delta\text{-}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\phi\alpha\delta\text{-}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ) *pleasing*, and  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\theta\alpha$ .

The group  $\delta\phi$  has the effect of lengthening the vowel of the Reduplication in  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha$  (for  $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\phi\iota\alpha$ ),  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{-}\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ .

Initial  $\beta$  (which generally stands for original  $\phi\rho$ ) gives  $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ , as in  $\epsilon\rho\rho\kappa\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\phi\rho\rho\gamma\text{-}$ ),  $\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ . Sometimes  $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ , as  $\epsilon\rho\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\phi\rho\eta\text{-}$ , cp. Lat. *ver-bum*). One Stem reduplicates  $\rho$ , viz.  $\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\pi\omega\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ , from  $\beta\upsilon\pi\acute{\omega}$ .

Note also  $\epsilon\mu\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , Mid  $\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  (probably for  $\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\mu\omicron\rho\epsilon$  or  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\mu\omicron\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\mu\alpha\rho\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ ); and  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  (instead of  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ , Pres.  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\text{-}\omega$ ).

(3) Stems with initial vowel followed by a single consonant usually repeat these two letters (the vowel taking the quantity of the short Stem); as  $\delta\pi\text{-}\omega\pi\alpha$  *I have seen*,  $\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron$  *was driven*. This is called Attic Reduplication.

A vowel and two consonants are repeated in  $\epsilon\gamma\rho\text{-}\acute{\eta}\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha$  *I am awake* (but see Curt. Verb. ii. 141).

(4) Where Attic Reduplication is not admitted, the vowel quantity is increased if possible; e. g.  $\epsilon\phi\text{-}\acute{\eta}\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\delta\pi\text{-}\tau\omega$ ),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\text{-}\acute{\eta}\kappa\iota\sigma\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ),  $\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ),  $\acute{\eta}\sigma\chi\upsilon\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

(5) In a very few cases the Reduplication is lost, viz.:—

$\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$  (for  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$ ).

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  (3 Plur.) *await*, Plpf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{-}\mu\eta\nu$ , Part.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (with irregular accent).

$\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  *are shut in* ( $\phi\epsilon\rho\gamma\text{-}$ ), Plpf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\sigma\alpha\iota$  ( $\phi\epsilon\sigma\text{-}$ ) *thou hast put on*, Plpf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\sigma\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron$ . In the 1 Sing.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$  and Part.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  the  $\epsilon\iota$  may be due to the loss of the  $\sigma$ , (as in  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$  for  $*\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ). For the 3 Sing. which occurs once (Od. 11. 191) the best MSS. give  $\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (the reading of Zenodotus), others  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ : an oracle in Hdt. 1. 47 gives  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$  (Il. 12. 340) *had been shut* (of gates) may be for  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\chi\text{-}\alpha\rho\omicron$ , (related to  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omega$  as  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\alpha$  to  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\text{-}\omega$ ). The similar form  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\omega\gamma\alpha$  *I command* seems as yet unexplained.

In  $\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\nu\text{-}\tau\omicron$  (Il. 24. 125) the short  $\acute{\iota}$  may be due to the vowel following; so  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\text{-}\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (Il. 2. 316); moreover the Stem  $\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}$  (for  $\phi\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}$ ) is already reduplicated (Curt. Verb. ii. 148). On  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\text{-}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  see § 26, 5.

(6) The Reduplication in  $\delta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  *they welcome*, seems to be that of the 'Intensive' forms, as in  $\delta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\delta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ : see § 61. The form belongs to  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\text{-}\nu\upsilon\mu\iota$ , not  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (see Veitch).

24.] In the 3 Plur.—

1. The long Stem with  $\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  (for  $\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\text{NTI}$ ) is comparatively rare:—

$\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  (Il. 4. 325),  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  (Il. 4. 434),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\acute{\eta}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  (Il. 15. 664),  $\tau\epsilon\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$  (Il. 9. 420, 683),  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$  (Il. 10. 419).

These forms evidently result from *generalising the Stem in -a*. So we have  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\text{-}\alpha$  (Od. 1. 337),  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\sigma\iota$  in Herodotus and even in Attic.



2. The final consonant of the Stem is sometimes aspirated before the -*ῶται* (for -*νται*) of the Mid.; as *ἐπι-τετράφ-αται* are *entrusted*, *τετράφ-ατο* were *turned*, *ἔρχ-αται* (*ἔργ-*) are *shut in*, *ὀρωρέχ-αται* (*ὀρέγ-ω*) are *stretched out*, *δειδέχ-αται* (*δείκ-νυμι*) *welcome*. The later aspirated forms of the Act., such as *εἴληφα*, *κέκοφα*, are entirely unknown to Homer.

3. An anomalous *ε* for *ι* appears in *δει-δέχ-αται* (*δείκ-νυμι*, see § 23, 6), *ἐρ-ηρέδ-αται* (*ἐρεῖδ-ω*, cp. *ἡρισ-μένος* Hesych.), and *ἀκ-ηχέδ-αται* (*ἀκαχίζω*).

In Od. 7. 86 *χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἑληλάδατ'* (La R.) the reading is uncertain, some good MSS. having *ἑρηέδατ'*.

25.] **Confusion of Long and Short Stems.** 1. The long Stem is found with a Heavy Ending in *εἰλήλουθ-μεν* *we are come* (we might read *εἰλήλυθ-μεν*), *ἄωρτο* (for *ἄορτο*?) *was hung*, and the anomalous *ἐγρ-ήγορ-θε* (Imper.) *keep awake*, Inf. *ἐγρήγορ-θαι*. Again, the Stem of the Present appears in *συν-έρρηκ-ται*, *λέλειπ-ται*, *ἔζειγγ-μέναι*, *ἡρήρεισ-το* (*ἐρεῖδ-ω*). Note that the irregularity only occurs where the syllable is already long by 'position.' It is evidently due, in the latter group, to the influence of the Present.

2. A short Stem occurs with Light Endings in *δεῖδια* (instead of \**δεῖδοια* for *δέ-δφοια*: cp. *δεῖδι-μεν* for *δε-δφι-μεν*). Also in *ἀνα-βέβρῳχεν* (Il. 17. 54), for which Zenodotus had *ἀνα-βέβροχεν*, the correct Pf. answering to the Pres. *βρέχ-ω*.

3. In Dissyllabic Stems we have to note that—

The syllable following Attic Reduplication is often long throughout, as *ἔδ-ῶδυσ-ται*, *ἔλ-ήλα-ται*, *ἄρ-ηρο-μένος*, *ἄκ-ηχε-μένος*. It is short in *ἐρέμπ-το*, *ἀκάχη-μαι*, *ἀλάλη-μαι*.

Homer has *εἰλ-ήλουθα* (Part. *ἐλ-ηλουθ-ώς*, Il. 15. 81); also (less commonly) *ἑλήλυθα*: and so *κατ-εήριπε* is *fallen* (Mid. *ἐρέμπ-το*).

For *ἔδηδοται* in Od. 22. 56, we should probably read (with Aristarchus) *ἔδηδ-αται*, the regular 3 Plur.

26.] **The Perfect Participle** was formed originally from the short Stem, but there are exceptions in Homer, due partly to the *F* of the Suffix (*-Fώς*, *-Fῖα*, *-Fός*), partly to the general tendency to adopt the form of the Sing. Indic. as the Stem. Thus the Homeric Pf. Part. is intermediate between the primitive formation with the short Stem (as in Sanscrit), and the nearly uniform long Stem of Attic. In particular—

1. When the Masc. Ending *-ώς* (*-όςτος*) follows a vowel, one or both of the concurrent vowels may be made long: *μεμᾶ-ότε*, *μεμα-ῶτε* (both for *μεμᾶ-Fότε*). So *γεγᾶ-ώτας*; *ἐμ-βεβᾶ-ώτας*;

πεφυ-ώτας; κεκμη-ῶτι; τεθυη-ότος, τεθυη-ῶτα; πεπτε-ῶτα (for πεπτη-ότα). Both are short in ἔστα-ότες.

In τετρίγ-ῶτας (Il. 2. 314) and κεκλήγ-ῶτες (with v.l. κεκλήγοντες Il. 16. 430) the *ω* of the Ending is unexplained.

2. When -ῶς follows a consonant, the Stem takes the vowel or diphthong of the long form, as ἀρηρ-ῶς, μεμηκ-ῶς, λεληκ-ῶς, εἰοικ-ῶς, πεποιθ-ῶς, ἐοργ-ῶς. We once find a Fem. εἰοικ-υῖαι.\* But οἶδα, εἶδ-ῶς, Fem. εἶδ-υῖα and ἰδ-υῖα; once εἰκῶς (Il. 21. 254).

But γεγον-ῶς (instead of γεγα-ῶς) is post-Homeric.

3. A long vowel appears (perhaps *metri gratia*) in τεθυηυῖα; πεπτηυῖα; τετρηχ-υῖα (cp. παραχ-ή); πεπληγ-υῖα (cp. ἐ-πλήγην); βεβριθ-υῖα; πεφρικ-υῖα; τετρίγ-υῖα.

4. The *κ* of the Indic. (§ 22. 7, 8) only appears in βεβρω-κῶς, τετυχη-κ-ῶς, δεδαη-κ-ότες, ἀδη-κ-ότες—all rare words.

5. The form πεφυζ-ότες *flying* (only in Il. 20 and 21), seems to be formed from the Noun φύζα, without the intervention of any Tense-Stem.

This account will apply also to—

κεκοπ-ῶς (Il. 13. 60), from κόπ-ος *striking*.

δεδουπ-ότος (Il. 23. 679) *having fallen with a thud*. (The regular form would be δεδουπη-ῶς, or rather perhaps ἐγδουπη-ῶς, cp. ἐ-γδούπη-σαν).

συν-οχωκ-ότε (Il. 2. 219) *sloping in*, from ὠκωχή *a stay or buttress*.

ἀδη-κ-ότες, ἀρη-μένος in which the *α* of ἀδη-ν, ἀρη is retained, against analogy.

It is in favour of this view that many Denominative Verbs form the Pf Part. without the corresponding Indicative, as κεκοτη-ῶς and the others given above.

27.] **Thematic Perfects.** Sometimes the Stem of a Perfect takes the Thematic Vowel, and is inflected accordingly. The chief instances are—

From ἀνωγα: 3 Sing. ἀνώγει, which has a Present sense in several places, though more commonly it is a Past Tense; Impf. ἤνωγο-ν, ἀνωγε, Inf. ἀνωγέ-μεν, Opt. ἀνώγο-ιμι, Imper. ἀνωγέ-τω. Similarly from γέγωνα (Od. 6. 294 &c.), we find Impf. ἐγέγωνε, Inf. γεγωνέμεν (also γεγάνειν or γεγωνεῖν, Il. 12. 337). (See La Roche, H. T. 196).

From πέπληγα (found in Homer only in the Part.), we have ἐ-πέπληγο-ν and πέπληγο-ν, Mid. πεπλήγε-το, Inf. πεπληγέ-μεν. Similarly ἐ-μέμηκο-ν (Part. μεμηκ-ῶς, μεμάκ-υῖα), κεκλήγο-ντες (v.l. Il. 16. 430).

The isolated 1 Sing. δεῖδω *I fear* (for δεῖδια) may be explained in this way. It has been conjectured however (by G. Mahlow in K. Z. xxiv. 295) that the true

\* Il. 18. 418. The form εἰοικυῖα is found in—

καλὴ Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας εἰοικυῖα

quoted by Athenaeus xiv. p. 632 as an instance of a line defective in quantity. It does not occur in the text of Homer, but seems to be a variant for Il. 8. 305—

καλὴ Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῶσιν.

form is δαῖδα (for \*δαῖδοια). Cobet would read δαῖδα for δαῖδω wherever it occurs (Misc. Crit. p. 270).

The forms μέμβλε-ται (Il. 19. 343), μέμβλε-το (Il. 21. 516), fall under this head; we do not know what the Non-Thematic form was (Curt. Verb. ii. 217).

From μέμνη-μαι we find Opt. μεμνέμετο (Il. 23. 361), apparently produced by transference of quantity from μεμνή-οιτο, and therefore Thematic. For the regular 1 Sing. Opt. μεμνή-μην (Il. 24. 745), some MSS. have μεμνοί-μην, as if from \*μέμνο-μαι. The 2 Sing. Ind. μέμνη (Il. 15. 18) also points to \*μέμνο-μαι rather than μέμνη-μαι (Curt. Verb. ii. 226).

We may add δρώρε-ται, Subj. δρώρη-ται (each occurring once), and ἐδῆδε-ται, read by Hdn. in Od. 22. 56.

28.] **Meaning of the Perfect.** The Perfect denotes a lasting condition or attitude (ἐξίς). If we compare the meaning of any Perfect with that of the corresponding Aorist or Present, we shall usually find that the Perfect denotes a permanent *state*, the Aor. or Pres. an *action* which brings about or constitutes that state. Thus, δαίω *I kindle*, δέδωκε *blazes*, or (better) *is ablaze*; κύβη *hid*, κέκευθε *has in hiding*; ὀρ-νυ-ται *bestirs himself*, ὄρωρε *is astir*; ὤλε-το *was lost*, ὄλωλε *is undone*; ἤραρε *fitted* (Trans.), ἄρηρε *fits* (Intrans.); ταρασσώ *I disturb*, τετρήχει *was in disorder*; μέιρο-μαι *I divide*, ἐμμορε *has for his share*; τεύχω *I make*, τέ-τυκ-ται *is by making* (not *has been made*); ἔφυ *grew*, πέφυκε *is by growth*.

Thus the so-called *Perfecta praesentia*, βέβηκα, ἔστηκα, γέγηθα, μέμνημαι, πέποιθα, οἶδα, οἶκα, κέκτημαι, &c., are merely the commonest instances of the rule.

Note the large number of Homeric Perfects denoting attitude, temper, &c. Besides those already mentioned we have—παρ-μέμβλωκε *is posted beside*, δέδορκε *is gazing*, ἔρριγε *shudders*, τέτηκα *I am wasting*, μέμυκε *are closed* (of wounds), δεδάκρυσαι *art in tears*, δίδεγμαί *I am in wailing*, ὀρωρέχαιο, *were on the stretch*, πεποτή-αται *are on the wing*, κέκμηκα *I am weary*, προ-βέβουλα *I prefer*, δαῖδια *I fear*, ἰολπια *I hope*, τίθηπα *I am in amazement*, τέτληκα-ς *thou hast heart*, πέπνυται *has his senses*, δειδέχ-αται *welcome* (in the attitude of holding out the hand, while δεικνύ-μενος denotes the action), together with many Participles—κεχηγώς *agape*, κεκαφηγώς *panling*, πεπιτηγώς *cowering*, συν-οχωκότῃ *bent together*, κεκοτηγώς *in wrath*, τεπιτηγώς *veered*, ἀδηκώς *sated*, μεμηλώς *in thought*, πεφυλαγμένος *on the watch*, δεδραγμένος *clutching*, λελιημένος *eager*, κεχολωμένος *enraged* &c. So in later Greek; ἐξηθηγός (Thuc. 2. 49) *in eruption*, ἐσπουδασμένος *in haste*.

Verbs expressing sustained sounds, esp. cries of animals, are usually in the Perfect: γέγωνε *shouts*, βέβρυχε *roars*, κεκληγώς, λεληγώς, μεμηκώς, μεμυκώς, τετριγώς, ἀμφ-ιαχυνία. So in Attic, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς (Dem.).

With Verbs of *striking* the Perfect seems to express continuance, and so completeness: κεκοπώς, πεπληγώς, βεβολή-ατο *was tossed about*, βεβλήκει *made his hit*, ἤρηρειστο *was driven home*.

Note the number of Imperatives of the Perfect in Homer: τέτλαθι, μέματε, δέδεξο, τέθναθι, δαῖδιθι, κέκλυθι, ἄωαχθι; Mid. τετύχθω *let it be ordered*, τετράφθω *let him keep himself turned*.

(In later Greek this use seems to be confined to the Middle: *μὴ πεφόβησθε do not be in alarm, πέπαυσο silence.*)

This circumstance alone would condemn the explanation which derives the Perfect meaning from the notion expressed by the English Perfect with *have*, (e.g. *οἶδα I have seen, therefore I know*). In fact the number of Homeric Perfects which can be rendered by *have* is very small. The chief instances in the Active are, *ἔοργας hast done, ὅπωπα I have seen, ἀλίλουτε has left, πέπασθε ye have suffered, ἔδηδ-ώς, βέβρωκ-ώς having eaten*; they are somewhat commoner in the Middle. Yet in the use of these Perfects (and probably in the Perfect of every period of Greek) we always find some *continuing result* implied. There is nothing in Greek like the Latin idiom *fuit Ilium (= is no longer), vixi (= I have done with living)* &c.

The Intransitive meaning prevails in the Perfect, so that the Act. is hardly distinguishable from the Mid.: cp. *τέτευχε* and *τέτυκται*, *πεφυνγώς* and *πεφυγμένος*, *γέγορα* and *γεγέννη-μαι*. Compare also the Pf. Act. with the Pres. Mid. in such instances as *ὄλωλα* and *ὄλλυμαι*, *πέποιθα* and *πείθομαι*, *βέβουλα* and *βούλομαι*, *ἔολπα* and *ἐλπομαι*. The forms *τέτροφα*, *ἐφθορα* are Intrans. in Homer, but Trans. in Attic: and an Intrans. or almost Passive meaning is conspicuous in the Homeric group of Participles *κεκοτηώς*, *τετιγώς* (= *τετιγ-μένος*), *κεκορηώς* (= *κεκορη-μένος*), *βεβαρηώς*, *κεχαρηώς*, *κεκαφώς* (§ 22, 8).

### Thematic Tenses.

29.] **The simple Thematic Present.** The Stems which fall under this description generally contain the longer form of the Verb-Stem, with the same vowels as in the Non-Thematic Pres. (§ 6, § 12). They may be classified, according to the Stem-vowel, as follows:—

- (1) η (for ā): as *λήθ-ο-μαι I forget* (λᾱθ-, § 22, 1).

With this group may be placed *θάλπ-ω to warm*, and *λάμπ-ω to shine*, in which the α is probably original & shortened before -λπ-, -μπ-. In such a case it is evident that the two forms of the Stem become indistinguishable.

ν is lost in *φάε shone* (Od. 14. 502), *λάε seized, pinned* (Od. 19. 230—of a dog holding a fawn); cp. *πι-φαύ-σκω, ἀπο-λαύ-ω*. The full Stem is *φᾱν* (φᾱf-), *λᾱν* (λᾱf-); the α is shortened before another vowel, as in *φά-ος* (φᾱ-εα). If the vowel of *φάε*, &c. is *naturally* short, they belong to § 30; cp. *ἔχραε* (§ 31, 1).

- (2) ει: as *πείθ-ω (πιθ-) I persuade*, *εἶδ-ε-ται (Fid-) seems*. Sometimes ι, as *τρίβεται to rub*, *ἵκω I am come* (Doric *εἵκω*).

For *νιφ-έμεν to snow* (Il. 12. 280) the better reading is *νειφέμεν*.

- (3) ευ: as *φεύγ-ω (φϋγ-) I fly*, *σεύ-ω (σϋ-) I urge on*.

But υ in *ἀν-έ-ψυχον were refreshing* (Il. 13. 84). In the group *πνέω, πλέω, θέω, βέω, κλέω, νέω, χέω*, the original form may be *\*πνεύ-ω* &c. (becoming *\*πνεφ-ω, πνέ-ω*) or *\*πνέφ-ω* &c.; see § 51, 3.

- (4) ερ, ελ: as *δέρκ-ο-μαι I behold*, *ἐλπ-ομαι I hope*; cp. § 31 (4).

(5) *εν*: as *πέν-ε-σθαι* *to labour*, *μέν-ω* *I wait*; cp. § 31 (5).

(6) *ε* in other combinations: as *λέγ-ω*, *ἔχ-ω*.

Note the forms which arise from the loss of *σ* between vowels, as *τρέ-ω* (for *τρέσ-ω*, cp. *ἄ-τρεσ-τος*), *ζέ-ει* *boils*, *νέ-ομαι* *I come* (*νύσ-τος*); see Append. B.

30.] **Thematic Present with short Stem.** This combination occurs in a few instances, viz. *ἄγ-ω* (cp. the Aor. *ἤγ-ᾶγ-ον*), *μάχ-ομαι*, *γράφ-ω*, *ἄχ-ο-μαι* *I am vexed* (Aor. *ἤκαχον*); *βλάβ-εται* *fails, breaks down*; *ἀπο-δρύν-οι* (Opt.) *tear off*; *βόλ-εται* *wishes, watch*, *ᾄδ-ομαι* *I care*; *δίον* *ran*, *δί-εσθαι* *to chuse*, Opt. *δί-οιτο*; *ἔφθιε* *wasted away* (but see § 51, 1); *ἔκιον* *moved*, Part. *κι-ών*.

With initial *α*: *ἄρχ-ω*, *ἄγχε* *choked*, *ἀντεσθαι* *to meet*, *αἰθόμενος* *burning*, *αἶδετο* *felt shame*, *αὔω* or *αῶω* *kindle*, *αὔε* *shouted*.

Under this head may be placed the Thematic forms of *εἰμί* *I am*, and *εἶμι* *I go*; viz. Impf. *ἔ-ον*, *ἦ-ον* (the 3 Sing. *ἦε* may belong to *ἦια*), Opt. *ἔ-οις*, *ἔ-οι*, *ἔ-οι* (Il. 14. 21), Part. *ἔ-ών*, *ἔ-ών*.

For the group *ῥω*, *φύω*, *δύω*, *θύω*, *λύω*, *ξύω*, *έρύω*, see § 51, 4.

Notes. 1. The forms *βόλεται* (Il. 11. 319), *ἰβόλοντο* (Od. 1. 234), *βόλεσθε* (Od. 16. 387), were restored by Wolf; see Buttmann, *Lexil. s. v.*

2. It is possible that in some of these cases Thematic are substituted directly for Non-Thematic forms. Cp. § 18; also § 31, n. 2. This substitution has almost certainly taken place in the Thematic forms of *εἰμί* and *εἶμι*; possibly also in *ἔφθιε* (Mid. *ἔ-φθι-το*), and *ἔκιον* (Pres. *κι-νν-μαι*).

*δί-ον*, *δί-εσθαι* may be similarly related to *δίη-μι* (Impf. *ἔν-δίε-σαν*, Mid. *διε-νται*). If so, the Thematic *ε* or *ο* has in this case replaced the original *η* (*ε*), instead of combining with it. In any case these forms have nothing to do with *δίε* (for *δφλε*) *feared* (§ 31, n. 2).

3. In the group with initial *α*, *ἄγχ-ω*, *ἄρχ-ω*, &c. the difficulty *prima facie* (as in *θάλπω*, *λάμπω*, § 29. 1) is the want of a criterion between long and short forms. But comparison with the Sanscrit forms makes it probable that these Stems are *short*. Thus, *ἄγχ-ω* = Sanscr. *dh-ati*, so that *ἀν-* represents the 'nasal vowel' (see § 37, and cp. *ἀμφί*, Sanscr. *abhi*). Again, *αἶθ-* answers to the Sanscr. Root *idh-*. Similarly, *αὔ-* (for *αὔσ-*) in *αὔ-ω* *kindle*, represents the Root *ush-*, cp. *Æol.* *αὔ-ως* with Sanscr. *ush-ás*; the corresponding long Stem appears in *εὔ-ω*, *Lat. uro*. Thus it is probable that in this group of words the *α* is 'prothetic' (as in *ἀμέλγω*, *ἄφεθλον*, &c.), and the Stem therefore short (De Saussure, *Mém.* pp. 276 ff.).

4. Several of the forms now in question do not occur in the Present Indicative (at least in Homer); consequently it is more or less doubtful whether they are Presents at all. This remark applies to—

*ἀποδρύν-οι* (Il. 23. 187, 24. 21).

*ἀντεσθαι* (*ἤντετο* in Il. 22. 203 looks like an Aor.).

*αἰθόμενος*, only used in the Part.

*αἶδετο* (Part. *αἰδόμενος*).

*αὔη* (Od. 5. 490 La Roche; al. *αὔοι*).

*αὔε* (Il. 11. 461, 13. 477, 20. 48, 51).

ἰφθα (Il. 18. 446).

δίον, δίοσθαι (Il. 16. 246 *ἐπεὶ κε δίηται when he shall have chased*).

ἱκίον, which is a common word in Homer. The Part. κίων is accented as an Aor.; but this is not decisive, cp. ἰών, λών. Compare § 32; also § 72, n. 2.

31.] **The Thematic Aorist.** The Tense-Stem is formed by the short form of the Verb-Stem, *plus* the Thematic ε or ο; we may distinguish the following groups:—

(1) With ᾱ, the corresponding long form containing ᾱ or η: λάθ-ε-το *forgot*, εὔαδε (\*ἐ-σφαδ-ε) *pleased*, δι-έτμαγον *parted*, ἐ-χραε *assailed* (χραῦν-, χραῖν-), δάηται *shall be burned* (δᾱν-, δᾱῖν), &c.

(2) ι (ει): ἐ-στίχ-ο-ν (στείχ-ω) *marched*, ἐπῆθοντο *obeyed*, ἐπιον *drank*, ἱκέσθαι *to come to*, λιτέσθαι *to entreat*, κίχε *caught*, δίε *feared*, ἥριπε (ἐρείπ-ω) *fell*, ἥρικε *was torn*, κρίκε *creaked*; λιπεῖν, ἰδεῖν.

(3) υ (ευ): κύθε *hid* (κεύθ-ω), ἔκλυον *heard*, ἄμ-πνυε *recovered breath*, ἥρυγε *bellowed*, ἔστνυγον *felt disgust (hate)*, ἔκτυπε *sounded*; ἔτνυγον, ἐφνυγον, ἤλυθον, πυθέσθαι.

The long form sometimes has υ, as μύκον *roared*, Pf. μέμυκα.

(4) With ᾱρ, ρᾱ (the latter the more common) interchanging with ερ, ρε: ἐ-πράθ-ο-μεν (πέρθ-ω) *we sacked*, κατ-έδραθον *went to sleep* (in Attic κατ-έδαρθον), ταρπώμεθα *let us take pleasure*; ἔδρακον, ἔδραμον, ἔτραπον, ἔβραχε.

When ερ, ελ, come before the Thematic Vowel (instead of being followed by a consonant, as in περθ-, πρᾱθ-), the ε is dropped, as ἔγρ-ε-το *was roused*, ἐ-πλ-ε-το *turned, came to be*. But we find ᾱλ in ἔβαλον (cp. βέλ-ος).

ορ, ολ are found only before ε or ο: ἐ-πορ-ο-ν *furnished*, ἔθορε *leaped*, ἔτορε *pierced*, ἐκ-μολε *came out*, ὤρετο *was stirred up*, ὀλέσθαι *to perish*.

(5) ᾱ, interchanging with εν: ἐ-παθ-ο-ν *suffered* (cp. πέρθ-ος, Fut. πέλομαι for \*πειθ-σομαι), ἔλαχον *obtained as share*, ἔχαδε *contained* (Fut. χέλομαι). Sub-group, Stems with—

ᾱμ, ᾱν, only before ε or ο: ἐ-καμ-ο-ν *wearied*, τάμεν *cut*, ἔθανε *died*, ἔκτανον *killed*. Once εν, viz. γεν-έ-σθαι *to become*.

The Subj. δά-ηται *shall learn* probably comes from a Stem δᾱσ-, long form \*δενσ-, from which we have δῆ-νεα *wiles*. The short Stem is also seen in δέ-δαεν.

(6) Loss of ε ('syncope'): ἐ-σχ-ο-ν *held* (ἔχω for \*σέχ-ω); ἔσπετο *followed* (for ἐ-σπ-ετο, from ἐπομαι for \*σέπ-ομαι, cp. Inf. ἐπι-σπέσθαι, &c.); ἐπι-πτι-έ-σθαι *to fly over*; possibly ἔζετο *sat* (for ἐ-σδ-ετο; see Ahrens, Gr. Form. § 95).

If 'syncope' is impossible the ε is retained, as in ἔ-τεκ-ον *brought forth*. So when ε is initial, as ἐλ-εῖν *to take*, ἐρ-έσθαι *to ask*; cp. § 22, 4.

Notes. 1. Putting together the Indic. Act. ἀπ' ἡύρων *took away* (1 Sing. and

3 Plur), *ἀπηύρας*, *ἀπηύρα*, Mid. *ἀπ-ηύρα-το* (read before Wolf in Od. 4. 646), the Part. *ἀπούρας* (Mid. *ἀπουράμενοι* in Hes. Sc. 173), and the Aor. *ἐπ-αυρείν*; and adopting (from Ahrens) the division *ἀπο-ύρας*, which seems necessary to account for the *ο*, we have—

(1) A Stem *-υρά-* (in its short form).

(2) A Stem *αύρά*, in which *αυ* is for original *α*, on the principle explained in § 30, n. 3.

(3) Forms as if from *\*αύρά-ω* (on the principle of § 18).

(4) A Thematic Stem *αύρε* or *-ο*, alternating with *αύρά-*; for which variation cp. *ἔ-πτα-το flew*, Inf. *πτε-σθαι*, Part. *-πτό-μενος*.

2. The forms *ἔ-κλυον heard* (Imper. *κλυ-θι*), *ἔ-πιον drank* (*πι-θι*, Ar. Vesp. 1489), *δέε feared*, may be results of change from the Non-Thematic conjugation. So perhaps *ἔ-κικχον* from *ἔ-κίχην* (§ 30, n. 2). The Imperfects *ἔ-φθ-ον*, *ἔδδ-ον* which might be thought to stand on the same footing, contain a Suffix *-γε* or *-γο* (§ 51, 4), and thus are distinguished in formation (as they are in meaning) from the Aor. *ἔ-φθ-ν*, *ἔ-δδ-ν*.

3. The form *ἔχραισμεν* (Inf. *χραισμεῖν*) *availed* is apparently formed from a Noun, probably *χρήσιμος useful* (Curt. Verb. ii. 13). So, according to Curtius, *ἔμαρτ-εῖν to miss*, from *\*ἔ-μαρ-το without part in*. The derivation of *ἡλι-το-ν* in this way from *ἄλ- wander* he now regards as doubtful (Gr. p. 557, ed. 1879).

32.] In several cases it is difficult to say whether a particular form is an Aorist. Some of these have been given in § 30, n. 4: others may be added here. (See also § 72, n. 2.)

*ἀγέροντο were assembled*, Inf. *ἀγέρεσθαι* (so accented in MSS.), Part. *ἀγρ-όμενοι*. The *ε* is only lost in the Part., whereas in the undoubted Aor. *ἔγρ-ετο* the form *ἔγερ-* never occurs (Opt. *ἔγροιτο*, Inf. *ἔγρεσθαι*).

*ὤφελον ought* (= *would that*) bears a different sense from the Aor. *ὤφλον*, but is indistinguishable from the Impf. *ὤφελον* (Od. 8. 312 *τὸ μὴ γείνασθαι ὤφελον*, so Il. 7. 390, 24. 764, Od. 14. 68, 18. 401). Hence *ὤφελον* is probably an older form of the Imperfect which has survived in this particular use.

*ἤλδανε made lusty* may well be Impf. (Od. 18. 70, 24. 368).

*γόνον bewailed* (Il. 6. 500) is perhaps an Aor. from the Noun *γόος*; so possibly *ἔπλεσθαι to get ready*, from *ἔπλο-ν*, and *θέρμε-το grew warm*, from *θερμός*.

*ἀπ-ήχθε-το* is recognised as an Aor. in Homer (the Pres. being *ἀπ-εχθάνο-μαι*), although a Present *ἔχθο-μαι* is found in Attic. The simple *ἤχθετο* (Od. 14. 366, *ἔχθεσθαι* Od. 4. 756, *ἔχθόμενος* Od. 4. 502) is called Impf. by Veitch; but the meaning in the three places seems to be the same as in *ἀπ-ήχθετο*—not *was hateful*, but *came to be hated*—, and to be that of an Aorist.

*ἔπλεν, ἔπλε-το*, &c. Curtius denies that these are Aorists (Verb. ii. 9). Certainly the Impf. meaning suits *ἔπλεν* (Il. 12. 11); and it is suggestive that the syncopated forms in Homer are only those which would otherwise be inconvenient or impossible in the verse. On the other hand—

(1) *ἔπλετο* occurs in the 'gnomic' use, e. g. Il. 2. 480—

*ἥντε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔροχος ἔπλετο πάντων*

and so in Od. 7. 217. This use is not found with the Impf.

(2) *ἔπλετο* with the meaning of a Present can only be explained as an Aor. = the English Pf. with *have*; *has turned out, has come to be*, (and so is). Cp. Il. 12. 271 *νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀπάντων* now it has become. So with another Aor. similarly used, Il. 15. 227 *πολὺν κέρδιον ἔπλετο, ὅτι ὑπύειν* it is better that he has yielded: see also Il. 19. 57, Od. 20. 304.

33.] Comparison of the Thematic 'Strong' Aorists found in Homer with those of other periods of Greek brings out strikingly the relation between the Homeric and the later dialect.

It may be assumed that the Strong Aorists, like the Strong Preterites in English, were a diminishing class, never added to (except by learned imitators of the Epic style), and gradually superseded by the more convenient forms in -σα. Hence the comparative frequency of these Aorists in an author indicates either an early date or (at least) the use of an archaic style.

Curtius enumerates altogether 117, of which 84 are found in Homer. Of these 84, again, about 30 occur also in prose, while as many more are used in the later poetical style (ἐλακον, ἔκλον, ἔκλυον, μολεῖν, πορεῖν, &c.). Of the non-Homeric examples only one, viz. αἰσθέσθαι, belongs to the language of prose; about 15 are found in good early poetry (e.g. δικάειν, θιγαῖν, κανεῖν, βλαστειν, in Attic dramatists); most of the others are evidently figments of learned poets, imitated from actual Homeric forms, e.g. ἔδαιεν (from Homeric δέδαιεν), ἔμμορον, ἔδουπε.

These facts seem to show both the high antiquity of the Homeric language and the position which it held as the chief though not the only source of the poetical vocabulary of historical times.

34.] The Reduplicated Thematic Present. This formation appears in a few instances only:—

μί-μν-ετε *await* (μῆν-ω).

πίπτει *fell* (πετ-).

ἴσχει *holds* (for \*σι-σχ-ει, from \*σεχ-).

ἵζει *sits* (for \*σι-σθ-ει, from σεδ-).

γίγνεται *becomes* (γεν-).

τίκτω (for τι-τκ-ω, from τεκ-).

δίξει *sought* (Thematic form answering to δίξη-μαι, § 16).

ἰαυ-εις *sleepest* (Aor. ἄεσα, for ἀφε-σα, *I slept*, cp. αὔξω and ἀέξω).

The Root is in the short form; the vowel of the reduplication is always ι.

ἰάχω (for Fi-Fáchω) is generally given as a Present. But ἰάχε is an Aor. in Il. 18. 219 δτε τ' ἰάχε σάλπιγξ (§ 79), and *may* always be so in Homer.

35.] The Reduplicated Aorist. These Tenses are formed with the short Stem, and either (1) reduplication of an initial consonant with ε, or (2) Attic Reduplication. The following are the chief examples:—

(1) ᾱ: ἐκ-λέλαθ-ον *made to forget*, λελαβέσθαι *to seize*, κεκαδών *seetering*, κεκάδοντο *yielded*, κεχάροντο *rejoiced*, ἄμ-πεπαλόν *brandishing on high*, τεταγών *grasping*, ἦγ-αγ-ον *led*, ἐξ-ήπαφε *deceived*, ἦραρε *fitted*, ἦκαχε *teased*.

(2) ι: πεπιθ-οιμεν *may persuade*, πεφιδέσθαι *to spare*.

(3) υ: τετύκ-οντο *made for themselves*, πεπύθοιτο *may hear by report*, κεκύθωσι *shall hide*.

(4) ᾱρ, ρᾱ, ᾱλ, λ: τετάρπ-ετο *was pleased*, πέφραδε *showed forth*, ἀλ-αλκε *warded off*, ἐ-κέ-κλ-ετο *shouted* (κελ-).



(5) ᾶ, ν (for εν): λελάχ-ητε (Subj.) *make to share*, δέδαεν *taught*; \*  
ξ-πε-φν-ε *slew* (cp. πέ-φᾶ-ται *is slain*).

(6) Loss of ε: ξ-τε-τμε *found, caught* (τεμ-?); ξειπον *said*  
(probably for ξ-Fe-Feπ-ον).†

(7) A peculiar Reduplication is found in ἡρύκακε (Pres. ἐρύκ-ω)  
*checked*, and ἡνίπαπε (ἐνιπή) *rebuked*.

These Aorists are exclusively Homeric, except ἡγαγον and  
ξειπον (Attic εἶπον). They are mostly Transitive or Causative in  
meaning; compare ξ-λαχο-ν *I got for my share*, with λέλαχο-ν  
*I made to share*; ἄρηε *is fitting*, with ἡραε *made to fit*, &c.

The Inf. δεδάσ-θαι (Od. 16. 316) is not to be connected with the Perf. Part.  
δεδα-ώς, but with the Reduplicated Aorist δέδαεν *taught*. We must either  
read δεδαί-σθαι, or suppose that -αί-σθαι has passed into -άσ-θαι by Assimilation  
(§ 55). In either case the sense is *to have oneself taught*.

36.] **Aorists in -ᾶ.** Besides the usual forms of ξ-ειπο-ν (εἶπο-ν)  
we find a 2 Sing. εἶπα-ς (Il. 1. 106, 108), or ξ-ειπα-ς (Il. 24. 379),  
2 Plur. εἶπα-τε (Od. 3. 427).

For the Attic ἡνεγκον Homer has ἡνείκα, Opt. ἐνείκα-ι, &c.  
The only Thematic form is the Inf. ἐνείκέ-μεν (Il. 19. 194).

#### *Stems with ε in the Present.*

37.] The principle of the classification of Stems in §§ 29 ff. is that Stems with ε  
as the radical vowel are *long*; so that (for instance) λέγ-ω and ἔχ-ω are to be  
ranked with λήθ-ομαι, πείθ-ω, φεύγ-ω, whereas εγ-ω and γράφ-ω are parallel to  
λάθ-ετο, ἐπίθ-οντο, ἐφυγ-ον. This cardinal proposition has been quite recently  
established by Prof. Fick (Bezenberger's Beiträge, iv. 167 ff.) and independently  
by M. de Saussure in the remarkable book already quoted. These writers have  
shown that the Aorists hitherto accounted for by 'syncope'—viz. ἔσχε-ον,  
ἔπλε-ετο, &c.—contain the Verb-Stem in the true short form, answering to the  
longer form in the Presents ἔχ-ω (for \*σέχ-ω), πείλ-ομαι, &c. In other words  
they have obtained the proportion—

$$\text{πειθ-} : \text{πῖθ-} :: \text{σεχ-} : \text{σχ-}.$$

It is evident that in these Verbs the long form (σεχε-, πελε-, &c.) is prior  
to the short one: and a strong presumption is raised in favour of the view that  
this is so in all cases. Fick accordingly infers that the Strong Aorist Stem is  
always derived from the Present Stem, either (1) by shortening one of the long  
vowels α, ι, υ, or (2) by leaving out ε—the consonants ρ, λ, ν becoming in certain  
cases ρρ, ᾶλ, ᾱ. And De Saussure extends the second process so as to include all

\* To be placed here if it is from a Root δενσ-, cp. § 31, 5.

† The difficulty in the way of this explanation is that in the inscriptions which  
distinguish the original diphthong εἰ (written EI in all periods) from the sound  
arising from contraction or 'compensatory' lengthening (written E in the older  
Attic inscriptions, afterwards EI), the word εἶπε is always written with EI (Cauer  
in Curt. Stud. viii. 257). It may be that the pronunciation of εἶπον was influenced  
by the analogy of εἶδον, λέιπω, πείθω, &c., in which the εἰ was originally a true  
diphthong.

possible cases; holding that  $\tau, \upsilon$  in the Pres. stand for older  $\epsilon\iota, \epsilon\upsilon$ , and that  $\alpha$  (Ion.  $\eta$ ) was originally a kind of diphthong (=  $\epsilon\alpha$ ).

When  $\epsilon$  remains in the Short Stem because the syllable would otherwise become unpronounceable (as in  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ ), De Saussure calls the result a *permutation forcée* (Mém. p. 215). We may speak of it as the *irreducible case* of a Verb-Stem with  $\epsilon$ .

The combinations  $\alpha\rho, \rho\alpha, \alpha\lambda$  which occur in short Stems for the  $\epsilon\rho, \rho\epsilon, \epsilon\lambda$  of the Present Stem represent the primitive 'liquid vowels' (Sanskrit.  $\text{ॠ, ॡ}$ ). That is to say,  $\alpha\rho, \rho\alpha, \alpha\lambda$  appear where we are led by analogy to expect  $\rho, \lambda$ , and where the corresponding Sanskrit forms have  $\text{ॠ, ॡ}$ . Accordingly we only find  $\alpha\rho, \rho\alpha, \alpha\lambda$  where a vowel is necessary for pronunciation. If a vowel is not necessary, the  $\epsilon$  of the Pres. is dropped, and  $\epsilon\rho$  or  $\epsilon\lambda$  becomes  $\rho$  or  $\lambda$ , as in  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\text{-}\epsilon\tau\omicron$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\tau\omicron$  (like  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\tau\omicron$ . But  $\epsilon\lambda$  becomes  $\alpha\lambda$  before a vowel in  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (cp.  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ); so  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$  (§ 42).

Similarly, the  $\alpha$  which represents the short form of  $\epsilon\mu, \epsilon\nu$ —i.e. the (hypothetical) 'nasal vowels'  $\text{ॡ, ॢ}$ —only appears before a consonant. Before a vowel the  $\epsilon\mu, \epsilon\nu$  of the long Stem is either reduced to  $\mu, \nu$ , as in  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , or becomes  $\alpha\mu, \alpha\nu$ , as in  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . So  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\eta$ , § 42.

The form  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , from the Stem  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\text{-}$  (short forms  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}, \gamma\nu\text{-}$ ), is properly a Present Stem, to be compared with the Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ .

Initial  $\epsilon$ , however, is retained in  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  to *ask*, and  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  to *take*. This is a kind of 'irreducible'  $\epsilon$ . We may compare the  $\acute{\epsilon}$ - of  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}$  (§ 12, note), and generally the use of 'prothetic' vowels in Greek.

The Thematic Aorists with  $\omicron\rho, \omicron\lambda$  form a distinct group. An ingenious explanation of them is given by De Saussure, Mém. p. 262 ff.

**Metathesis**, accompanied by lengthening of the Stem-vowel, generally occurs in the Stems which contain the combinations  $\alpha\lambda, \alpha\mu, \alpha\nu, \omicron\rho, \omicron\lambda$ ; e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , Dual  $\zeta\upsilon\mu\text{-}\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{-}\tau\eta\nu$ , Mid.  $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{-}\tau\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\eta\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\eta\text{-}\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\lambda\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\omega\text{-}\kappa\epsilon$ ; so  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\eta\text{-}\kappa\alpha$  ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ), and  $\gamma\eta\nu\text{-}$  in  $\gamma\eta\acute{\nu}\text{-}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , &c. It is to be noticed that most of these Stems appear also in a *dissyllabic* form (cp.  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\mu\nu\omicron\nu$  a *dart*,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ); but it is uncertain whether the lengthening of the vowel is connected with this fact. In two Perfect Stems,  $\tau\epsilon\tau\lambda\alpha\text{-}$  and  $\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\alpha\text{-}$ , the vowel is short in spite of metathesis: but this is confined to the Pf., cp.  $\tau\lambda\eta\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\eta\eta\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

38.] The account which has been given of the forms assumed by the Stem in the different Tenses may now be summed up in a tabular form:—

Long. Pres.	$\epsilon$	$\alpha, \eta$	$\epsilon\iota, \bar{\iota}$	$\epsilon\upsilon, \bar{\upsilon}$	$\epsilon\rho, \rho\epsilon$	$\epsilon\lambda$	$\epsilon\mu$	$\epsilon\nu$
„ Pf.	$\omicron$	$\alpha, \eta, \omega$	$\omicron\iota$	$\epsilon\upsilon, \omicron\upsilon, \bar{\upsilon}$	$\omicron\rho, \rho\omicron$	$\omicron\lambda$	$\omicron\mu$	$\omicron\nu$
Short	nil	$\alpha$	$\gamma$	$\upsilon$	$\alpha\rho, \rho\alpha$	$\alpha\lambda$	$\alpha$	$\alpha$
Before a vowel	—	—	—	—	$\rho$	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$
						$\alpha\lambda$	$\alpha\mu$	$\alpha\nu$

From the analogy of these columns it appears that a Root has in general three forms:—

1. A form which in most cases contains  $\epsilon$ , and is used in the long Stem of the Present and Strong Aorist. This may be called the *E-form*.

2. A form containing *o*, used in the long Stem of the Perfect (except the Perfects with *ā, η, εω*). This may be called the *O-form*.
3. A *short form*, in which the radical *E* or *O* disappears.

*Compound Tenses (Non-Thematic).*

39.] The Tense-Stems which remain to be discussed are formed (like the Presents in *-νῆμι* and *-ννῆμι*) by means of a characteristic Suffix. Of these Tense-Stems three are Non-Thematic, viz. those of the Aorists formed by the Suffixes *-σά*, *-η*, and *-θη*.

It is important to notice the difference between these formations and the Perfect and Aorist Stems which take *-κᾶ*. The Suffix *-κᾶ* in such cases is not characteristic of the Tense-Stem. It is only found as a rule with certain Person-Endings.

40.] The Aorist in *-σά* (called 'Sigmatic' and 'Weak\*' Aor.). The Suffix *-σά* is joined to the E-form of the Verb-Stem, as *ἔ-βη-σά-ν*, *ἔ-φῦ-σά*, *ἔρρηξε* (*ῥηγ-*), *ἤλειψα-ν* (*ἀλειφ-*), *ἔ-πνευ-σα-ν* (*πνευ-*), *ἔ-ει-σα-το* *he went* (*εἰ-μι*); *ἔδδεισε* (for *ἔ-δδ-ει-σε*) *feared*.

The following are the chief varieties:—

1. Verb-Stems ending in a Dental or *σ*, preceded by a short vowel, form *-σά* or *-σᾶ*: thus we have *ἤρεσσα* and *ἤρεσα* (for *ἤ-ρετ-σα*, from *ἔρετ-*); *ἔσ-σατο*, *ἔσασθαι* (*ἔσ-*); *σβέσ-σαι*, *τρέσ-σαι*; *ἔσας*, *ἔφ-έσσα-το* (*ἔδ-* for *\*σεδ-*); *ἔ-θλασε* and *θλάσ-σε*, *σπάσασ-το*, *ἔ-δάσ-σα-το*, *ἔσ-ε-μάσ-σα-το*, *νάσ-σα* (§ 51, 2); *χάσασ-το* (cp. *ἔ-χαδε*), *ἔ-φρασά-μην* (*φραδ-*), *ράσασ-τε* (*ράδ-*), *πασά-μην* (*πατ-*); *ἐλλισά-μην* (*λιτ-*), *ὠδύσασ-το* (*ὀδυσ-*).

Verbs in *-ζω* form the Aorist in this way,† as *ᾤπασα*, *ἐκόμισσα*, *ἔεινισεν*, *ἤρμοσε*; or (less commonly) in *ξᾶ*, as *ἔξενάριξα*, *δαΐζαι*, *μερμήριξε*, *ἐγγυάλιξε*. *ἀρπάζω* forms *ἤρπαξε* and *ἤρπασε*.

2. Derivative Verbs in *-αω*, *-εω*, *-οω*, *-υω* usually form the Aor. with a long vowel (in *-ῆσα*, *-ῶσα*, *-ῦσα*). But the Verbs in *-εω* often form the Aor. in *-εσσα*, *-εσα*; not only the Verbs derived from Noun-Stems in *-εσ*, such as *τελέω*, *νυκτέω*, *ἀκηδέω*, but also several Verbs derived from Masc. Nouns in *-ος*; e.g. *ἐκορέσ-σατο* *was satiated* (but Pf. *κεκορη-μένος*), *κοτέσ-σατο* *was enraged* (*κεκοτη-ός*), *πόθεσαν* *longed for* (*ποθή-μεναι*).

Other examples of *σσ* in the Aor., though the Verb-Stem cannot be shown to end in *σ* or a Dental, are: *ἠγάσσατο* (*ἀγα-μαι*) *was amazed*, *ἐτάλα-σσα* *endured*, *κέρα-σσε* *mixed*, *πέρα-σσα* *sold*, *ἤλα-σσα* *drove*, *ἤρα-σάμην* *loved*, *ἔδαμα-σσα*

\* The term 'Weak' implies formation by means of a Suffix. It was suggested by the analogy between the two Aorists and the Strong and Weak Preterites of the Teutonic languages.

† I. e. as if the Verb-Stem ended *-δ* (*-ζω* being for *-δγω*). On *-ξα* for *-γ-σα* see Curt. Grund.<sup>5</sup> p. 632.

*tamed*, ἡλά-σσονται (Subj.) *shall appease*, καλέ-σαι *to call*, ὀλέ-σαι *to destroy*, ἐτά-νυ-σσα *stretched*, ἐκά-νυ-σαι *panted*, ἐρύ-σσαμεν *drew*, ἄε-σα *slept*, λοί-σσατο *washed*, ὀμό-σαι *to swear*, ὀνό-σσατο *made light of*; see § 51, and Append. B.

When -σα is preceded by a *short* vowel there is always a collateral form in -σσα. The only exceptions are σκορέ-σαι *to strew* and κρεμά-σαι *to hang*, and these are due to metrical reasons.

3. With Verb-Stems ending in μ, ν, ρ, λ, the σ is usually lost, and the preceding vowel lengthened, ε becoming ει: as ἐ-γῆμα (γαμ-), κρηῆναι (κρᾱι-, § 55), ἐπ-έ-τειλα (τελ-), ἐ-φίλα-το (φίλ-), ἡγευρα (έγερ-), χήρα-το (χαρ-).<sup>\*</sup> A few Stems retain σ: ὤρ-σα, ἔλ-σα-ν, κέλ-σαι, ἄρ-σαι, ἀπό-ερ-σε, ἐ-κερ-σε, κύρ-σα-ς, φύρ-σω. This is the rule when the ρ or λ of the Stem is followed by a Dental, as in ἐ-περσε (for ἐ-περθ-σε), ἡμερσε; so κένσαι (for κεντ-σαι); but the ν is lost in ἐ-σπεισα (for ἐ-σπενδ-σα).

The Verb-Stem ὀφέλ- makes an Aor. Opt. ὀφέλλειε: see § 53.

41.] **Aorist in -σε or -σο.** Several Stems form a Weak Aorist as a Thematic Tense, with ε or ο instead of ᾱ: viz. ἐ-πесо-ν (πετ-), and the Homeric ἰξο-ν, ἐ-βήσε-το, ἐ-δύσε-το (δυσό-μενος Od. I. 24); Imper. πελάσσε-τον (Il. 10. 442); λέξε-ο, ὄρσε-ο, οἶσε-τε; Inf. ἀξέ-μεναι (Il. 23. 50, 111).

The forms ἰβήσετο, ἰδύσετο were preferred by Aristarchus to those in -ᾱτο: see Schol. A on Il. 2. 579., 3. 262., 10. 513. They were regarded by ancient grammarians as Imperfects (Schol. A on Il. 1. 496); and this view is supported by one or two passages, esp. Od. 10. 107, where ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην κατεβήσετο must mean *she was going down to the spring* (when the messengers met her). So in the Participle, Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ἰπέρωνος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος, and Il. 5. 46 οὗτ' ἵππων ἐπιβρόμενον *pierced as he was mounting his chariot*, cp. 23. 379.

The forms ἔπесо-ν, ἰξο-ν, ἀξέ-μεναι, &c. answer closely to the Sanscr. Preterite in -sa-m, as á-diksha-m. (See Append. A.)

42.] **The Aorist in -η-ν.** The Stem of this Tense is formed by suffixing η to the short form of the Verb-Stem. This η becomes ε in the 3 Plur. in -εν (for original -εντ), the Opt. and the Part. (i. e. before ι and ντ). The Person-Endings are those of the Active, but the meaning is always either Intransitive or Passive: e. g. ἐ-χάρ-η *rejoiced*, ἐ-δάη *was taught*, ἐ-φάν-η *appeared*, τράφ-η *was nurtured*, ἐ-άλ-η *shrank* (Stem Fελ-), δι-έ-τμαγ-ε-ν *parted asunder*, ἐ-πάγ-η, ἐ-δάμ-η, ἐ-άγ-η, ἐ-βλαβ-εν, ἐ-μίγ-η, &c.

The Stem is long in ἐ-πλήγ-η, (cp. ἐ-πέπληγ-ον, πληγ-ή). The Inf. τεροσή-μεναι (τεροσηναι), which occurs in Il. 16. 519, Od. 6. 98, need not be an Aorist: see the similar forms in § 19. The Part. ἀνα-βροχέν (Od. 11. 586) is not connected with ἀνα-βέβροχεν (§ 25), but with the Root βροχ-; see Buttmann, Lexil For the form ἐάγη in Il. 11. 559 is probably to be read the Pf. Subj. ἐάγη.

\* The form ἦρα-το, which is usually taken to be an Aor. of ἄρ-νυ-μαι, may stand to ἀρίσθαι as ἐ-πτά-το to πτίσθαι, ἀνα-το to ὀνο-μαι, δέε-νται to δέε-σθαι, (see however Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 400).

43.] **The Aorist in -θη-ν.** The Stem of this Tense is formed by the Suffix -θη. The Person-Endings are the same as those of the Aorist in -η, and the meaning is Passive or Intransitive.

In later Greek the Verb-Stem is in the E-form; e.g. ἐ-δήχ-θη-ν, ἐ-λείφ-θην, ἐ-ζεύχ-θην; but this rule does not seem to hold in Homer; e.g. Homer has ἐ-ρύχ-θη *was made*, Attic ἐ-τεύχ-θη. So we find the short Stem in κατ-έ-κτᾶ-θεν (κτεν-), τᾶ-θη (τεν-), τάρφ-θη (τέρπ-ω), τραφ-θῆ-ναι (τρέπω), ἐ-στᾶ-θη (Od. 17. 463), λῦ-θη, ἐξ-ε-σύ-θη, ἐ-φθί-θεν.

The Stems of κλίνω and κρίνω vary in regard to the ν: we have ἐ-κλίν-θη and ἐ-κλί-θη, κρίν-θε-ντες and δι-ε-κρί-θε-ν.

44.] **Meaning of the Passive Aorists.** The Aorist Stems in -η and -θη appear to have originally had an Intransitive sense, of which the Passive sense was a growth or adaptation. This transition is seen in ἐχάρη *rejoiced*, ἐδᾶν *learned*, ῥύη *flowed*, ἐφάνη *appeared*, ἐφράσθη *observed*, δυνάσ-θη *was able*, πέλᾶσ-θε-ν *drew near*, πειρή-θη *he made trial*, αἰδέσ-θη-τε *feel shame*, νεμεσσή-θη-τε *be indignant*. In these instances the Passive grows out of the Intransitive meaning (as in the Middle forms it grows out of the Reflexive meaning).

Similar transitions of meaning may be found in the Perfect (§ 28, *fin.*) the Aorist (ἐσβη *was quenched*), and even in the Present, as ἐκπίπτειν *to be driven out*, κεῖται *is laid down* (as Pf. Mid. of τίθημι), and πάσχω *itself*.

In respect of form these Aorists are to be compared with the Non-Thematic Stems in η(ε) which retain the long vowel except before ι and ντ, as κίχῃ-την (§ 12), especially with the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs (§ 19). Accordingly their Intransitive meaning is to be connected with the fact that the corresponding Thematic Verbs—those in -εω—are mainly Intransitive.

The Aorists with Stems in α and ω formed by contraction (§ 19) are parallel on this view to the Aorists in -ην. Thus γηρᾶ-ναι, βῶ-ναι, ἄλῶ-ναι only differ in the quality of the vowel from δαῖ-ναι, ἀλῆ-ναι: and there might have been a group of Aorist Stems in -α and -ω, which would have been related to the Verbs in -αω, -οω, as the Aorists in -η-ν to the Verbs in -εω.

The Aorists in -η-ν and -θη-ν are formations peculiar to Greek, and were doubtless developed along with the separation of Present and Aorist which (as Curtius shows, Verb. ii. 1 ff.) had hardly been completed in the time of Homer. It is worth notice that the three Aorists that have a distinctive Suffix agree in avoiding the Thematic Endings, while the Impf. tends to adopt them, as in ἐτίθει, ἔδιδου, ὤμνυε, &c. The reason doubtless was that the Thematic inflexion already prevailed in the Present. Thus a distinction of form was gained which was especially needed for the Aorists in -η-ν. Forms like ἐφίλει (which at first, as we see from φιλή-μεναι, was only an 'ungrammatical' variety of ἐφίλη) were adopted as Imperfects, while ἐμίγη &c. were retained as Aorists.

#### *Thematic Present (with Suffix).*

45.] In the forms to which we now proceed the Verb-Stem

receives a Suffix which serves to distinguish the Present Stem; as τύπ-τω, κάμ-νω, βά-σκω, κτείνω (for κτεν-ιω or κτεν-γω).

These Suffixes may be compared with other elements used in the same way, but not confined to the Present; as κ in δλέ-κω to *destroy*, ἐρύ-κω to *restrain*, διώ-κω to *chase*, γ in τμή-γω to *cut*, σ in αὔξω (*aug-εο*), θ in σχέ-θε *held*, ἔσθειν (*ἐδ-θειν*) *eat*, βρῖ-θο-ν *were heavy*, πλή-θεν *was full*, ἔρε-θε *provoke*, φλεγέ-θει *blazes*, μινύ-θει *diminishes*, φθινύ-θει *wastes*, ἔργα-θεν *kept off*, θαλέ-θο-ντες *blooming*, μετ-έ-κία-θον *moved after*, ἡερί-θο-νται *flutter*, ἡγερέ-θο-ντο *were assembled* (ἀγερ-, in ἀγείρω), &c. These elements are called by Curtius Root-Determinatives (Chron. p. 22 ff.). See Append. B.

46.] **The T-Class.** The Suffix -τε, -το is usually found with a Verb-Stem ending in a *labial mute* (π, β, φ), as ἐνιπ-τε *rebuke* (ἐνιπ-ή), σκέπ-τεο, χαλέπ-τει *annoys*, ἄπ-τω, τύπ-τω, κρύπ-τω (κρύφ-α), νίπ-τεσθαι (χέρ-νιβ-α).

The Stem is in the short form; the corresponding long forms are generally wanting.

This Suffix is combined with Reduplication in ἰ-άπ-τω (for γι-γάπ-τω, cp. Lat. *jac-io*) *I hurl*, which occurs in Od. 2. 376 κατὰ χροά καλὸν ἰάπτῃ *shall maltreat* (lit. *knock about*) *her fair flesh*.\*

47.] **The Nasal Class.** The Suffix is -νε, -νο or ἄνε, ἄνο, as φθά-νει *comes first*, τι-νων *paying (a penalty)*, κάμ-νε *grew weary*: -ἄνε, -ἄνο after a mute, as ἡμάρτ-ανε *missed*.

The syllable before -ανε, -ανο is usually the short Stem of the Verb with ν inserted, as ἀνδ-άνει *pleases* (ἀδ-), λανθ-ανό-μην, πυνθ-άνο-μαι &c. But the long Verb-Stem appears in ληθ-άνει *makes to forget*, ἐ-κεύθ-ανον *hid*.

This Suffix is combined with Reduplication in πιμ-πλά-νε-ται (Il. 9. 679), ἰσχάνω (\*σι-σχ-άνω), ἰζάνω (\*σι-σδ-άνω?).

Verbs in -νω are probably derived (in part at least) from Non-Thematic Stems in -νυ. It has been already noticed (§ 18) that -νυ passes into -νε, -νο, as δμνῶ for δμνυ-μι: but in other cases the ν is lost. Thus the Stem ἀ-νυ- (ἡ-νυ-το ἔργον *the work sped on*) gives a Thematic ἀνίω, and also ἀνεται (ᾱ) *draws to an end*. So τί-νυ-ται *punishes* and τί-ναν, φθίνῶ (φθινύ-θω) and φθίνειν. And ἐλαύνω is probably for ἐλα-νύ-ω. The long vowel in φθίνω, φθάνω points to the intermediate forms φθι-νφ-ω, &c. (Curt. Verb. i. 243 ff.), as the Homeric ξείν-ος represents ξείν-φ-ος.

Some of the Verbs given in § 53 may be really of the Nasal Class; e. g. ἄλλομαι may be for ἄλ-νο-μαι (cp. ἄλλυμι for ἄλ-νυ-μι).

\* With ἰ-άπ-τω (γαπ-) I would connect ἰ-άφ-θη, in the phrase ἐπὶ δ' ἄσπις ἰάφθη καὶ κόρυς (Il. 13. 543, 14. 419), said of a warrior's shield, which falls with or after him. Curtius has shown that it cannot be explained from ἄπτω; but his proposal to derive it from ἔπ-ω, on the analogy of ἰ-γράφθη from γρέπω, is not tenable (Verb. i. 120). For the aspirate of ἰάφθη (for ἰ-γάφθη) compare ἔηκα, ἔεστο, &c.

48.] **Stems formed by -'σκε, -σκο** (the Iterative Class of Curtius). These are of two kinds—

(1) Without Reduplication, as βά-σκε *go*, βό-σκει *feeds*, φά-σκε *said*, λιά-σκο-νται *propitiate*; with Metathesis, θνή-σκο-ν *died*, θρώ-σκουσι *leap*, προ-βλω-σκέ-μεν *to go before* (βλω- for μλω-).

(2) With Reduplication, μι-μνή-σκε-ται *is reminded*, κί-κλη-σκειν *called*, γι-γνώ-σκω *I know*, πί-φau-σκε *showed*, δει-δίσκει-το *welcomed*.

Stems ending in a consonant sometimes insert ι, as ἀπ-αφ-ι-σκει *deceives*, ἀρ-αρ-ι-σκει *fitted*. A final consonant is lost before σκ in δι-δασκέ-μεν (for δι-δαχ-σκε-), ἔϊσκω (cp. ἱκ-ελος), τι-τύσκει-το (τύκ- or τῦχ-); probably also in μίσγο-ν (for μῑγ-σκο-ν) and πάσχω (for παθ-σκω).

49.] **Iterative Tenses.** The Suffix -σκε, -σκο is also used to form a number of Past Tenses with Iterative meaning, as ἔσκε (for ἔσ-σκε) *used to be*, ἔχε-σκε *used to hold*, καλέ-εσκε, πηλέ-σκε-ο (Il. 22. 433), νικά-σκο-μεν (Od. 11. 512), ῥίπτα-σκε, οἶχνε-σκε, πωλέ-σκε-το, ὤθε-σκε, &c.; and from Aorist Stems, as εἶπε-σκε, φάνε-σκε, ἐρητύ-σα-σκε, δα-σά-σκε-το, ὥσα-σκε, &c. These formations differ from the Present Stems described above (1) in carrying distinctly the notion of *repeated action* and (2) in being confined to the Past Indicative.

ἔ-φασκο-ν has sometimes a distinctly Iterative meaning in Homer, as Od. 8. 565 *Ναυσιθέου, ὃς ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων' ἀγάσασθαι*, and the Pres. φάσκω does not occur. It may be regarded as a link between the two groups of Stems with -σκ.

It is remarkable that in the Latin Verbs in -sco we may distinguish in the same way between the regular Inceptives, such as lique-sco, puer-a-sco, and the Presents, such as pa-sco, pro-flo-iscor, in which the Inceptive meaning is hardly, or not at all, perceptible. Originally, no doubt, there was a single group of derivative Stems in -σκε(ο) with the meaning of continued or repeated action.

50.] **The I-Class.** The Suffix was probably -ye, -yo in a prehistoric period of Greek: it appears in Stems of the following forms:—

a. In -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -νιω (for -ι-yω, -α-yω, &c.), the y blending with the final vowel of the Stem.

b. In -αινω, -εινω, -αιρω, -ειρω, &c., by 'epenthesis' of ι (for -αν-yω, &c.); also in -ῶνω, -ῶρω (for -υν-yω, -υρ-yω).

c. In -λλω, by assimilation of y (for -λ-yω), -σσω (for -κyω, -τyω), and -ζω (for -δyω, -γγω, also for -yω through an intermediate -δyω).

d. In -αω, -εω, -οω (for -ᾱ-μι, -η-μι, -ω-μι).

a. Verbs in -ιω, &c.

51.] The Verbs in which the original y becomes ι, thus

forming -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -νιω, are almost confined to the Homeric dialect. The chief examples are as follows:—

(1) -ιω: μήνιε *be angry*, μάστιγε *whip*, ἰδιον *I sweated*, ἀνα-κήκιε *gushed forth*, κονιο-ντες *raising dust*. The Verb-Stem ends in ι, so that (e.g.) κονιο-ντες is for κονι-γο-ντες; so probably τλώ *I honour*, φθίω *I waste away*, for τι-γω, φθι-γω. The ι therefore is 'naturally' long, but may be shortened before a vowel; hence it is usually doubtful in quantity.

(2) -αιω: δαίε-το *divided*, δαίε *kindled*, κέραε *mix*, γάλων *re-joicing*, ναλοῦσι *dwelt*, μαλε-σθαι *to feel (one's way, &c.)*, λιλαίε-αι *desirest*, ἀγαυό-μενος *indignant*: also καίω and κλαίω.

In most of these forms the Verb-Stem originally ended with σ or F. Thus ναίω is for νασ-γω (cp. the Aor. νάσσα, νάσ-θη); so δαίετο, Aor. δάσ-σαντο, Pf. δέδασται. Again, δαίω *kindle* is for \*δάF-γω, γαίω for \*γάF-γω (γαῦ-ρος, Lat. *gaudeo*).

Note that in these words δάυ- (δᾶF), γάυ-, κάυ-, κλάυ- is the short Stem—the long Stem being δάυ-, &c., as in δίδω (for δέδωFα), γέγηθα (for \*γέ-γηνθα), ἔκη (for ἔ-κηFα).

(3) -ειω: πενθείε-τον (probably for πενθεσ-γε-τον) *mourn*, μαχειό-μενος *fighting*, οἰνοβαρείων *drunken*, τέλειο-ν *brought to pass*, ἀκείο-μενοι *being healed*, νεκείη-σι *shall quarrel*, σκενέω *I shrink*.

Some Presents in -ειω come from Verb-Stems in -ῡ: πνέει *breathes*, θείη *shall run*, πλείο-ντες *sailing*, κλείουσι *celebrate*, ἐγ-χείη *shall pour in*.

Either (1) this ει is an old error for η, and represents ε lengthened by a following F,—e.g. the Verb-Stem κλύ- gave \*κλεύ-ω, \*κλέF-ω, κλήω (as in βασιλή-ος for βασιλέF-ος)—or (2) -ειω is for -εF-γω, as -αιω in καίω &c. is for -ᾶF-γω. The latter account is probably the true one (Curt. Verb. i. 299).

When the diphthongs αι, ει come before a vowel there is a tendency to drop the ι; as ἀγα-λό-μαι, 2 Plur. ἀγά-σθε (for ἀγά-ε-σθε, § 55); κερα-ίω, 2 Plur. κέρα-σθε; τέλε-ιο-ν, also τέλε-ο-ν &c. Where this tendency does not show itself, as in παίω, πταίω, σείω, it will usually be found that the diphthong belongs to the whole Verb, not merely to the Present Stem.

So perhaps ἐράσθε *ye loved*, ἰλάονται *appease*, ἔλυν *drove* (Part. ἔλυν), ἔκλυν *broke*: unless these forms are obtained by simple change from the Non-Thematic ἐρα-μαι, &c. (§ 18). See Append. B.

(4) -νιω: ὄπνιε *had to wife*.

Most of the Presents in -νιω are of this Class (original -νγω), as φύω (Æolic φυίω), θύω (ἐθνιεν Hesych.), λύω, δύω, ἰθύω, ἡπύω, διζύω. The vowel is doubtful, but only because it comes before another vowel (as was noticed in the case of Verbs in -ιω).

ἰθύω generally has υ; but ἐπ-ιθύουσι in Il. 18. 175 ought to be so divided, not ἐπ-ιθύουσι. It is a Denominative from ἰθύς (υ) *aim*.



The Verbs in *-ευω*, *-ουω* are probably also of the I-Class (for *-ευγω*, *-ουγω*). For, as Curtius points out (Verb. I. 360), they are chiefly Denominatives, and it is contrary to analogy to form a Verb by suffixing the Thematic *ε* or *ο* to a Noun-Stem.

#### b. Epenthesis of *ι*.

52.] It will suffice to give a few examples:—

*-νω*: *γείνω-μαι*, *κτείνω*, *μαίνο-μαι*, *φαίνω*, *κλίνω*, *κρίνω*, *σίνω-μαι*, *τείνω*, and with Reduplication, *τι-ταίνω* to *draw out*.

*-ρω*: *εἶρω* string, *εἶρο-μαι* ask, *ἀγείρω*, *ἐγείρω*, *κείρω*, *μείρο-μαι*, *πείρω*, *σπείρω*, *τείρω*, *φθείρω*, *χαίρω*, and, with *υ* for *ι*, *κύρω*, *μύρο-μαι*, *φύρω*, *ὀδύρο-μαι*.

The Stem is long (E-form), as the examples with the diphthong *ει* sufficiently show.

This Class includes also the numerous Denominatives in *-αινω*, *-υνω*, *-αιρω*, *-υρω*, &c.

#### c. Assimilation of *γ*.

53.] Examples: *-λλω*: *ἄλλω-μαι*, *πάλλω*, *στέλλω*, *τέλλω*; from Nouns, *ἀγγέλλω*, *ναυτίλλομαι*; with Reduplication *ιάλλω*, *ἀτ-ιτάλλω* to rear, tend, cp. *ἀτάλλω* to cherish. See however § 47 *ad fin.*

Epenthesis (instead of Assimilation) is found in *ὀφείλω* to owe.

*-σσω*: *ὄσσο-μαι* (ὄκ-), *πέσσω* (πεκ- = πεπ-), *ἐλίσσω* (ἐλικ-), *πτύσσω* (πτύχ-), *λίσσο-μαι* (λίτ-), *κορύσσω* (κορυθ-).

*-ζω*: for *-δγω* in *κλύζω*, *φράζω*, *χάζω-μαι*; for *-γγω* in *ᾄζω-μαι*, *ῥέζω*, *τρίζω*; with Reduplication, *μιμνάζω*, *βιβιάζω* to cause to go, *ἐλελίζω* to make to quiver (Il. I. 530).\*

When *-σσω* appears to be formed from *-γγω*, as in *πλήσσω* (πληγ-ή), *πρήσσω* (Attic *πρηγ-ος*), the *γ* represents an older *κ*.

Denominatives in *-αζω* are formed from Noun-Stems in *-α(η)*, as *ἀγαπά-ζω* from *ἀγαπᾶ-γω*, probably through an intermediate *ἀγαπα-δγω*. Hence *ἀγαπάω* and *ἀγαπάζω* are double forms, produced by divergent treatment of the original *-αγᾶ-μι*.

*-ιζω* is sometimes (1) for *-ι-γω*, from Noun-Stems in *-ι*, as *κιθαρί-ζω*, *ὕβρι-ζω*, *νεμεσί-ζομαι*, *χαρί-ζομαι*, *χατί-ζω*; sometimes (2) for *-ε-γω*, from Nouns in *-ο-ς*, as *αἰν-ί-ζομαι*, *μοχθίζω* (related to *αἰνέ-ω*, *μοχθέ-ω* as *ἀγαπά-ζω* to *ἀγαπά-ω*). So *αἰτίζω*, *ἀκαχίζω*, *καναχίζω*, *κοναβίζω*, *προ-καλίζομαι* answer to *αἰρέω*, &c. (Curt. Verb. I. 347).

\* Cobet (Misc. Crit.) has sought to show that the forms of *ἐλελίζω* belong in reality to *ἐλίσσω* (*Feλλισσω*). He is doubtless right in substituting *Feλιχθέντες* for *ἐλελιχθέντες* wheeling about: but it seems necessary to retain *ἐλελίζω* where the meaning is to set trembling (with intensive reduplication, like *δραχίζω*, *δολύζω*, &c.).

Traces of an intermediate form  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$  are found by Curtius in the Pf. ἀκηχέδ-ᾶται, and in the Aorists in  $-\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ , as ἤνεσα.

$-\sigma\zeta\omega$ , for  $-\sigma\gamma\omega$ , in ἀρμό-ζω (= \*ἀρμό-ω).

$-\upsilon\zeta\omega$ , for  $-\upsilon\gamma\omega$ , perhaps in ἐρπύ-ζω *creep*.

d. Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega$ ,  $-\omicron\omega$ .

54.] The vowel is originally long; thus we find in Homer—

ᾱ in πεινᾶ-ων, διψᾶ-ων, ἀνα-μαιμάει.

η perhaps in μενιωνή-ησι (Il. 15. 82), Impf. μενολινε-ον.

ω in ζώ-ει, ἰδρώ-οντες, ὑπνώ-οντας.

Perhaps some of the Presents in  $-\epsilon\iota\omega$  given above should be written with η, as ὀκνή-ω, μαχη-όμενος.

So the Pres. Part. μαχεούμενος (twice in the Od.) should probably be written μαχεώμενος (with  $-\epsilon\omega$  for  $-\eta\acute{o}$ ).

In these Verbs, according to the theory stated in § 19, we have to recognise the *substitution* of the Thematic  $-\alpha\omega$ ,  $-\eta\omega$ ,  $-\omicron\omega$  for  $-\alpha\gamma\eta(\mu)$ ,  $-\eta\gamma\eta(\mu)$ ,  $-\omicron\gamma\eta(\mu)$ , or perhaps directly for the contracted forms  $-\bar{\alpha}(\mu)$ ,  $-\eta(\mu)$ ,  $-\omicron(\mu)$ . That is to say, an original πεινᾶ-γῆ-μι became πεινᾶ-γῶ, πεινᾶ-ω (cp. κίχῆ-μι, κίχῶ); or else it was contracted to πεινᾶ-μι, and this became πεινᾶω (as δεικνῦ-μι, δεικνῦ-ω).

55.] **Assimilation.** This term is applied to certain forms of the Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$ , in which, instead of contraction, we find *assimilation* of one of two concurrent vowels to the other, as ὀρόω for ὀράω, ὀράας for ὀράεις.

Forms of this kind may be regarded as intermediate between the contracted and the uncontracted stage. In ὀρόω, for instance, the original α has been modified by the following ω, but is not yet merged in it. They follow the rules of contraction, viz. that the α prevails over a following ε or η, but is assimilated by ο or ω. The chief varieties are as follows:—

(a) Forms with simple Assimilation—

μνᾶό-μενοι	gives	μνωό-μενοι
ἡβάο-ντες	„	ἡβώο-ντες
μενιωνᾶω	„	μενιωνῶω
ἡγά-εσθε	„	ἡγάασθε.

(β) With shortening of the first vowel—

ὀράω	gives	ὀρόω
ἐάῃ-ς	„	ἐάα-ς
αἰτιάε-σθαι	„	αἰτίδα-σθαι.

Cp. δεδάα-σθαι from δεδαέ-σθαι (§ 35) and ἀγάα-σθε from ἀγάε-σθε; Fut. ἐλώω, κρεμώω from ἐλάω, κρεμάω.

(γ) With lengthened second vowel—

δράο-ντες	gives	δρόω-ντες
δράοι-τε	„	δρόω-τε
δράει-ς	„	δράω-ς.

The lengthening is found without Assimilation in *ναιετᾶσσα*: cp. *δηϊόω-ντο*, *δηϊόω-εν*, from *δηϊόω* (or rather *δηϊώω*), and *ἀρόωσι* (Od. 9. 108) from *ἀρόω*. On *σόω-ς*, *σόω*, see § 82.

(δ) With lengthened second vowel (the first being also long), in very few forms—

δράουσι	gives	δρώωσι
ἡβάουσα	„	ἡβώωσα
μεραινάει	„	μεραινάω.

It is to be noticed, however, that in the first two, at least, of these instances there is no positive lengthening as compared with the original forms: for *δράουσι* and *ἡβώωσα* are not longer than *δράουσι* and *ἡβόουσα*. A Nom. \**δρώω-ντες* would be longer than *δράο-ντες*; but no such form is found. So, too, we do not find \**ἡβώω-μι*, but *ἡβόω-μι*, which is equal in vowel quantity to *ἡβόω-μι*. Accordingly it may be supposed either that *δράουσι*, *ἡβώωσα* come directly from *δράουσι*, *ἡβόουσα*, the two sounds *α* and *ου* being modified simultaneously into the intermediate sound *ω*; or (if we go back to the earlier forms \**δράο-νσι*, \**ἡβόο-νσα*) that the influence of the neighbouring *α* may have been sufficient to make *-ο-νσι*, *-ο-νσα*, pass into *-ωσι*, *-ωσα*, instead of (as usual) *-ουσι*, *-ουσα*.

*γελῶων* (Od. 20. 347) should be *γελόων*, from *γελόω* (perhaps a Desiderative).

Other isolated forms are;—*μενουήη-σι* (Subj.), probably from *μενουήω* (§ 54); *ἀλώω* (Od. 5. 377), 2 Sing. Imper. of *ἀλάο-μαι*, for *ἀλάου*; *χρεώ-μενος* (*εῶ*) for *χρᾶό-μενος* (like *Ἀτρεΐδew* for *Ἀτρεΐδω*). In the Pf. *κεκράαν-ται*, Aor. *κρηήναι*, the second vowel is the decisive one.

The Infinitive ends in *-άν*, not *-άν* (*δράαν*, &c.); the reason probably being that *-ειν* of the Infinitive comes from *-εεν*, so that the stages were *δράε-εν*, *δρᾶ-εν*, *δράαν*.

56.] **Contraction.** The following general rules prevail:—

1. Verbs in *-αω* are very rarely uncontracted: the MSS. give *ἰλάει* (Od. 20. 15), *δοιδιάει* (Od. 10. 227), *πέραον* (Il. 16. 367), *γοδοιμεν* (Il. 24. 664, with v.l. *γοόφιμεν*), *γοάοιεν* (Od. 24. 190).

2. In determining the choice between contracted and assimilated or open forms of the Verbs the rhythm appears to have most influence.

3. Verbs in *-αω* contract when the syllable which the Thematic vowel would otherwise form is short, as *ἡῦδα*, *ἐσύλα*, *εἶλας*, *κατέκλων*, *δρῶμαι*, *δρᾶτο*, *κυκώμενος*.

Also, when the metre requires it, as *νικᾶς*, *πειρᾶν*, *φοιτᾶ*, *τελευτᾶ*, *τρωπᾶσθε*; *ἐφορᾶς*, *καθορῶν*.

Otherwise, the contracted forms are exceptional: thus *δρῶ*,

ὄρων, ὄρωντες each occur once, but ὀρώ 7 times, ὀρών 9 times, ὀρώντες 5 times; ἡβῶμι once, ἡβώοιμι 5 times, &c.

4. Verbs in -εω very seldom contract -εο (except -εύμενος for -εόμενος), never -εω. (It is worth noticing that this rule holds in Attic for dissyllabic Verbs in -εω; see Veitch on ῥέω).

-εετε, -εεται, -εετο, -εετην, -εετω, -εετων are always contracted in the ordinary texts, -εε commonly; as ἀπειλεῖτε, φοβεῖται, ἄττει, ἐφίλει, &c. But many of these forms are not guaranteed by the metre.

In the case of -εει, -εεις, -εειν the open and the contracted forms are equally common: thus we have, without metrical necessity, δοκεῖ, καλεῖ, φιλεῖ, φοβεῖ.

But in Il. 11. 553 (= 17. 663) τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ, and Il. 21. 362 ὡς δὲ λείβη ζεῖ ἔνδον, the metre calls for τρεῖ, ζεῖ.

57.] **Synizesis.** The vowel ε sometimes coalesces with a following ο or ω, so as to form one syllable for the purpose of the metre; e. g. ἀελπτέοντες, ἡλάστῃον, ἡγίνῃον, ἐπόρθῃον (at the end of a verse), οἰκέοιτο, εἰλέωσι, χρεώμενος. Whether the pronunciation of these words differed from that of the contracted forms is a question which perhaps there are no means of determining.

#### *Meaning of Verbs of the I-Class.*

58.] Verbs in -εω are mainly Intransitive, whether formed from Adjectives, as ἀπιστέω *to be unbelieving*, or abstract Nouns, as μοχθέω *to labour*. But there is also a group of Causatives in -εω, as φοβέω *to put to flight*, τροπέω *to turn*.

Verbs in -ωω are chiefly formed from Adjectives in -ος, and are Causative, as χηρόω *to make desolate*. Exceptions are, ὑπνώ-οντες *sleeping*, ριγώω *to shudder*, βιώω *to live*.

59.] **Desideratives.** One instance in -σειω is found in Homer, ὀψείοντες (Il. 14. 37) *going to see*. A suffix -γω may be found in κακκείοντες *going to bed* (κατά-κει-μαι), πιόμενα *going to drink*, δρᾶνεις (Il. 10. 96) *thou art for doing*.

60.] **Frequentatives**, expressing *habitual* action, in -ταω, -ταζω, -τεω: as εὐχετάο-μαι, ναιετάω, οἰνοπο-τάζω, ζη-τέω (δί-ζη-μαι), λαμπετόωντι, ἐλκυστάζων.

In -ιαω, κελευτιών *shouting* (as if from an abstract Noun κελευτία), κυδιών *glorying*.

In -ναω, as ἐρυκανόωσι *keep restraining*, ἰσχανόωσι.

In -θαω, as τηλεθόωσα *blooming* (θαλ-έθω).

61.] **Intensives**, expressing actions *intensified by repetition*. These are generally reduplicated Verbs of the I-Class, the

reduplication containing either a diphthong or a second consonant, as *δει-δίσσεσθαι* to terrify, *δαι-δάλλων* working curiously, *ἐκ-παι-φάσσειν* to rush in front, *παμ-φαίνων* gleaming, *βαμ-βαίνων* staggering, *μαρμαίροντες* glittering, *κάρ-καίρε* chattered, *πόρ-φυρε* was troubled (lit. of water), *πα-φλάζοντα* splashing, *πα-πταίνων* peeping round, *μαι-μάει* rages, *δενδίλλων* (for *δελδ-*?) winking.

62.] **Collateral forms of the Present.** It is characteristic of the Homeric language that Present Stems formed in different ways from the same Verb-Stem often subsist together in actual use, as alternative forms expressing the same (or nearly the same) meaning. Thus we have *λήθ-ω*, *ληθ-άνω*, *λανθάνω*; *πύθ-ομαι*, *πυνθάνομαι*; *βά-σκω*, *βαίνω*, *βιβά-ς*, *βιβά-ζω*, *βιβάσθων*; *ἱκάνω*, *ικ-νέ-ομαι*; *ἔχω*, *ἰσχω*, *ἰσχάνω*, *ἰσχανάω*; *ἐρύ-κομαι*, *ἐρυ-κ-άνω*, *ἐρυ-κ-ανό-ωσι*; *τά-νν-μαι*, *τα-νύω*, *τείνω*, *τιταίνω* (*τι-τα-ν-γω*); *τεύχω*, *τυγχάνω*, *τι-τύ-σκομαι*; *μένω*, *μί-μνω*, *μι-μνά-ζω*.

It may be conjectured that these different forms originally expressed corresponding shades of meaning. In some cases a more specific meaning may still be traced; e.g. *φάσκω* I allege (i.e. keep saying, or perhaps try to say) has something of the Iterative force (cp. *ρίπτασκε* he kept flinging about) which in *θνήσκω*, *διδάσκω*, &c. has been softened or generalised into the ordinary meaning of the Present. Similarly the reduplication in *βίβας* striding, *μυνάζω* I stay waiting, *τιταίνω* I stretch is to be compared with that of the Intensive Verbs. The Perfect, too, may be regarded as a refined and generalised kind of Intensive; cp. the forms *λέληκα*, *κέκραγα*, *μέμνηκα*, &c. with *καρκαίρω*, *όλολύξω*, *παφλάζω*, &c.

#### Future in -σω.

63.] The Stem of the Future is formed by suffixing -σε or -σο to the Verb-Stem (in the E-form), as *φή-σει*, *δώ-σω*, *δείξω* (*δεικ-*), *ἐκ-πέρσω* (*περθ-*), *πείσομαι* (*πενθ-*), *δέξομαι* (*δεχ-*).

The Stem *ἐσ-* gives *ἔσ-σομαι* and *ἔσομαι* (3 Sing. *ἔσε-ται* and *ἔσ-ται*); so *ἔσ-σω* (*ἔσ-*). The Futures *φράσσομαι* (or *φράτομαι*), *μάσσε-ται*, *ἀπο-δάσσομαι* (*δάσο-νται*) are formed like the corresponding Aorists in -σᾶ; see § 40.

Other Verbs which have an Aorist in -σαῖ (-σαῖ) usually form the Future without σ. Thus we find:—

Aor. τελέσαι	Fut. τελέ-ω.
καλέσαι	καλέ-ουσα (Il. 3. 383).
ὀλέσαι	ὀλεῖται, ὀλέ-εσθε (also ὀλέσω, ὀλέσσεις, ὀλέσ-σει).
μαχέσασθαι	μαχέ-ονται, μαχεῖται.
κορέσασθαι	κορέ-εις.
κρεμάσαντες	κρεμόω (for κρεμά-ω, § 55).
ἐπέρασσε	περάαν (for περά-ειν).
ἐδάμασσα	δαμόω, δαμῶ.
ἤλασσα	ἐλώω, Inf. ἐλάαν.

ῶμοσα	ὁμοῦμαι.
ἐτάνυσσε	τανύω.
άνυσας	άνύω (άνύσσεσθαι as a v. l. Od. 16. 373).
ἐρυσσα	ἐρύω, ἐρύ-εσθαι (ἐρύσσεσθαι as v. l., Il. 21. 176, Od. 21. 125).
άντιάσας	άντιώω (also άντιάσεις, Od. 22. 28).
ἐκόμισσα	κομιῶ.
ἀεικίσσασθαι	ἀεικιῶ.
κτερίσαιεν	κτεριοῖσι.
	ἀγλαΐεσθαι.

It is not easy to determine (even approximately) the number of Future Stems formed like the Aorist in -σσά. In several instances the reading is uncertain: e. g. between ἀγάσσεσθαι and ἀγάσσασθαι (Od. 4. 181), ἀνύσσεσθαι and ἀνύσασθαι (Od. 16. 373), παρελάσσεις and παρελάσσαι (Il. 23. 427), ἀπουρίσσουνσι and ἀπουρήσουνσι (Il. 22. 489). Several forms may be either Fut. or Aor. Subj.: γουνάσσομαι (Il. 1. 427), ὀπάσσομεν (Il. 24. 153), εὐνάσω (Od. 4. 408), ληίσσομαι (Od. 23. 357), ἐρύσσεται (Il. 10. 44), ἀρεσσόμεθα. There remain to be mentioned: ἀρκέσει (Il. 21. 131, Od. 16. 261—should perhaps be read ἀρκέση), αἰδέσεται (Il. 22. 124., 24. 208), ὀνόσσεται (Il. 9. 55), γανύσσεται (Il. 14. 504), and from derivative Verbs in -αῖω, -ίζω, αἰχμάσσουσι (Il. 4. 324), θανμάσσεται (Il. 18. 467), ἐφοπλίσσουσι (Od. 6. 69), άντιάσεις (Od. 22. 28). On the whole it would appear that the Futures with σσ (or σ representing original σσ) are due in most instances to the analogy of the Aorists in -σσά. Distinct Stems are used in ἀρπάξω, Aor. ἤρπασεν and ἀρπάξαι, Fut. ἀρπάξων; ἀφύσσω, Aor. ἀφυσσάμενος, Fut. ἀφύξειν.

From μάχο-μαι, besides Aor. μαχέσασθαι, Fut. μαχέ-ονται, the MSS. give an Aor. μαχίσσατο, Fut. μαχήσομαι. The ancient critics were divided as to these forms: Aristarchus wrote μαχήσατο, μαχήσομαι, others μαχέσσατο, μαχέσσομαι. The form μαχέσσα-το is supported by μαχίσσασθαι; on the other hand μαχήσομαι is supported by μαχητής, μαχημον, &c. Considering the number of cases in which the language has avoided forming the First Aorist and the Future in the same way, the probability would seem to be that the MSS. are right. For γυναῖκα γαμέσσεται αὐτός, which the MSS. give in Il. 9. 394, Aristarchus read γυναῖκά γε μάσσεται αὐτός: doubtless rightly, the caesura | υ - υ υ | - - being unknown in Homer (Veitch, p. 130). The usual Fut. is γαμέω.

Verb-Stems ending in a *liquid* (ρ, λ, μ, ν) insert ε and drop the σ, as μεν-έ-ω, ἀγγελ-έω, κερ-έω, κραν-έεσθαι, ὀτρύν-έω, κτειν-έω,\* and (with contraction) ἐκ-φανεῖ (Il. 19. 104), κατα-κτενεῖ (Il. 23. 412). But some Stems in ρ form -ρσω, as δια-φθέρ-σει, ὀρ-σουσα (Il. 21. 335), θερ-σόμενος (Od. 19. 507).

Thus there is no apparent difference of formation between the Fut. μεν-έ-ω (Stem μεν-, Aor. ἐ-μεινα), Fut. ὀλέ-ω (for ὀλέ-σω, Aor. ὤλε-σα), and Pres. τελέω.

The Derivative Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω, -νω form -ησω, -ωσω, -ῶσω, the vowel being invariably long.

\* The form κατα-κτανέουσι (Il. 6. 409) is probably corrupt (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 330). κτανέοντα (Il. 18. 309) involves a use of the Fut. Part. which is hardly to be defended: see § 75.

Exceptional: διδώ-σομεν (Od. 13. 358), διδώσειν (Od. 24. 314).  
On the Futures ἔδομαι, πίομαι, δῆω, κείω, βείομαι, see §§ 59, 80.

64.] **The Future in -σεω.** The Suffix -σεε, -σεο is found in ἔσ-σείται (Il. 2. 393, 13. 317, Od. 19. 302), and πεσόνται (Il. 11. 824) which is probably for \*πετ-σεο-νται. Also, the accent of the Futures κομι-ῶ, δεικι-ῶ, κτερι-οῦσι, ἀγλαΐ-εῖσθαι points to an original \*κομι-σέω, &c.

According to some ancient grammarians the Fut. of ἀνῶ, ἱρῶ, &c. should be written ἀνωῶ, ἱρωῶ, &c.; see Schol. Il. 11. 454. 20. 452. This form in -σῶ is common in Attic (πλευσοῦμαι, &c.), and answers to the Doric Fut. in -σιω.

65.] **Futures from Perfect and Aorist Stems.** A Future Perfect meaning appears in μεμνή-σομαι *I shall remember*, κεκλή-σῃ *thou wilt bear the name*, εἰρή-σεται *will be said*, κεχολῶ-σεται *he will be in wrath*, δεδέξομαι *I will await*, πεφή-σεται (with peculiar lengthening of πεφᾶ-) *thou wilt be slain*, τετεύξεται *will be made*, λελείψεται *will remain behind*, βεβρώσεται *will be devoured*. In these cases the Fut. answers to a Perfect in actual use.

Active Futures of the kind occur in Il. 15. 98 οὐδέ τί φημι πᾶσιν ὁμῶς θυμὸν κεχαρη-σέμεν *I do not suppose I shall gladden the heart of all alike* (cp. Od. 23. 266 οὐ μὲν τοι θυμὸς κεχαρή-σεται *will not be gladdened*): Il. 22. 223 πεπιθή-σω *I will persuade*. These forms may be either connected with the Perfect (κεχαρη-ότα *rejoicing*), or with the Reduplicated Aorist (κεχάρο-ντο *were gladdened*, πεπιθεῖν *to persuade*). The latter view is supported by two other Futures of the kind; κεκαδη-σόμεθα *we will give way*, answering to the Causative Aor. κεκαδών, Mid. κεκάδο-ντο; and πεφιδή-σεται *will spare*, answering to πεφιδέ-σθαι *to spare*.

**Futures from the Passive Aorists.** Of this formation two examples at most can be found in Homer: μιγή-σει-σθαι (Il. 10. 365), and δαή-σε-αι (Od. 3. 187, 19. 325). It has been already noticed (§ 9) that there is nothing in the Greek Future answering to the distinction between the Aorist and the Imperfect, though *à priori* such a distinction is quite conceivable.

66.] The Fut. is sometimes found with Mid. Endings while the corresponding Pres. is Act. The examples in Homer are:—εἰμί, ἔσομαι; θῶ, θεύσομαι; κλαίω, κλαύσομαι; φεύγω, φεύξομαι; αἰίδω, αἰίσσομαι; κατα-νεύω, κατα-νεύσομαι; θαυμάζω, θαυμάσσεται.

With these are usually reckoned the Verbs in which the Pres. is of a different formation, as ὁμοῦμαι (ὄμ-νυμι), πεσόνται (πίπτω), τέξσθαι (τίκτω), φθήσονται (φθάνω), βήσομαι (βαίνω), καμείται (κάμνω), τεύξεσθαι (τυγχάνω), ἁμαρτήσεσθαι (ἁμαρτάνω), θανέεσθαι (θνήσκω), πείσομαι (πάσχω): also the Futures to which no Pres. corresponds, as εἶσομαι (οἶδα), δείσομαι (δεῖδια), ὄψομαι (ὄπ-).

It may help to explain these cases if we consider that the Fut.

Act. is apt to have a *Transitive* sense, as in *στήσω, βήσω, φύσω*. Hence there was a tendency to have recourse to the Middle whenever a distinctly *Intransitive* sense was wanted.

*Historical Tenses—the Augment.*

67.] The Augment takes two forms, the *Syllabic* and the *Temporal*.

The Syllabic Augment is the Prefix *ἐ-*, and is used for Stems beginning with a consonant. The Temporal Augment is a simple lengthening of the initial vowel of a Stem, the vowels *ā* and *ε* becoming *η*; as *ἤγο-ν* (*ἄγο-*), *ἤλα-σα-ν* (*ἐλᾶ-*), *ἔκε-το* (*ἰκε-*), *ᾠρ-το* (*ὠρ-*), *ἤλῃλα-το* (Pf. *ἐλήλα-ται*).\*

Many seeming exceptions are due to the loss of the original initial consonants, *F*, *σ*, *γ*. The loss of one of these consonants may generally be presumed whenever we find the Syllabic instead of the Temporal Augment. Thus—

*F* has been lost in *ἐ-άγη* and *ἐ-αἶξε*, *ἐ-άλη*, *ἐ-εἶπε*, *ἐ-ἔσ-σα-το*, *εἶδον* (for *ἐ-ἰδο-ν*), *ἐ-ώθεο-ν*; also, with contraction of *εε* to *ει*, *εἶρυ-σα* (*φερν-*), and so perhaps *εἶλο-ν*.

*σ* in *ἐ-ἔσ-σα-το* (for *ἐ-ἔσ-σα-*, from *σεδ-*), and, with contraction, *εἶπε-το* (*σεπ-*), *εἶσα-το* (*σεδ-*), *εἶχο-ν* (*σεχ-*). In these cases the *σ* passed into the rough breathing, which was then thrown back on the Augment: but *εἶχον* has the smooth breathing owing to the following *χ*.

*γ* in *ἐηκε* (for *ἐ-γῃκε*), and, with contraction, *εἶμεν* (*ἐ-ἐ-μεν*), and similar forms of *ἦμι*.

The Augment appears as *η* in *ἦ-ια* *I went* (Plur. *ἦ-ισαν* and *ισαν*); *ἠεἶδης* *thou didst know* (*φοῖδα*).†

The vowel of the Stem is lengthened after the *ἐ-* in *ἐ-ἦνδανε* (for *ἐ-σφανδανε*), *ἐ-φωνοχόει* (for *ἐ-φοινοχόει*), *ἀν-ἐ-φγο-ν* (for *ἀν-ε-φοιγο-ν*), and in Perfect Stems, *ἔωλπει* (*φελπ-*), *ἔωργει* (*φεργ-*), *ἔψκει* (*ψκ-*).

This lengthening is attributed to the influence of the Spirant, *ἐφ-* becoming *ἦφ-*, and *ἦφ-* changing to *ἔω-* (as in *βασιλέως* for *βασιλῆος*). It may however be due to the analogy of the forms with Temporal Augment.

- Initial *ρ* is nearly always doubled, initial *λ*, *μ*, *ν*, *σ* very often.

This may often be explained as the assimilation of an original initial *F* or *σ*: thus *ἐρρηξα* may be for *ἐ-φρηξα*, and so *ἐρρεξε* (*φεργ-* and *φρεγ-*), *ἐρρίγησε* (*φρίγ-*); again *ἐρρεεν* may be for *ἐ-σρεεν*, *ἐννεον* for *ἐ-σι-νεον*. So *ἐδδεισεν* (which Ar. wrote *ἐδεισεν*)

\* The form *ἄλτο* *leaped* should probably be written *ἄλτο*.

† *ἦειπεν* (Il. 10. 499) is not from *εἶπω* *to join together* (Lat. *sero*), but from *δείπω*: for, as Cobet has shown (Misc. Crit. p. 326), *δείπω* is a technical word in the sense required.



is for  $\xi\delta\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ : and so too in  $\xi\gamma\delta\acute{o}\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  the  $\gamma$  reappears which is lost in the unaugmented  $\delta\acute{o}\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

There are instances, however, to which this explanation does not apply, as  $\xi\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$ ,  $\xi\mu\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon$ ,  $\xi\sigma\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha$ . These forms are probably due to the analogy of forms such as those already mentioned; in part also to the influence of a traditional poetic dialect (Curtius in Stud. iv. 479 ff.); for a different view see the first part of Hartel's *Homerische Studien* (Berlin 1873).

68.] **The Pluperfect.** The Perfect Stem forms the corresponding Historical or Past Tense—the Pluperfect—in two ways:—

1. Simply, with the Augment (often omitted) and the Secondary Person-Endings. All Middle forms of the Tense are of this kind, as  $\xi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\text{-}\tau\omicron$ ,  $\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron$ . In the Active the examples are comparatively few, viz.  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\epsilon$  (Il. 18. 34),  $\alpha\iota\eta\eta\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon\nu$  (Il. 11. 266), and  $\epsilon\pi\text{-}\epsilon\eta\eta\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon$  (Il. 2. 219); Plur.  $\xi\text{-}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\xi\text{-}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\xi\text{-}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\alpha\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ; Dual  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{-}\tau\eta\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\eta\nu$ ,  $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$  (Il. 23. 284).

With these may be placed the Thematic forms  $\xi\text{-}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu\epsilon$  (Il. 14. 469),  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\gamma\omicron\text{-}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $\xi\text{-}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\omicron\text{-}\nu$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron$ : see § 27.

2. By Composition, with the Augment and the Suffix  $\text{-}\epsilon\alpha$  (probably for  $\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ , cp. the 3 Plur. in  $\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\alpha\text{-}\nu$ ), joined to the longer form of the Stem: e. g.  $\xi\text{-}\tau\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\eta\delta\text{-}\epsilon\alpha$ .

The 2 Sing. ends in  $\text{-}\eta\varsigma$  (for  $\text{-}\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ), as  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  (also  $\eta\delta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ ) *thou knewest*. The 3 Sing. usually has  $\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon(\nu)$  contracted  $\text{-}\epsilon\iota(\nu)$ , as  $\xi\text{-}\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ : but for the 3 Sing. of  $\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$  Aristarchus gave  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\eta$ ,  $\eta\delta\eta$ . The Plur. occurs only once in Homer, in  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  (Il. 13. 102): the Dual never.

69.] **Loss of Augment.** The Augment is so often dropped in Homer that the augmented and the unaugmented forms are almost equally numerous. It has been observed however\* that the forms without the Augment are comparatively rare in the speeches, the proportion of augmented to unaugmented forms being about 10 to 3, whereas in narrative it is about 5 to 7. It would appear therefore that the Augment is chiefly omitted where the context shows that past time is meant; and this is confirmed by the remarkable fact that the Iteratives, which are only used as Historical Tenses, do not take the Augment.

The only clear instance of an Iterative form with the Augm. is  $\xi\text{-}\mu\omicron\sigma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\omicron\text{-}\nu\tau\omicron$  (Od. 20. 7). On the forms  $\xi\text{-}\phi\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\text{-}\nu$ ,  $\xi\text{-}\phi\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon$  see § 49.

\* By Dr. Konrad Koch, in his *Dissertation De Augmento apud Homerum omisso*, Brunswick, 1868.

*Meaning of the Present and Aorist Stems.*

70.] The forms which contain the Present Stem (the Present and Imperfect Indic., with the Moods of the Present) denote *progressive* action (incipient, continued, repeated, &c.), as opposed to a *single* fact or event.

It is easy to understand why a language which distinguished these two kinds of action should have no Aorist for present time (\*βῆμι, \*λάβω, &c.). The present is not a space of time, but a point; what is present therefore is not (generally speaking) a whole action or event, but the fact that it is in course of happening. So in English we do not say *I write now*, but *I am writing now*. The mere effort of regarding an action as in present time almost obliges us to give it a progressive character.

The forms εἶμι, εἴμι, φημί, δγω, γράφω, &c., in which the Stem has the form generally found only in Aorists (§ 11, § 31), may be regarded as surviving instances of the 'Present Aorist,' i.e. of a Present not conveying the notion of progress. We may compare the English use of *I am*, *I go* (now archaic in the sense of *I am going*), *I say* (*says he*), &c. In these cases the use of a distinctly progressive form has not been felt to be necessary.

A past action may usually be regarded, if we choose, as a single fact, irrespective of its duration (ἡ βασιλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα *he reigned*, not *he continued reigning*). But an action which is thought of as contemporary with some other event, is almost necessarily regarded as progressive. Accordingly, answering to the Present *I am writing (now)*, we have the Past Tense *I was writing (when he came)*.

It follows from what has been said that a Pres. or Impf. may be used either (1) because the action intended is essentially progressive, or (2) because the time is fixed by reference (α) to the moment of speaking, or (β) to a point of time in the past. E.g. δίδωμι may mean either *I seek to give*, *I offer*, or *I am giving*; ἐδίδου either *he offered* or *he was giving*. In the second of these uses the notion of progress or continuance is only *relative*, arising from the relation of time under which the action is thought of.\*

71.] From the relative notion of progress or continuance is derived the general rule that the Impf. is used of a *subordinate* action or circumstance: Il. 8. 87 ὅφρ' ὁ γέρων . . . ἀπέταμνε . . . τόφρ' Ἐκτορος ὠκείες ἵπποι ἦλθον *while he was cutting . . . the chariot came*.

Some varieties of this use may be noticed:—

(1) The Impf. shows that a Verb stands in a special connexion with the Verb of another clause; Il. 1. 3-5 ψυχὰς Ἀΐδι προΐαψεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε *sent down the souls of heroes to Hades, while it made themselves*, &c.

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\* Aken, Hauptdata, p. 9.

Od. 8. 532 ἐνθ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ἐλάνθανε δάκρυα λείβων, Ἀλκίνοος δὲ μιν οἷος ἐπεφράσατο' ἥδ' ἐνόησε while he was unobserved by the others, Alcinoos observed him.

So Il. 7. 303 ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον,  
Αἴας δὲ ζωστήρα δίδου (gave in exchange).

Od. 8. 63 τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,  
ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἡμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

(2) The action or point of time to which the Verb in the Impf. is subordinate may be merely implied:—

Il. 4. 155 θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκει' ἔταμνον it was death then to you that I made (in making the treaty).

So in the common use with ἄρα; as σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἔησθα you were not as I thought (=you are not, it now seems).

72.] **Essentially progressive action** (incomplete or continuous) is exemplified—

(1) In the Verbs which form the Aor. from a different Verb-Stem: ὁράω I watch (Lat. *tueor*, whereas εἶδον means I descried); λέγω I relate, set forth (but εἶπον I said); φέρω I carry (but ἤνεγκον I brought); so τρέχω, ἔρχομαι (expressing different kinds of motion).

(2) In other Verbs of motion, esp. βαλῶ and ἵστημι, as Il. 21. 313 ἵστη δὲ μέγα κύμα raise up a great wave, and often in the Mid., as Il. 2. 473 ἐν πεδίῳ ἵσταντο were drawn up in the plain, παρίσταντο came and stood beside, &c.

Note 1. We should read ἵστασαν (not ἵστανσαν as a First Aor.) in—

Il. 2. 525 στίχας ἵστασαν (Bekk. La R., from the best MS.).

12. 56 τοὺς ἵστασαν ὕψι Ἀχαιῶν which the Greeks had planted; see § 73.

Od. 3. 180 τέτρατον ἡμᾶρ ἔην ὅτ' ἐν Ἀργεῖ νῆας ἔισας

Τυδείδων ἱταροὶ . . . ἵστασαν (see Ameis a. l.).

8. 435 αἱ δὲ λοετροχόον τρίποδ' ἵστασαν } Bekk. La Roche.

18. 307 αὐτίκα λαμπτήρας τρεῖς ἵστασαν }

2. The Verb ἄγω is often so used: Il. 1. 367 τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἔγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα; Il. 7. 363 κτήματα δ' ὅσ' ἀγόμην the treasures which I brought (=have brought); Il. 9. 664 τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγε whom he had brought. In this Verb, however, the Aorist meaning appears distinctly in the Participle; Il. 6. 87 ἣ δὲ ξυνάγουσα γεραίᾳ assembling (=having assembled); Il. 1. 311 εἶσαν ἄγων brought and seated (cp. 3. 48., 4. 392., 11. 827., 22. 350). Perhaps therefore these uses should be connected with the Aoristic form of the Stem in ἄγω (§ 70, note). It may be one of the Stems (like φημί, εἰμι, εἰμί), in which the distinction of Pres. and Aor. meaning was not established.

The difficulty which is felt in determining whether a form is an Impf. or an Aor. (see § 30, n. 4, and § 32 n.) may sometimes be explained on the view thus suggested. Such forms may be in reality *indeterminate*, and it may be almost an accident whether the Impf. or the Aor. sense ultimately prevails. Thus the forms ἔφην, ἦν, ἦτα are called Impf. because the corresponding Pres. is in use; but the meaning is as much Aor. as Impf. Again, ἔκιν is an Aor. in form (Part. κινών),

*ἔκλυον* is distinctly an Aor. in meaning: yet the Presents *κίω κλύω* both occur in later poetry.

(3) In Verbs expressing the *beginning* of a motion, as *ῥορνυτο* *bestirred himself* (but *ῥορτο* *arose*); *ἀφίει, προτεί, ἐπεμπε; μύθων ἦρχε* *began speech*.

This usage extends to any words which imply a continuous result; *κελεύει, ἐκέλευε, ἐπέτελλε, ἦτεε; οὐκ ἐᾷ* *will not allow; λέειπω* (*to leave* = *to keep at home*).

(4) *ἀκούω* and *πύθομαι* sometimes mean *to get to know by hearing*: as Il. 11. 497 οὐδέ πω Ἑκτωρ πύθετο *Hector was not yet aware*.

73.] A process thought of in relation to the present time, or to a point in the past, is expressed by the Impf. (=Engl. *I have been doing, I had been doing*): e. g.

Il. 6. 282 μέγα γάρ μιν Ὀλύμπιος ἔτρεφε πῆμα *has reared him up to be a mischief* (a process). Cp. Il. 1. 414 τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον; *why have I reared thee?* 9. 524 ἐπενθόμεθα *we have been accustomed to hear*. So the Participle, Il. 3. 44 φάντες *who have been saying*.

Il. 13. 665 ἦν δέ τις . . . ὅς ρ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοήν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε *who had embarked knowing*.

74.] The 'historical Present' is not found in Homer, but somewhat the same effect is often given by the use which may be called the *descriptive Imperfect*. E. g.

Il. 2. 150 νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε κούρη  
ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη, τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον  
ἄπτεσθαι νηῶν ἥδ' ἐλκέμεν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν,  
οὐρούς τ' ἐξεκάθαιρον κ.τ.λ.

The Impf. appears sometimes to be used in a description along with Aorists for the sake of connexion and variety (i. e. in order to avoid a series of detached assertions): e. g. in Il. 1. 437-439., 2. 43-45., 4. 112-119. Od. 4. 577-580.

75.] The Aorist gives the meaning of a Verb without the accessory notion of progress or continuance. Hence it asserts either a *single* momentary occurrence, or *completion*—i. e. an action regarded as an undivided whole—or a *culminating point*, in which the action is summed up. Thus *μογέω* *I am toiling*, *ἐμόγησα* (Il. 1. 162) *I have toiled*; *νοέω* *I think of*, *ἐνόησε* *perceived, understood*; *θαρσέω* *I feel confident*, *θαρσήσας* *taking courage*.

76.] When an Aorist expresses a subordinate action, it usually implies completion before the main action. (If the actions were contemporary, the Impf. would be used, § 71.) E. g.

Il. 2. 642 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελιάγρος *he was no longer living, and Meleager had died*.

If the action is regarded as subordinate to the *present* time, the Aor. is equivalent to the English Perfect with *have*. This is common in Homer in speaking of the immediate past: as—

Il. 2. 114 νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλευσατο, καὶ με κελεύει κ.τ.λ.

So Il. 4. 243 τίφθ' οὕτως ἔστητε τεθνηότες ἦδτε νεβροί; *why have you stopped?*

The reading ἔστητε for ἔστητε (Wolf, Bekk.) is supported by—

Il. 20. 178 Αἰνεία, τί νυ τόσσον ὁμίλου πολλῶν ἐπελθὼν ἔστης;

Il. 2. 323 τίπτ' ἄνω ἐγένεσθε;

Od. 10. 64 πῶς ἦλθε, Ὀδυσσεύ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

This use of the Aor. is also common in the Subj., as Il. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κε κάμω *when I have grown weary*; and in the Participle, ὡς εἰπὼν *having thus spoken*. In all such cases the Aor. expresses primarily not *past time*, but *completion*.

77.] The Participle of the Aor. is sometimes used to express *exact coincidence* with the action of the principal Verb: as βῆ δὲ . . . ἀΐξασα *went with a spring*.

This is especially found with Verbs expressing the manner (tone, gesture, &c.) with which a thing is said or done: Il. 6. 54 ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ἤυδα *shouted the words*. Il. 8. 219 ποιπνύσαντι βοῶς ὀτρύναι Ἀχαιοὺς *to make hot haste in stirring up the Greeks*. Il. 13. 597 χεῖρα παρακρεμάσας. Il. 10. 139., 16. 474. Od. 2. 422. (And cp. φεύγειν παρασεύσαντι, Arist. Eth. Nic. 4. 3, 15.)

78.] The Aor. sometimes appears to be used of present time.

(1) As in—

Il. 14. 95 νῦν δὲ σευ ὠνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας οἷον ἔειπες.

The Aor. here expresses a culminating point (§ 75), = *I have been brought to the point of blaming*.

Il. 20. 306 ἦδη . . . ἤχθηρε *has now come to hate*, i. e. *hates*.

Il. 3. 415 τῶς δὲ σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὥς νῦν ἐκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα *come to hate you as I now love you* (lit. *have got to love*; cp. Od. 8. 481).

So ἐπλετο *has come to be, is* (§ 32); Attic ἦσθην, ἐπήνεσα, &c.

By a slight boldness of expression, of a future event:

Il. 9. 412 εἰ μὲν κ' αὐθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,

ὦλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.

= *my return will have been lost*, i. e. *will be ipso facto lost*. The speaker puts himself at the (future) point of time given by the context, and uses the Tense which then becomes appropriate.

(2) Again—

When an assertion is made irrespective of time, the Pres. or Aor. is used—the Pres. for continuous and the Aor. for single or momentary action. Hence the use—

In similes, as Il. 3. 23 ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη *as a lion is gladdened* (but in v. 25 κατεσθίει *goes on devouring*): Il. 4. 75 οἶον δ' ἄστέρη ἦκε . . . τοῦ δὲ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἔενται.

Also in 'gnomic' passages, reflexions, general sayings, &c.

Il. 1. 218 *ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται μάλα τ' ἔκλυνον αὐτοῦ.*

9. 320 *κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἄεργος ἀνὴρ, ὃ τε πολλὰ ἔργως.*

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MOODS.

79.] The Moods of the Verb (properly so called) are the *Subjunctive*, the *Optative*, and the *Imperative*. It is convenient however to rank the two Verbal Nouns, the *Infinitive* and the *Participle*, along with them. The Meanings of the Moods and Verbal Nouns cannot well be discussed until we come to the chapters dealing with Complex Sentences.

#### *The Subjunctive.*

80.] **Non-Thematic Tense-Stems** form the Subj. by taking the Thematic Vowel, with the Primary Endings; except that when the Thematic Vowel enters into a diphthong, or is followed by two consonants, it becomes *η* or *ω* instead of *ε* or *ο*. Thus the scheme is—

Sing.		Dual.		Plur.	
Act.	Mid.	Act.	Mid.	Act.	Mid.
-ω	-ομαι	-εμεθον	-όμεθον	-ομεν	-όμεθα, -όμεσθα
-ης	-εαι	-ησθον	-ησθον	-ετε	-ησθε
-η (-ησι?)	-εται	-ησθον	-ησθον	-ωσι(ν)	-ωνται.

The long *η* or *ω*, it will be seen, comes in place of *ε* or *ο* wherever it can do so without disturbing the metre. Examples :

Strong Aorists : *ἔ-φθη*, Subj. *φθῇ-η* :

*ἔ-βη*, Subj. *βῇ-ω* (or *βεί-ω*), *ὑπερ-βῇ-η*, *βῇ-ομεν* (or *βεί-ομεν*) :

*ἔ-στη*, Subj. *στή-ης*, *στή-η*, *παρ-στή-ετον*, *στή-ομεν*, *περι-στή-ωσι* :

*ἔ-γνω*, Subj. *γνώ-ω*, *γνώ-ομεν*, *γνώ-ωσι* :

*ἔ-δω*, Subj. *δύ-ω*, *δύ-ης*, *δύ-η* :

*ἔ-βλη-το*, Subj. *βλή-εται* :

*ἔ-φθι-το*, Subj. *φθι-εται*, *φθι-όμεσθα* :

*ἔ-λ-το*, Subj. *ἔ-λ-εται* :

Stem *θη-*, Subj. *θεί-ω* (or *θή-ω*), *θή-ης*, *θεί-ομεν* (or *θή-ομεν*), *ἀπο-θεί-ομαι* :

Stem *ή-* (for *γη-*), Subj. *ἔ-φεί-ω*, *ἀν-ή-η* :

Stem *δω-*, Subj. *δώ-η* and *δώ-ησι*, *δώ-ομεν*, *δώ-ωσι*.

Presents : *εἰ-μι*, Subj. *ἔ-ω* (for *ἔσ-ω*), *ἔ-ης*, *ἔ-η* and *ἔ-ησι*, *ἔ-ωσι* :

*εἰ-μι*, Subj. *ἔ-ω*, *ἔ-ησθα*, *ἔ-ησι*, *ἔ-ομεν* (ἔ) :

*φῆ-μι*, Subj. *φῇ-η* :

*κίχῃ-ναι*, Subj. *κίχῃ-ω*, *κίχῃ-ομεν*.

So *ἔρεί-ομεν* as if from *\*ἔρη-μι*.

Passive Aorists : *ἔ-δάμη*, Subj. *δαμῇ-ω*, *δαμῇ-ης*, *δαμῇ-ετε* :

so *δαεί-ω*, *ἄλώ-ω*, *ἄλώ-η*, *σαπῇ-η*, *φανῇ-η*, *τραπέλ-ομεν* (Il. 3. 441., 14. 314).

Perfects: οἶδα, Subj. εἶδ-εω (Il. 14. 325, Od. 16. 236), εἶδ-ῆς, εἶδ-ῆ, εἶδ-ομεν, εἶδ-ετε, εἶδ-ῶσι: πίποισθα, Subj. πεπολθ-ης, πεπολθ-ομεν: ἔρριγς, Subj. ἐρρίγ-ησι: βέβηκε, Subj. προ-βέβηκε-η: so ἐσττήκε-η, ἀρτήρ-η, μεμήλ-η, δόλωλ-η, ὀρώρ-η, βεβρύχ-η. Aorists in -σά: ἐβήσα-μεν, Subj. βήσ-ομεν: ἤγαγα, Subj. ἀγάγ-ομεν: ἔτισα, Subj. τίσ-ετε, τίσ-ωσι: ἡμίψα-το, Subj. ἡμίψ-εται: ἡλεύα-το, Subj. ἀλεύ-εται: and many more.\*

To these should be added some forms used as Futures:—

ἔδ-ο-μαι, ἔδονται *shall eat* (cp. Sanscr. *ad-mi*, Lat. *est* for *ed-t*).

δῆ-εις, δῆ-ομεν, δῆ-ετε *shall find*, the long Stem answering to δά(σ)- in δέδαεν &c. βεῖ-ο-μαι *shall live*, from the Stem βε-; also in the form βίομαι. Evidently

βίομαι: βιώναι:: δῆω: δαῖναι.

It will be found that the Homeric uses of these words are all such as can be referred to the Subj. On πίομαι and κείω see § 59. The form δῆεις may be a trace of an older inflexion, -ω, -εις, -ει, answering to -ομεν, -ετε.

It will be seen that the longer form of the Stem is found in the Subjunctive, as φῆ-η, δώ-ομεν, ἐστήκ-η. The exceptions are, (1) the Subj. of εἶμι—in which however the ι of ἵομεν may stand for ει, and the forms ἵ-ω, ἵ-ησι may be Thematic, (as Opt. ἵοι, Part. ἵών); and (2) the forms ἀφ-έ-η (Aor. of ἀφ-έ-ημι), μυγέ-ωσι, φθέ-ωσι, στέ-ωμεν, κτέ-ωμεν, φθέ-ωμεν, θέ-ωμεν, ξ-ωμεν. These forms are the result of transference of quantity, στε-ω- for στη-ο-, &c., and it is important to notice that the last six are always scanned as dissyllables, thus forming the transition to the contracted φθῶσι, στῶμεν, &c.

Anomalous lengthening is found in μετ-είω (Il. 23. 47) for μετ-έ-ω.

On the ει for η in βεί-ω, θεί-ω, δαμεί-ω, &c. see Append. C.

81.] Contraction is not common: the forms ῆσι, φθῆσι, δῶς, δῶσι, δῶμεν, δῶσι, γνῶ, γνῶμεν, γνῶσι, ῶσι, μεθ-ῶμεν, περι-δῶμεθον, ἐπι-δῶμεθα, συν-ῶμεθα, πτῆται, occur once each in the Iliad: also the Passive Aor. φανῆ, δαῶμεν. The Odyssey has φῆ, ἀνα-βῆ, ἐπι-βῆτον, βῶσι, ἀνα-στῆ, δῶ, θῆαι. The Aorists in -θη-ν always contract, χολωθῆς, λανθῆς, ἀμερθῆς, πειρηθῆτον, πειρηθῶμεν, &c.

κεῖται, which is a Subj. in Il. 19. 32., 24. 554, Od. 2. 102, 19. 147, is probably contracted from κεί-εται, the regular form answering to the Non-Thematic κεί-ται (Curt. Stud. vii. 100).

ζώννυνται, construed with ὅτε κεν (Od. 24. 89) is regarded by Curtius as a Subj. (Verb. ii. 67). But the example is uncertain; the clause refers to past time, so that ὅτε κεν with the Subj. is quite irregular.

σῶψ and σῶψς or σοῦψς (Il. 9. 424, 681) are probably Optatives; see § 82.

μεμνώμεθα is probably contracted from μεμνέμεθα, for μεμνη-όμεθα.

\* Thus the Aor. in -σα forms the Subj. as if the α were not part of the Stem: e.g. the Subj. βήσ-ο-μεν points to an Indic. \*ἔ-βησ-μεν. And the existence of such Indicatives in an earlier period of the language is proved by the Sanscrit Aorists with S, many of which join the Person-Endings directly to the Stem, without an 'auxiliary' a (except in the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.); e.g. the Root *ji* gives *ajaiśh-am*, 3 Sing. *ajaiś* (for *a-jaiś-t*), 1 Plur. *ajaiśh-ma*, &c. See Append. A.

82.] **Thematic Tense-Stems** form the Subj. by changing  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$  into  $\eta$  or  $\omega$ .

The Subjunctive of the Thematic Aor. and Pres. frequently retains the original Person-Endings  $-\mu$  and  $-\sigma$ : e.g.  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda-\omega\mu$ ,  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda-\eta\sigma$ ;  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega\mu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\eta\sigma$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\mu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\sigma$ ;  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega\mu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\sigma$ ;  $\iota\delta\omega\mu$ ,  $\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\mu$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\sigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\sigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\sigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\eta\sigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma$ ,  $\xi\lambda\eta\sigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\sigma$ , &c. (Bekker H. B. i. 218). These Endings are also found (but rarely) with Non-Thematic Stems:  $\xi-\eta\sigma$ ,  $\iota-\eta\sigma$  (which may be Thematic), Aor.  $\delta\acute{\omega}-\eta\sigma$  (Il. i. 324), Pf.  $\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma-\eta\sigma$  (Il. 3. 353); in the contracted forms, Aor.  $\delta\tilde{\omega}-\sigma$  (Il. 3. 66),  $\eta-\sigma$  (Il. 15. 359),  $\phi\theta\eta-\sigma$  (Il. 23. 805). The 2 Sing. sometimes takes  $-\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}$ ;  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda-\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi-\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ ,  $\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ , &c.

It is interesting to observe that the loss of the primitive  $-\mu$  is common to the Thematic Indic. and the Non-Thematic Subj.; e.g. Indic.  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  and Subj.  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega-\omega$ , in contrast to Subj.  $\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega-\mu$ : just as  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron-\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega-\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  agree in contrast to  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega-\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ .

A few forms of the Aorist in  $-\sigma\acute{\alpha}$  follow the analogy of the Thematic Stems, as  $\delta\rho\sigma-\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  (Il. 7. 38),  $\delta\rho\sigma-\eta\tau\epsilon$  (Il. 23. 210),  $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma-\eta\tau\alpha$  (Il. 3. 107),  $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ , &c.

There are no clear instances of Thematic Stems forming the Subjunctive with a short vowel ( $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$ ).

The forms  $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\epsilon\alpha$  (Il. 2. 232, 233), for  $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\eta\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\eta\alpha$ , are like  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\alpha$  (Il. 11. 380) in which the  $\eta$  forms a short syllable.

In Il. 14. 484  $\tau\tilde{\eta}$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$ ,  $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ , Hermann's conjecture  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  is found in two of La Roche's MSS., and in any case the  $\kappa\epsilon$  is unsuitable to the sense.

In Od. 4. 672  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\sigma\mu\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  we may write  $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , the Aor. Subj. Three places remain to be mentioned.

Il. 1. 66  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\pi\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\omega\tilde{\nu}$   $\kappa\acute{\nu}\iota\sigma\eta\varsigma$   $\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\tilde{\nu}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\tilde{\nu}$   
 $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$   $\lambda\omicron\iota\gamma\omicron\tilde{\nu}$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ .

Curtius adopts the suggestion of Stier,  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . Curt. Stud. ii. 138.

Il. 10. 360  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\delta\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$   $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$   $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\varsigma$ ,  
 $\eta$   $\kappa\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\delta'$   $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\tilde{\nu}$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron\tilde{\nu}$   $\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   
 $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\tilde{\nu}$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu'$   $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\theta'$ ,  $\delta$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\rho\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma$   $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}$ .

Here  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron\tilde{\nu}$  is only difficult because the Subj.  $\pi\rho\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma$  is used in the next clause.

Il. 12. 42  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\delta\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$   $\theta\eta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\sigma\iota$   
 $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\delta$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tilde{\nu}$   $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ .

The use of  $\delta\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in a simile is not Homeric, and the reading is therefore doubtful. Should we read  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\delta\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha$ ? Cp. Il. 20. 67.

### The Optative.

83.] The Optative Stem is formed from the Tense Stem by the Suffix  $\eta$  or  $\iota$ , as  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron-\acute{\iota}\eta-\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron-\iota-\tau\omicron$ .

1. Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aorist in  $-\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ ) take  $\eta$  before Light Endings,  $\iota$  before Heavy Endings; as  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta-\nu$  (for



ἐσ-ιη-ν), θε-ιη-ν, δο-ιη, κιχε-ιη, τεθνα-ιη-s, δαμε-ιη; but φα-ῖ-μεν, δια-κοσμηθε-ῖ-μεν, ἐπι-θε-ῖ-τε.

The 3 Plur. ends in -ιεν, as ε-ῖεν, δαμε-ῖεν, δο-ῖεν: once -ιη-σαν, viz. στα-ιησαν (Il. 17. 733).

The ι is lost in δύη (Od. 18. 348, for δυ-ιη), ἐκ-δύμεν, λελυτο (Od. 18. 238 La Roche), φθίτο, ἀπο-φθίμην (for φθι-ι-το, ἀπο-φθι-ι-μην).

2. Thematic Tenses take οι, 3 Plur. Act. -οιεν; the scheme of Endings is—

	Sing.		Dual.		Plur.
1. -οιμι	Mid. -οίμην		Mid. -οίμεθον	-οίμεν	Mid. -οίμεθα
2. -οις	-οιο	-οιτον	-οισθον	-οιτε	-οισθε
3. -οι	-οιτο	-οίτην	-οίσθην	-οιεν	-οιάτο.

3. The Aorist in -σᾶ forms the Optative in two ways—

(1) In -σειᾶ, the (so-called) Æolic Optative.

(2) In -σαι-μι with Endings as in the Thematic Tenses, putting α for ο throughout.

The scheme of the Homeric forms is:—

1 Sing. -αμι	Plur. -αμεν
2 „ -ειᾶς, rarely -αις	„ -αιτε
3 „ -ειε(ν), sometimes αι	„ -ειᾶν (-αιεν Il. 24. 38).

The Mid. Endings are of the second kind, -αίμην, -αιο, -αιτο, &c.

The Perfect forms the Opt. from the shorter Stem, as τετλα-ιη, τεθνα-ιη-s. But οἶδα forms εἶδε-ιη (cp. δεδιε-ιη Plat.).

The instances of the Pf. Opt. with Thematic -οι-μι, -οι-s, &c. are doubtful: βεβλήκοι is the reading of Aristarchus in Il. 8. 270, where the best MSS. have βεβλήκει; and in Il. 21. 609 γνώμεναι δς τε πεφύγοι δς τ' ἔθαν' ἐτλ., the reading πεφύγει is given by one good MS. (D.), and evidently agrees better with ἔθανε.

Irregular forms:—

On the Thematic forms ξοι-s, ξοι (Il. 9. 142, 284), ῥοι (Il. 14. 21), δίοι-το (Od. 17. 317), see § 30, note 2. Homer has also ἰε-ιη (Il. 19. 209) to be compared with εἶδε-ιη, δεδιε-ιη.

The so-called 'Æolic' Opt. of Contracted Verbs (-φη-ν, -οιη-ν) appears in φιλοίη (Od. 4. 692) and φοροίη (Od. 9. 320).

σῶφ-s (Il. 9. 681), σῶφ (Il. 9. 424) are doubtful. In the former place Ar. read σοῦφ or σαῦφ; most MSS. have σῶης, σῶη. The forms σοῦφ, σοῦ may be either Subj. or Opt., since they may be derived by Assimilation from σοῦς, σοῦ; cp. δρόφτε, § 55 (γ). If σῶφ, σῶφ are right, they are most easily explained as Optatives; we may suppose that σαῶοις, σαῶοι became σῶοις, σῶοι, and then by transference of quantity σῶφ, σῶφ (cp. δηῖόφην for δηῖώοιεν). The Opt. suits the sense best in both places.

The form ἐπι-σχο-ιη-s (Il. 14. 241) may be (like the Imper. σχέ-s) a trace of the Non-Thematic conjugation of the Stem σχε-; if so, it may represent an older \*σχε-ιη-ν. Herodian read ἐπισχοιες (so A. C.), the Syr. palimpsest has ἐπισχοιας (perhaps to be compared with the Aor. in -σειᾶ).

For the 3 Plur. in *-οι-ν* Bekker finds one instance of *-οι-ν*, viz. in Od. 20. 382, where the common text has—

τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι βαλόντες  
ἐς Σικέλουσ' ἐμβαίμεν ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι,

for which he would read ἄλφον. The 1 Sing. in *-οι-ν* (instead of the anomalous *-οι-μι*) was not unknown in Attic (Bekker H. B. p. 111 ff).\*

παρὰ-φθα-ιη-σι (Il. 10. 346), with Primary instead of Secondary Ending, is probably a pseudo-archaic form, made on the analogy of the Subjunctives in *-ησι*.

### The Verbal Nouns.

84.] **Infinitives and Participles** are not properly speaking Verbs—since they do not contain a Subject and Predicate—but Nouns: the Infinitive is a kind of Substantive and the Participle an Adjective. In certain respects, however, they belong to the scheme of the Verb:—

1. They answer in form and meaning to the Tense Stems; each Tense Stem has in general an Infinitive and a Participle formed from it.

2. They are distinguished as Active and Middle (or Passive) in sense.

3. They are construed with the same oblique cases of Nouns, and the same Adverbs and Adverbial phrases, as the corresponding Verbs.

85.] **The Infinitive Active** is formed—

(1) In Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aor. in *-σῶ*) by the Suffixes *-μεναι*, *-μεν*, *-εναι*, *-ναι*.

Of these *-μεναι* is the most usual, as *θέ-μεναι*, *γνώ-μεναι*, *μιγή-μεναι*, *ἰδ-μεναι*, *τεθνά-μεναι*, *ζευγ-νύ-μεναι*: *-μεν* occurs after short vowels, as *ἴ-μεν*, *δό-μεν*, *τεθνά-μεν*, *ὄρ-νύ-μεν*; also in *ἔμμεν* (five times, but always where we may write *ἔμμεν'*), *ἰδ-μεν* (Il. 11. 719), and *ζευγ-νύ-μεν* (Il. 16. 145), in which the *υ* is quite irregular.

The full Suffix *-έναι* only occurs in *ἰ-έναι*; but there are many other Infinitives in *-ναι*, all of them containing a long vowel or diphthong in which an *ε* may be supposed to have been absorbed; as *δοῦναι* (for *δο-έναι*, see Max Müller, Chips, iv. 56), *θεῖναι*, *στήναι*, *βῆναι*, *δύναι*, *γιῶναι*, *ἀλῶναι*, *βιῶναι*, *ἀήναι*, *φορῆ-ναι*, *διδόυναι* (Il. 24. 425).

From *εἰμί* (*ἔσ-*) are formed *ἔμμεναι*, *ἔμεναι*, *ἔμμεν* (or *ἔμμεν'*), *ἔμεν*, and *εἶναι*. From *εἶ-μι*, *ἴ-μεναι* (once with *ῖ*, Il. 20. 365), *ἴ-μεν*, and *ἴ-έναι*.

\* It must not be supposed, however, that the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. in *-οιν* are primitive forms. The termination *-οιν* was originally impossible in Greek (as *-em* and *-om* are in Sanscrit); we should expect *-οιδ*, *-οιδν* (Sanskrit. *-eyam*, *-eyns*). Hence *-οι-μι* probably made its way into Greek in place of *\*οιδ*, as *-σαι-μι* in the Aor. in place of *-σασ* (see Brugman in Curt. Stud. ix. 313). The 3 Plur. form *ἀπορινοῖαν* is found in the Eleian dialect.

The common Attic Present Infinitives *ιστά-ναι*, *τιθέ-ναι*, *διδό-ναι*, *δεικ-νύ-ναι*, &c., as well as the Perfect Infinitives in *-έναι*, are entirely unknown in Homer.

(2) In Thematic Tenses by *-έ-μεναι*, *-έ-μεν*, *-ειν*; as *εἰπ-έ-μεναι*, *εἰπ-έ-μεν*, *βάλλ-ειν*.

The Ending *-ειν* only occurs in the Thematic Aor., and is anomalous; compare *βαλ-έ-ειν* (Stem *βαλε-*) and *βάλλ-ειν* (Stem *βαλλε-*). In the great majority of instances of *-ειν* the metre would equally allow *-εν*, so that we may suppose—

Stem *βαλε-*, Inf. *βαλέ-εν* (for *-εναι*), contr. *βαλεῖν*.

*βάλλε-*, — *βάλλε-εν* —, — *βάλλειν*.

(See Renner in Curt. Stud. i. 2. pp. 33–35.)

(3) The Aor. in *-σα* forms *-σαι*, as *στή-σαι*.

(4) The Inf. Middle is formed by *-σθαι*: *βλή-σθαι*, *πεφά-σθαι*, *ἵστα-σθαι*, *ἰδέ-σθαι*, *βάλλε-σθαι*, *στή-σα-σθαι*.

86.] **The Participle.** The Aorist, the Present, and the Future Tense-Stems form the Active Participle by the Suffix *-ντ*: thus we have, Non-Thematic *στα-ντ*, *τιθε-ντ*; Thematic *βαλο-ντ*, *στη-σο-ντ*, &c.

The Vowel before *ντ* is always short, as *γνο-ντ*, *μιγε-ντ*.

The Perfect Stem takes *-στ* or *-σσ* (originally *for*, *-foo*), Fem. *-υιᾶ* (for *-υσ-γᾶ*, the *-ῡσ* originally a shorter form for *-foo*). The Middle Participle is formed by *-μενος*, which in the Perfect is accented *-μένος*.

Many Participial forms have no distinctly verbal meaning; such are *ικ-μενος* *favourable* (of a wind), *ἄσ-μενος* *welcome*, *ὀνή-μενος* *happy, blessed*, *οὐλό-μενος* *wretched, accursed*.

The Future Part. is used in Homer (like the Lat. Supine in *-um*) with Verbs expressing *motion*; e.g. *ἔρχονται μαχησόμενοι* *come to fight*, *εἰμι ὀψόμενος* *I go to visit*.

In Il. 18. 309 *καί τε κτανέοντα κτέκτα* *there is that slays the slayer* the form *κτανέοντα* is doubtful as a Fut. (see § 63, foot-note). Possibly there was a Pres. *κτανέω* (related to *κτείνω* as *ικ-νέομαι* to *ικάνω*), with Desiderative meaning.

On *ἐπιβησόμενος* (Il. 5. 46., 23. 379), see § 41.

For the Verbal Adjectives in *-τος*, see the chapter on the formation of Nouns.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ACCENTUATION OF THE VERB.

87.] The general rule is that the accent is thrown back as far as possible; and the chief departures from this rule are found in the Infinitives and Participles, which are in reality Nouns. In

the forms of the Verb properly so called the following exceptions have to be noted :—

1. εἰμί and φημί. The 2 Sing. Imper. φα-θί is oxytone.

The dissyllabic forms of the Pres. Indicative, εἰμί, ἐστί, &c. φημί, φησί, &c., are enclitic, and, when they do not lose the accent altogether, are oxytone; but ἐστί is accented in the ordinary way when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, or after certain words (οὐκ, καί, εἰ, ὥς).

Such was the commonly accepted account; but the ancient grammarians were not agreed as to the enclitic character of the Dual and Plural forms (on ἐστών see Charax 1151; on φαμέν, φατέ, φασί, ibid.; on ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, εἰσί, Eust. 1457, 48). Again, one grammarian denies that φημί was ever enclitic (Charax 1152); another holds that it should be written φῆμι; at least in such instances as φῆμι γάρ οὖν κατανεύσαι, κτλ. (Tyrannio ap. Eust. 1613, 18). In all likelihood the original forms were, Sing. ἐστί, φῆμι, Plur. ἐσμέν, φαμέν, and we may suppose that φημί and ἐστί are not properly oxytone, but are unaccented forms made oxytone as enclitics (ᾠξύνθη διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ οὐσαν αὐτοῖς ἑγκλισιν Apoll. Synt.). The Sanscrit Verbs of the same kind follow the rule of accenting the Stem in the Sing., the Ending in the Dual and Plur.; and this must be connected with the difference of quantity between long and short Stems (§ 6).

The 2 Sing. εἰς is enclitic, though the corresponding Attic form εἶ is not; but see § 5. As to φῆς there is a contradiction; it is not enclitic according to Arc. 142, 8, but enclitic according to Schol. A. Il. 17. 147—both notices being supposed to rest on the authority of Herodian (ed. Lenz, i. 553, 4 and ii. 105, 5).

2. The 3 Plur. ἰσᾶσι, τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι, δεικνύσι, are properispomena.

This can hardly have been the original accentuation, since they are not contracted forms, but represent ἰστα-ντι, &c. Probably it comes from the Attic ἰσᾶσι (contracted from ἰστά-ασι, cp. τιθέ-ασι, &c.), or from the Participles. The Doric forms are written τιθέντι, &c. by Eustath. Od. 1557, 45; but we do not know that this represents the usage of any living dialect.

3. Subjunctives such as φανῇ, δαῶμεν are circumflexed, as being contracted forms (for φανῆη, δαήομεν).

Optatives in which -ιη- becomes -ι- before Heavy Endings are accented on the ι throughout, as διακρινθεῖτε, δαμείν.

But Middle forms to which there is no corresponding Active follow the general rule: δύνωμαι, δύνῃαι (so Herodian, but Tyrannio wrote δυνῶμαι, δυνῆαι, Schol. Il. 6. 229), κέρωνται (Il. 4. 260), ἐπίσσηται; ἐπίσσηται, ὄναι, ὄνοιτο.

The Pf. Subj. is usually barytone, as πεποίθη, εἶδετε; but οἶδα gives εἰδῶ (also εἰδέω), εἰδῆς, εἰδῆ, εἰδῶσι (or εἰδέωσι). Tyrannio however read εἶδω, εἶδης, &c. (Schol. Od. 1. 174).

4. The Imperatives εἰπέ, ἐλθέ, are oxytone (and so in Attic εὐρέ, ἰδέ, λαβέ). Similarly Tyrannio wrote πιθέσθε, λαβέσθε (Schol. V. Il. 18. 266); cp. the Attic βαλοῦ, &c.

88.] **Accent in Composition.** Unaugmented forms of Compound Verbs are accented as though the Verb were an enclitic following the Preposition: hence *σύν-εχον, πρό-ες, παρά-θες, περί-κειται, ἀπό-σχωνται*. If the final syllable of the Preposition is lost by elision or apocope the accent falls on the first syllable; hence *ὑφ-έλκε, κάτ-θανε*.

But the accent falls if possible upon the Augment, or augmented syllable: hence *προσ-έβαν, ἐπ-έσχον, ἐπ-ῆλθε*. In other words, the Augment is treated in accentuation as a *Preposition*.

The word *ἔσται* keeps the accent (*παρ-έσται, &c.*); perhaps because it is formed by syncope from *ἔσεται*.

The Subj. *ξυμ-βληται* (Od. 7. 204) ought to be properisponmenon, since it is a contracted form; cp. *βλήεται* (Od. 17. 472). Grammarians wrote *ἀπό-θωμαι* (in spite of *ἀπο-θείομαι*, Il. 18. 409) and *διά-θωμαι* (Herodian ed. Lenz, i. 469, 7). We have to recognise in such cases the encroachment of the common Thematic type, though we may doubt whether the change reaches back to the earliest form of the text of Homer.

According to Herodian, the 2 Sing. Imperative *ἐνί-σπες* is paroxytone, but the other Imperative form *ἔνι-σπε*, and the Indic. forms *ἐν-σπες, ἔνι-σπε*, are proparoxytone; see Schol. on Il. 24. 388. That is to say, the Imper. *ἐνί-σπες* is regular, the others are accented as if compounds of *ἴστω*.

The Imperative *ἔπισχε* in Hes. Scut. 446 may be divided *ἐπ-ισχε* or *ἐπι-σχε*, and in the latter case we may write *ἐπίσχε* (with the MSS.), or *ἐπισχε*, like the *ἐνισπε* of Herodian.

The MSS. vary between (Imper.) *ἐνί-σπες* and *ἔνι-σπε*: in the two places of the Iliad (11. 186, 14. 470) the Venetus has *ἐνί-σπες*: on the other hand in the only Homeric passage in which the metre gives any help (Od. 4. 642) it is decisive for *ἔνι-σπε*. The accent in the MSS. nearly always follows Herodian's rule.

89.] **The Infinitive and Participle.** Infinitives in *-ειν* and *-μεναι* follow the general rule: those in *-μεν* have the same accent as the corresponding forms in *-μεναι*, as *φευγέ-μεν*. On the Aor. Inf. in *-ειν*, see § 84, 2.

The forms in *-ναι, -σαι*, accent the penultimate, as *λέναι, ἀλῶναι, ἐρύσαι*. The Middle forms of the Thematic Aorist and Perfect are also paroxytone, as *πιθέσθαι, λελαθέσθαι, κεκληῆσθαι, τετύχθαι*: except *ἀκάχησθαι, ἀλάλησθαι*, commonly so written (instead of *ἀκαχῆσθαι, ἀαλαῆσθαι*) and explained as Æolic forms.

Active Participles, except the Thematic Present and Future, accent the Suffix, as *διδούς, στρεφθεῖς, μεμαώς, λαβών, τεταγών*. So the Presents *ἔών, ἰών, κιών* (if it is a Pres., see above).

The Part. of the Pf. Middle is paroxytone. But *ἀκαχήμενος* follows *ἀκάχησθαι*.

In Composition the Infinitive and Participle retain the accent of the simple word; in other words, they do not become enclitic. Hence we have Impf. *σύν-εχον*, but Neut. Part. *συι-έχον, &c.*

## CHAPTER V.

## NOUNS AND PRONOUNS.

90.] The words to which we now proceed are incapable of forming Sentences except in combination with a Verb.

The relation of such words to the Verb is shown in general either by a *Case-Ending*—as in the words which are said to be ‘declined,’—or by an *Adverbial Ending* (such as *-ως*, *-θεν*, &c.). The Ending in either case is suffixed to a *Stem* or *Theme*. Thus, *λογο-* is the Stem of the Case-forms, Nom. *λόγο-ς*, Acc. *λόγο-ν*, Gen. *λόγο-ιο*, &c.: *αὐτο-* is the Stem of the Case-forms *αὐτό-ς*, *αὐτό-ν*, *αὐτο-ῖο*, and also of the Adverbs *αὐτό-θεν*, *αὐτό-θι*, *αὐτως*, &c.

The Stems now in question belong to two great classes, those of *Nouns* and of *Pronouns*, called *Nominal* and *Pronominal* Stems respectively. The term ‘Noun’ includes Substantives and Adjectives. The other ‘parts of speech’—Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions—may ultimately be resolved into Case-forms or Adverbial forms either of Nouns or of Pronouns.

The distinction between Nouns and Pronouns brings before us in a new form the fundamental antithesis involved in the division of a Verb into a Stem which ‘predicates,’ and a Person-Ending which marks the Subject. A Noun either denotes a single object or group of objects (i. e. when it is a ‘proper name’), or denotes objects through their permanent attributes, as belonging to a class; whereas a Pronoun denotes an object by its local position, or momentary relation to something else, as ‘this’ or ‘that,’ ‘here’ or ‘there,’ ‘same’ or ‘other.’ This contrast is shortly expressed by saying that Nominal Stems are *Predicative*, and Pronominal Stems *Demonstrative*; the former name or describe, the latter only ‘point out’ what is intended. Accordingly, Nominal Stems are in general either identical with, or formed from, the Stems of Verbs: Pronouns are found to contain the same elements as those which furnish the Person-Endings of Verbs. The simplest forms obtained by analysis are thus of two kinds, first clearly distinguished by Bopp, and called by him *Verbal* and *Pronominal Roots* (Vergl.-Gr. § 105).

*The Cases.*

91.] **Declensions.** The main distinction is that between the *Consonantal Declension* (including that of Stems in *-ι* and *-υ*), which forms the Genitive in *-ος*, and the *Vowel Declensions*, of which three may be distinguished:—

- (1) Stems in *-ο* (chiefly Masc. and Neut.).
- (2) „ *-ᾱ*, *-η* (chiefly Fem.).
- (3) „ *-ε* (Personal Pronouns, Gender Common).

92.] **Vocative.** A Noun used in addressing a person by his name or title has properly no Case-Ending. Accordingly the Vocative Case consists in general of the simple Stem; e.g. Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, Αἴαν (for Αἴαντ-) διόγενες, ὦ ἄνα (for ἀνακτ-).

Stems in -ο form the Voc. in -ε, as φίλε ἐκυρέ. Some Stems in -ᾱ(η) shorten the final vowel, as νύμφᾱ, Voc. of νύμφη.

The words of address, πάππα, ἄττα, τέττα, μαῖα, may be ranked as Vocatives. So ἡθεῖε, as to which see the note on § 96.

93.] **Case-Endings.** These are given in the following Table. The Endings of the Consonantal Declension are in larger type: the two Vowel Declensions of Nouns are numbered (1), (2), and the Pronominal Declension (3).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Nom.	-ς	-ε	-ες, Neut. -ᾶ
	(1) -ο-s, Neut. -ο-ν	-ω	-οι
	(2) -η, -ᾶ (-γᾶ); -η-s	-ᾱ	-αι
Acc.	-ν, -ᾶ	-ε	-ᾶς, Neut. -ᾶ
		(1) -ω	-ους (for -ο-νς)
		(2) -ᾱ	-ᾱς (-α-νς)
Gen.	-ος	-οῖν	-ων
	(1) -οιο, -οο, -ου	-οῖν	-ων
	(2) -ης; -ᾶο, -εω	-ῆιν (?)	-ᾶων, -εων
	(3) -ειο, -εο, -ευ	-ῖ(ν)	-είων, -εων
Dat.	-ι	-οῖν	-σι(ν), -εσσι(ν)
	(1) -φ (Loc. -οι)	-οῖν	-οισι(ν), -οις
	(2) -η (Loc. -αι?)	—	-ησι(ν), -ης
	(3) -οι	-ῖ(ν)	-ῖν, -ῖ(ν)
Instrum.	-φι(ν)		-φι(ν)

94.] **Stems ending in ι, υ, and σ** are liable to lose the final letter before the Case-Endings which begin with a vowel.

1. Stems in -ηυ, -ευ: e.g.

νη-ς, Gen. νη-ός (for νη<sup>F</sup>-ός), rarely νε-ός. The ε arises by shortening from η; so νέες, νεῶν, νέεσσι, νέας—all less common than the corresponding forms with η-, νῆες, νηῶν, νήεσσι, νῆας.

βασιλεύ-s, Gen. βασιλῆ-ος (but Dat. Plur. βασιλεῖ-σι).

Πηλεύ-s, Gen. Πηλῆ-ος and Πηλέ-ος. In oblique Cases of Stems in -ευ the ε seems to be confined to proper names; cp. Τυδέος Τυδεῖ Τυδέα, Ἀτρείος Ἀτρεῖ, Θησέα, Νηλέα, &c.

2. Stems in -ι and -υ form the same Cases in two ways:—

- (1) Retaining the Stem-vowel, as *κόνι-ς κόνι-ος, Πάρι-ς Πάρι-ος, λχθύ-ς λχθύ-ες, σύ-ς συ-ός συ-ί σύ-ες.*
- (2) Inserting ε and dropping ι or υ: as *πόσι-ς, Dat. πόσε-ι, ἄστν ἄστε-ος, πῆχυν-ς πῆχε-ος, πολύν-ς πολέ-ος.*

Perhaps ε-ι in *πόσει* &c. is for ι: if so the only example of loss of ι is—

*πόλι-ς*, which forms (1) *πόλι-ος πόλι-ες πόλι-ας*, and (2) *πόλη-ος πόλη-ι πόλη-ες*, also *πόλε-ος* (MSS. Il. 2. 811); *πτόλε-ι* (Il. 17. 152).

*ῥέ-ς* or *ῥό-ς* *good* makes Gen. *ῥή-ος*, perhaps by transference of quantity for *ῥέ-ος*. Other Adjectives in -ύς form -έ-ος, -έ-ι, &c.

3. Stems in -εσ, -ασ, -οσ drop the σ, as *ἔπε-ος, κέρα-ος, αἰδύ-ος*, &c.

95.] **Original ā** as the final vowel of the Stem becomes η; except in the proper names *Ἑρμείας, Αἰνείας, Αὐγείας, Ναυσικάα, Πεία* (Ar. on Il. 14. 203), *Φειά* (Il. 7. 135., Od. 15. 297), and the word *θεά*.

Other exceptions to the scheme given above will be best treated under the separate Cases.

96.] **Nom. Sing.** There is a remarkable group of Masc. Stems in -ᾱ(η), with Nom. Sing. in -ᾶ, viz.—

Titles of gods: *νεφεληγερέτα, στεροπηγερέτα, μητιέτα, εὐρύοπα (Ζεύς); ἀκάκητα (Ἑρμείας ᾶ); κυανοχαῖτα (Ποσειδᾶν).*

Titles of heroes: *ἱππότα, ἱππηλάτα, αἰχμητά; ἡπύτα (κῆρυξ).*

One proper name, *Θνέστα* (Il. 2. 107).

This form was regarded by the ancient grammarians as Æolic. The accent generally follows the forms in -ης *where such forms exist*; thus *ἱππότα, αἰχμητά*, like *ἱπότης, αἰχμητής*. But it is thrown back in *εὐρύοπα, μητιέτα, ἀκάκητα*,—ancient epithets only known from the traditional Homeric use.

These forms must be considered in connexion with the question as to the origin of Masc. Stems in -ᾱ; see the chapter on the Formation of Nouns. Meanwhile it may be suggested as possible that they are in reality Vocatives which have been turned by usage into Nominatives. The feeling which might lead to this is that expressed by Eumæus in Od. 14. 145 ff.—

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν, ὃ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν  
αἰδέομαι· περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ·  
ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα.

*I call him by the title ἡθεῖος even in his absence.*

This account is not necessarily at variance with the Æolic origin of the forms. If the usage began as a piece of ceremonial etiquette, it may well have been due to the influence of great Æolic families. However this may be, the forms are evidently part of the archaic and conventional style of Epic poetry.

97.] **Accusative Sing.** The Ending ᾶ is found after consonants and the diphthongs ηυ, ευ; as *νηῦ-ς νῆα* (for *νηυα, νηφα*),



βασιλεύς βασιλῆα, Τυδεύς Τυδέα. Otherwise the Acc. takes -ν; e. g. πόλι-ν, ἰχθύ-ν, βοῦ-ν.

But εὐρύ-ς makes εὐρέα in the phrases εὐρέα πόντον, εὐρέα κόλπον: the common form being εὐρύ-ν.

The preference for δ after the combinations ην, εν is due to phonetic reasons. We may compare the Aorists ἔκηα (for ἔκην-α), ἔχευα (also ἔχεα), &c., and on the other hand ἔδυν, ἔφυν.

Several Stems form the Acc. in -ιν and also in -ιδα: ἔριδα and ἔριν (Od.), φύλοπιδα Od. 11. 313 and φύλοπιν, γλαυκώπιδα (Il. 8. 373) and γλαυκῶπιν (Od. 1. 156), ἀνάκιδα and ἀνακιν (Od. 3. 375), ὀπιδα and ὀπιν, Κύπριδα and Κύπριν; θοῦριν, Ἴριν, αὔλιν, Θέτιν. Cp. also χάρι-ν (for χάριτ-α), and κόρν-ν (for κόρυθ-α), found in the line Il. 13. 131 (= 16. 215),—

ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔριδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνῆρ.

In Attic there are many more such forms; ὄρνιν, &c.

Note that no oxytones form the Acc. in -ιν.

The Accusatives ζᾶν (Od. 12. 313), Ἄρην, Μέγην are probably formed directly from the Nom. ζᾶς, Ἄρης, Μέγης, on the analogy of Masc. Nouns in -ης. On the other hand Ζῆν (Ζεὺς), βῶν (βοῦς), are very ancient forms, answering to the Sanscr. *Dyām*, *gām* (Joh. Schmidt in K. Z. xxv. 17).

A final δ is lost in the Neut. Pronouns δ, τό, τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνο, ἄλλο (Lat. *id*, *is-tud*, *illud*, *aliud*); also in τί (Lat. *quid*) and (probably) in the Personal Pronouns; Acc. Sing. ἐμέ (με), σέ, ξ, Dual νώ, σφώ, σφῶε, Plur. ἄμμε, ὑμμε, σφέ (Curt. Stud. vi. 417 ff.; Max Müller, Chips, iv. 44).

98.] **Genitive Singular.** The Stems in -ο form the Gen. in -οιο, -οο, -ου. Of these forms only -οιο and -ου are read in the existing text of Homer; but there are sufficient traces of -οο, and indeed several places where it is called for by the metre. Thus we must read—

Il. 2. 518 νίεες Ἰφίτοο μεγαθύμου.

15. 66 (= 21. 104) Ἰλίοο προπάροιθεν.

22. 313 ἄγριοο πρόσθεν δὲ κτλ.

Od. 10. 36 δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλοο μεγαλήτορος.

60 βῆν εἰς Αἰόλοο κλυτὰ δώματα.

Il. 9. 440, &c. ὁμοίτοο πτολέμοιο (for ὁμοίτον πολ.)

2. 325 ὃο κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλείται } (for ὄου).

Od. 1. 70 ὃο κράτος ἔσκε μέγιστον }

Il. 2. 731 Ἀσκληπίοο δύο παῖδε.

15. 554 ἀνεψιόο κταμένοιο.

5. 21 ἀδελφεόο κταμένοιο: so in—

6. 61 (= 7. 120., 13. 788) ἀδελφεόο φρένας ἦρας.

Od. 14. 239 χαλεπὴ δ' ἔχε δῆμοο φῆμις.

Also in the two lines—

Il. 6. 344 εἵνεκ' ἐμείο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης,  
 9. 723 ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος,  
 since ὀκρυόεις does not occur elsewhere, but κρυόεσσα (Il. 5. 740),  
 κρυόεντος (Il. 9. 2), κρυερός &c., we should probably read—

... κακομηχάνου κρυόεσσης.

... ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος.

A trace of -oo may also be found in the fact that Nouns in -ας sometimes form the Gen. in -εω, which is for -αοο; e. g. Πετέ-ω, Πηνελέ-ω.

Masc. Stems in -ᾱ(η) form the Gen. in -ᾱο, less commonly -εω (by transference of quantity). This -εω is often scanned as one syllable; after another vowel it is written -ω, as Βορέ-ω (for Βορέ-εω), Ἑρμεί-ω, Αἰνεί-ω, ἔϋμμελί-ω.

The Pronominal Stems in -ε, viz. ἐμε (με), σε (for τφε), and ἐ or ἐε, form the gen. in ε-ιο, -εο and (by contraction) -ευ. Thus we find ἐμείο, ἐμέο (Il. 10. 124), ἐμεῦ; σεῖο, σέο, σεῦ; εἶο, εἶο, εὔ. For σεῖο there is also a longer form τεοῖο (Il. 8. 37=468) which may be related to σεῖο (for τφε-ῖο) as τεός to σός, ἐός (σεφό-ς) to ὅς (σφό-ς); if so it should be \*τεεῖο.

99.] **Dative Singular** In Homer the ι of the Dat. is sometimes long (as in Latin), chiefly in forms which otherwise could not be easily brought into the verse; in the Iliad, Ἀχιλλῇ, ὑπερμένει, κράτει, σάκει, πόλει, σθένει, ξριδι; in the Odyssey, Ὀδυσσῇ, ξτεῦ, δέπαϊ, ὕδατι. But we find also Ζηνὶ μενεαίνομεν (Il. 15. 104), Ἡρακλῇ (Od. 8. 224), πὰρ νηὶ τε μένειν (Od.), Διὶ φίλος (or διτφίλος).

Stems in -ι, Gen. -ι-ος, sometimes form the Dat. in -ι, as κόνι, μήτι, μάστι, κνήστι, Θέτι, νεμέσσι (with v. l. νεμέσσει Il. 6. 335).

So Bekker read πόλι (Il. 5. 686, &c., where the MSS. have πόλαι), ἀγίρι (Il. 16. 661), ὕψι, ὕβρι, δυνάμι, πόσι.

Stems in -υ, Gen. -υ-ος, form the Dat. in -υι (a diphthong which in later Greek can only occur before a vowel), e. g. πληθυῖ (Il. 22. 458), νέκυι, ὀρχηστυῖ, διζυῖ, ἰζυῖ. But δρυ-ς, σύ-ς form the dissyllables δρυ-ῖ, συ-ῖ.

Stems in -ο sometimes form a Locative in -οι, as well as the true Dat. in -ω, e. g. οἶκοι. So χαμα-ί and perhaps πάλα-ι.

Pronominal Stems in -ε form -οι; ἐμοί (enclitic μοι), σοί (τοί), εἰοί and οἶ. For σοί there is another form τεῖν (Il. 11. 201).

100.] **Accusative Plural.** Stems in -ι and -υ which admit an Acc. Sing. in -ν often form the Plur. in -ις, -υς (for -ως, -υνς): thus δῖς (Il. 11. 245), ἀκοίτις (Od. 10. 7), βοῦς ἦνις (Il. 6. 94). So we should read πόλις (with Bekker) for πόλεις. Again we have δρύς, γένυς, κλιτύς, γραπτύς, σῦς and σύ-ας, ἰχθύς and ἰχθύ-ας

(Od. 22. 384), *δφρῦς* (Il. 16. 740) and *δφρῦ-ας* (Od. 9. 389), *νέκυς* (Od. 24. 417) and *νέκυ-ας*, *βοῦς* and *βό-ας*.

But Stems in -υ, Gen. -εος, have only -εας in Homer.

The Personal Pronouns have *ἡμέας* (encl. *ῆμεας*, once *ῆμας*) *ὕμέας*, *σφέας* (once *σφᾶς*, encl., Il. 5. 567), as well as *ἄμμε*, *ὔμμε*, *σφέ*; see on the Acc. Sing.

101.] **Genitive Plural.** Stems in -ᾱ(η) and ᾱ form the Gen. Plur. in -ᾶων, less commonly -εων. This -εων is generally scanned -ἔων, and after a vowel is written -ῶν, as *κλισι-ῶν*, *παρει-ῶν*, *τρυφαλει-ῶν*, *Σκαι-ῶν* (cp. the Gen. Sing. in -ᾶο, -ἔω).

The Pronominal Stems *ἡμε-*, *ὕμε-*, *σφε-* form *ἡμέων* and *ὕμέων*, *ὕμειων* and *ὕμέων*, *σφείων* *σφέων* (encl.) and *σφῶν*.

102.] **Dative Plural.** The two main Endings of the Dat. Plur. are -οι(ν) and -εσσι(ν). Many Nouns in Homer form the Case in both these ways, e.g. *βου-σί* and *βό-εσσι* (for *βόφ-εσσι*), *συ-σί* and *σύ-εσσι*, *ποσσί* or *ποσί* (for *ποδ-σί*) and *πόδ-εσσι*, *ἀνδρά-σι* and *ἀνδρ-εσσι*, *μνηστῆρ-σι* and *μνηστῆρ-εσσι*. The accent is often different, the forms in -εσσι being always proparoxytone.

Stems in -ι form -ι-εσσι or -ε-σι (for -ῖ-σι), as *ὀτ-εσσι* (and with loss of ι *ὀ-εσσι*), *ἐπάλξε-σι*.

Stems in -υ (Gen. -εος) form -ε-εσσι and -ε-σι, rarely -εσσι; e.g. *πολύ-ς* forms *πολέ-εσσι*, *πολέ-σι*, and (once) *πολέσσι*. So *πέλεκε-σσι* from *πέλεκυ-ς*.

Stems in -εσ, -ᾶσ usually have three forms, e.g.—

*ἐπέ-εσσι*, *ἐπεσ-σι* and *ἐπεσι*,

*δεπά-εσσι*, *δέπασ-σι* and *δέπασι*.

The last is a modification of the second (that in -σι).

The form -σσι (instead of -σι) occurs in a few Stems in -υ (Gen. -υος); *γένυ-σσι* (Il. 11. 416), *νέκυ-σσι* (Od.), *πίτυ-σσι* (Od.).

The form -εσι for -εσσι is very rare; *χείρ-εσι*, *ῥ-εσι*, *αἶγ-εσι*, *οἷ-εσι*, *ἀνάκτ-εσι* occur once each. But *οἷεσι* may be for *οἷ-σι*.

-οισι and -ησι are liable to lose the final ι and so become -οις and -ης, forms which are common in the existing text of Homer. It will be found however that in the great majority of instances the loss of ι may be regarded as due to elision; e.g. for *σοῖς ἐτάροισιν* we may write *σοῖσ' ἐτάροισιν*.

-αις appears in the forms *θεαῖς* (Od. 5. 119), *ἄκραῖς* (Il. 22. 284), and *πάσαις* (Od. 22. 471).

The Personal Pronouns have *ἡμῖν* (encl. *ῆμιν* and *ῆμιν*), *ὕμῖν* (encl. *ὔμιν* and *ὕμιν*), *σφί-σι(ν)* and encl. *σφί(ν)*, as well as *ἄμμι(ν)*, *ὔμμι(ν)*.

103.] **Dual.** The Genitive and Dative Ending in all Nouns is -οῖν, as *ποδ-οῖν*, *ἱππ-οῖν*. The contracted form -οιν does not occur. The Personal Pronouns have:

1. Nom. Acc. νῶϊ, νῶ (νῶϊν Il. 16. 99?); Gen. Dat. νῶιν.
2. Nom. Acc. σφῶϊ, σφῶ; Gen. Dat. σφῶϊν (σφῶν Od. 4. 62).
3. Acc. σφῶέ (encl.); Dat. σφῶϊν (encl.).

104.] **Instrumental.** The Homeric poems have preserved many instances of an Ending -φι(ν); e. g. ὄρεσ-φιν, στήθεσ-φι, ναῦ-φιν, ζυγῶ-φι, βίη-φι, κοτυληθῶν-ό-φιν (Od.). These are relics of an original *Instrumental Case*.

105.] **Contraction, &c.** The loss of ι, υ and σ between vowels (§ 94) does not generally lead to contraction in the Homeric dialect: note that—

1. The Gen. Sing. has -εως for -ε-ος in a few words; Ἐρέβεως, θάρσεως, θέρεως, θάμβεως—chiefly ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

2. The Dat. Sing. of Stems in -εσ, -ᾶς and -υ (Gen. -εος) often forms ει (for -ε-ι) and -αι (for -α-ι).

3. The combinations -εα, -εο, -εω are often scanned as one syllable (by 'Synizesis'), θεοί (Il. 1. 18), σάκεα (Il. 4. 113), τεύχεα (Il. 7. 207, &c.); so often with πολέας, πολέος, πολέων, and the Pronouns ἡμέας, ὑμέας, σφέας.

4. Nouns with Stems in -εσ (as κλέος, δέος, ἔλεος) and some Nouns in -ᾶς are liable to 'Hyphaeresis,' or dropping a vowel before another vowel: as κλέα (for κλέε-α), and so δυσκλέα, ἀκλέα, ἀκλέ-ες; νηλής, νηλεῖ, νηλέα (Neut. Sing. νηλεές); θεουδής, θεουδέα (for θεο-δής god-fearing), ὑπερδέα (Il. 17. 330); γέρα, δέπα, κέρα, κρέα, σφέα (for γέρα-α, &c.). Cp. δαί (for δαῖ-ι), Dat. of δαῖ-s battle; also ἀποαίρεο for ἀποαιρέ-εο (§ 5).

The forms κλέα (ἀκλέα, δυσκλέα), δέπα, κέρα, σφέα are only found before hiatus; e. g. κλέα only occurs in the phrase κλέα ἀνδρῶν: so that we must either suppose κλέα &c., with α shortened by the hiatus, or read κλεε' ἀνδρῶν, &c. But γέρα occurs before a consonant (Il. 2. 237 γέρα πεσσέμεν, and so 9. 334, Od. 4. 66). κρέα occurs in the phrase κρέα ἔδμεναι, and in one or two other places before a vowel; but more frequently it is followed by a consonant, and is to be scanned κρεᾶ or κρεᾷ (necessarily so in Od. 9. 347, where it ends the line). The scanning κλεᾶ, κρεᾷ, σφεᾶ is prevented by the double consonant; but it is remarkable that the scanning δεπᾶ, κερᾶ, γερᾶ never occurs in Homer.

5. There are also several contracted forms from Stems in -εσ which offer some difficulty: ἀκληεῖς (Il. 12. 316), ἀκλειῶς (Od. 1. 241., 14. 371), ἐυκλειῶς (Il. 22. 110), ἐυκλείας (Il. 10. 281, Od. 21. 331; al. ἐυκλήας), ἀγακληῶς (ἀγακλείος Hesych.), Πατροκλήος, Πατροκλήα, Ἡρακλήος, Ἡρακλήα, Ἡρακλήϊ, Βαθυκλήα, Διοκλήος, Διοκλήα; ζαχρηεῖς, ζαχρειῶν (also ζαχρηῶν Hesych.); ἐυρρεῖος; δέιους (Il. 10. 376., 15. 4); σπέιους, σπήϊ, σπέσι and σπήεσι.

But the η or ει always occurs in *thesis*, where it can be resolved into εε, as Πατροκλέε-ος, ἐυρρεέ-ος, ἀκλεέ-ως, &c.; moreover the

long final syllable so lost (e.g. in writing ἀκλεέ-ες, δέε-ος, σπέε-ος) is never necessary to the metre. Hence we can hardly doubt that these are the true Homeric forms. So κρεῖων (Gen. Plur. of κρέας) may be κρεά-ων, and σπέεσι σπέεσι.

106.] **Variation of the Stem.** The phonetic influence of the Ending on the form of the Stem, which plays so large a part in the inflexion of Non-Thematic Tenses, was originally no less important in the Nouns. In Sanscrit a Nominal Stem of the consonantal Declension appears in general in at least two forms, a 'strong' and a 'weak' form; the strong form being used in the Nom. and Acc. Sing. and Nom. Plur., the weak form in other Cases. A few traces of these variations remain in the Greek Declension:—

1. In the words of relationship, πατήρ, μήτηρ, &c. and in ἀνήρ. Thus from πατήρ we find Acc. πατέρ-α, but Gen. πατρ-ός (πατέρ-ος only Od. 11. 500), Dat. πατρ-ί (sixty times in Homer, πατέρ-ι thrice); μήτηρ, Acc. μητέρα (only), Gen. and Dat. μητρ-ός, μητρ-ί, less commonly μητέρ-ος, μητέρ-ι. ἀνήρ uses ἀνερ- and ἀνδρ- (for ἀνρ-) almost promiscuously; the short Stem appears in the Dat. Pl. ἀνδρά-σι (for ἀνδρ-σι); cp. ἐπράθον (for ἐπρθον, from περθ-).

2. κύων, Voc. κύον, forms the other Cases from the Stem κύν-. Cp. Sanscr. *çvan*, Acc. *çvān-am*, Gen. *çun-as*, &c. The Acc. κύν-α follows the analogy of the Gen. and Dat.; the original Acc. was probably κύων-α.

Similarly, \*ρήν a *lamb* (surviving in πολύ-ρρην-ες), Gen. ἄρν-ός, &c.

3. Adjectives in -εις, Gen. -εντος (Stem -fεντ-), form the Dat. Plur. in -εσσι, -εσι. To explain this we must first suppose the short Stem in Fär- (with ä for εν, cp. § 31, 5 and § 37), which would give a Dat. Plur. in -ασσι, -ᾶσι; this form then was assimilated to the other Cases by change of ä to ε. A form in -ασσι has survived in φρασί, found in Pindar \* for φρεσί (φῥᾶ: φρεν = Fär: Fεντ). In the same way δαίμοσι, ποιμέσι, &c. are not for δαίμων-σι, ποιμέν-σι, but for \*δαίμᾶ-σι, \*ποιμᾶ-σι.

4. ναυ-, the shorter Stem of νηύ-ς, is preserved in the form ναῦ-φω. The original Locative Plur. \*ναυσί appears in Compounds, as ναυ-σι-κλυτός, Ναυσι-κάα, &c.†

107.] **Heteroclitite Nouns.** This term is applicable to Nouns that employ distinct Stems. The chief variations are as follows:—

\* Also in an Old Attic inscription given by Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxv. p. 38.

† Joh. Schmidt (ib. p. 20) gives some other traces of variation.

1. Between the vowel Declension (Stems in *-o* and *ā, η*) and the corresponding consonantal forms:

δίπτυχο-*s*; Acc. δίπτυχ-*a*.

ἐρίηρο-*s*; Plur. ἐρίηρ-*ες*, ἐρίηρ-*ας*.

(ἀνδράποδο-*ν* post-Hom.); Dat. Plur. ἀνδραπόδ-*εσσι*.

ἀλκή; Dat. ἀλκ-*ί*.

ὑσμίνη; Dat. ὑσμίν-*ι*.

ἰωκή; Acc. ἰωκ-*α*.

Ἀίδη-*s*, Gen. Ἀίδα-*ο*; also Ἀἶδ-*ος*, Dat. Ἀἶδ-*ι*.

Acc. φυλάκο-*υς*; also φύλακ-*ας*, Dat. Plur. φυλάκ-*εσσι*.

πολλό-*s* and πολύ-*s* are both declined throughout: so δάκρυο-*ν* and δάκρυ.

2. With forms in *-τ* or *-ᾱτ* :—

γόνυ, Gen. γουνός (for γονF-*ός*), Plur. γούν-*α*, γούν-*ων*, γούν-*εσσι*; also γούνατ-*ος*, &c.

δόρυ, Gen. δουρός (for δορF-*ός*), &c.; δούρατ-*ος*, &c.

χάρις, Acc. χάρι-*ν* (cp. χαρί-*εις*); Plur. χάριτ-*ες*, &c.

μέλι (μελι-*νος*, μελι-*ηδέα*); μέλιτ-*ος*, &c.

χρῶς, χρῶ-*ός*, χρῶ-*ι*, χρῶ-*α*; also χρωτ-*ός* (Il. 10. 575),

χρῶτ-*α* (Od. 18. 172, 179).

δνειρο-*s*; Plur. δνειρατ-*α*.

πρόσωπο-*ν*; Plur. προσώπατ-*α*, Dat. προσώπασι.

δεσμός-*s*; Plur. δέσματ-*α*.

οὖς; Gen. οὔατ-*ος*, Dat. Plur. οὔασι and ὠσί.

ἦμαρ (cp. ἡμέρ-*α*); ἦματ-*ος*, &c. (cp. ἡμάτ-*ιος*). So πείραρ (πείρατ-*α*), ἦπαρ, οὔθαρ, εἶδαρ, δνειαρ, φρεῖαρ, κτέαρ, ἄλειφαρ, στέαρ.

ὔδωρ, ὔδατ-*ος*. See § 114, note 2.

3. Other variations seem to be sporadic or accidental :—

τέρας, τερά-*ων*, τερά-*εσσι*; but τελέα (in the sense of 'stars').

οὔδας, οὔδε-*ος*, &c.: so κῶε-*α* (κῶας), κτέρε-*α*.

ἡνίοχο-*s*; Acc. ἡνιοχῆ-*α*, Nom. Plur. ἡνιοχῆ-*ες*.

Αἰθιοπ-*ες*, &c., but Acc. Αἰθιοπῆ-*ας*.

Ἀντιφάτη-*s*, Acc. Ἀντιφατῆ-*α*.

Ἄρης, Voc. Ἄρες; Gen. Ἄρη-*ος* and Ἄρε-*ος*, &c.; Acc.

Ἄρηα and once Ἄρη-*ν* (Il. 5. 909).

λᾶα-*s*, Acc. λᾶα-*ν*; Gen. λᾶ-*ος*, Dat. λᾶ-*ϊ*, Dual λᾶε, Plur.

λᾶ-*ες*, λᾶ-*ων*, λᾶ-*εσσι*.

4. Comparatives in *-ων* (Gen. *-ου-ος*) sometimes form Cases as if by contraction with a Stem in *-οσ*; ἀμείνω (for ἀμείνοσ-*α*, ἀμείνο-*α*), πλείους (for πλείοσ-*ες*), ἀρείους (§ 121).

5. Three distinct Stems appear in *νίός son*, viz.

(1) νιό-*s*, Voc. νιέ; the forms νιοῦ, νιῶ, νιοῖσι very rare.

(2) (νι-), Acc. νι-α, Gen. νι-ος, Dat. νι-ι, Dual νι-ε, Plur. νι-ες, νι-ας, νιά-σι.

(3) (νιυ-), Acc. νιέ-α, Gen. νιέ-ος, Dat. νιέ-ι, Plur. νιέ-ες, νιέ-ας.

Also in *κάρη* head—

(1) Gen. *καρήατ-ος*, *κάρητ-ος*, Dat. *καρήατ-ι*, *κάρητ-ι*.

(2) Gen. *κράατ-ος*, Dat. *κράατ-ι*, Plur. *κράατ-α*.

(3) Acc. Sing. *κράτ-α* (Od. 8. 92), Gen. *κρατ-ός*, Dat. *κρατ-ι*, Plur. Gen. *κράτ-ων*, Dat. *κρασί*. Finally *κράτεσφι* (Il. 10. 156) is quite anomalous.\*

The declension of *ἔπος*, *γέλος* and *ἰδρῶς* in Homer is open to some doubt; it is clear however that the Stems in -τ are post-Homeric.

Nom. *ἔπος* occurs in Il. 14. 315, Acc. *ἔπον* in the phrase *ἐξ ἔπον ἔντο put away desire*, Dat. *ἔρω* in Od. 18. 212; Nom. *ἔρσω* is read in Il. 3. 442., 14. 294, but the metre allows *ἔπος* in both places.

Nom. *γέλος* occurs in Il. 1. 599, Od. 8. 326, 343, 344: in the two last passages (in the Song of Demodocus) the metre is rather against *γέλος*. The Dat. *γέλω* occurs in Od. 18. 100 (most MSS. *γέλω*); the Acc. *γέλον* or *γέλω* in Od. 18. 350., 20. 346 (MSS. *γέλον*, *γελον*, and *γελω*). Thus the word may be either *γέλο-ς* (Gen. -ου) or *γέλω-ς*, Acc. *γέλω* (for *γέλω-α* or *γέλο-α*); cp. *αἰδῶ* for *αἰδῶ-α*.

From *ἰδρῶς* we have Acc. *ἰδρῶ*; but this must be read *ἰδρῶα* in one place (Il. 10. 574 *ἰδρῶ πολλόν* at the end of the line), and always may be so read. The Dat. is *ἰδρῶ* (Il. 17. 385, 745), possibly to be written *ἰδρῶι*. Hence *ἰδρῶς* is probably like *χρῶς*.

Two other Accusatives of this type are *ἰχῶ* (Nom. *ἰχῶρ*), and *κυκεῶ* or *κυκεῶν* (Nom. *κυκεῶν*).

108.] **Heteroclitite Pronouns.** The following points remain to be noticed:—

1. The Stems *ἐμε* (*με*) and *ἐε*, *ἐ* do not form a Nom. Sing.

It is evident that the original *ma* coalesced at a very early period with the Stem of the Verb, becoming the ending -μ; just as the French *je* has ceased to be used except in a fixed place before the Verb, so that it is hardly a separate word.

2. The Interrogative and Indefinite *τίς* is declined from two Stems which are used nearly as the long and short stems of Nouns (§ 106), viz.

(1) *τι-*, giving Neut. *τί*, Gen. *τέο*, *τεῦ* (for *τε-γο* cp. *πόλι-ς*, *πόλε-ος*), Dat. *τέφ*, *τῷ* (Il. 16. 227).

Plur. Neut. traceable in *ἄσσα* (for *ἄ-τι-α*).

Gen. *τέων* (*έω*), Dat. in *δ-τέοισι* (*έοι*), Il. 15. 491.

(2) *τιν-*, giving Acc. *τιν-α*, Dat. (very rarely) *τιν-ι*.

In the Compound *ὅσ-τις* the first part is sometimes declined as *ὅς*, *ῆ*, *ὅ*, sometimes undeclined, giving *ὅ-τις*, *ὅ-τεν*, &c. The Neut. Plur. is once *ὅ-τιν-α* (Il. 22. 450), usually *ἄσσα*.

\* An original Nom. *κράς* may be preserved in the phrase *κατάκρης headlong* (De Saussure, *Mém.* p. 224). Cp. *λάα-ς*, *supra*.

Homer also uses *ὅστε*, in which *τε* has the force of an undeclined *τις*. Both in *ὅστις* and *ὅστε* the second part is enclitic; it is therefore more correct to write *ὅς τις*, *ὅς τε*.

3. The Article is declined from two Stems:—

*ὁ*-, Fem. *ἡ*-, which gives *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *οἱ*, *αἱ*.

*το*-, Fem. *τᾷ*-, which gives the other Cases, and also second forms of the Nom. Plur. *τοί*, *ταί*.

The Compound *ὅδε* uses the Stem *ὁ*- for the forms *ὅδε*, *ἦδε*, *οἷδε*, *αἷδε*, and the Adverb *ᾧδε*. The second part is sometimes declined in the Dat. Plur., *τοῖσδεσσιν* or *τοῖσδεσιν*. The *-δε* is enclitic: hence the Accent *ἦδε*, not *ἦδε*. Strictly, therefore, it should be written *ὅ δε*, *ἦ δε*, &c.

The Pronoun *οὗτος* is a Compound. The first part consists of the Stems *ὁ*-, Fem. *ἡ*-, and *το*-, Fem. *τᾷ*-, used as in the declension of the Article. The second part is the Stem *-υτο*-, Fem. *-υτᾷ*-.

#### *Adverbial Suffixes.*

109.] The Suffixes employed in Homer to form Adverbs are as follows:—

*-θι* expresses the *place where*: the chief instances are—from Pronouns and Prepositions, *τό-θι*, *ὅ-θι*, *πό-θι*, *αὐ-θι*, *αὐτό-θι*, *κεῖ-θι* (*ἐκεῖ-θι* only Od. 17. 10), *ἐτέρω-θι*, *ἐκάστο-θι*, *ἄλλο-θι*, *ἐκτο-θι*, *ἐνδο-θι*, *ἀπό-προ-θι*, *ὑπό-θι*, *ἐγγύ-θι*; from Nouns, *νειό-θι*, *θύρη-θι* (Od. 14. 352), *οἴκο-θι*, *ἡῶ-θι*, *οὐρανό-θι*, *κηρό-θι*; *Ἰλιό-θι*, *Κορινθό-θι*, *Ἀβυδό-θι*. Note that *ἐκεῖ* is not found in Homer.

*-θα* *place*; *ἐν-θα*, *ἐνταῦ-θα*, *ὑπαι-θα*.

*-θε(ν)* *place*, from Prepositions; *πρόσ-θε(ν)*, *σπισ-θε(ν)* and *σπι-θε(ν)*, *ὑπερ-θε(ν)*, *πάροι-θε(ν)*, *ἐνερ-θε(ν)*.

*-θεν* *place whence*, used with nearly the same Stems as *-θι*; *δ-θεν*, *πό-θεν*, *ἐν-θεν*, *κεῖ-θεν*, *ἄλλο-θεν*, *ὑπό-θεν*, *πάντο-θεν*, *ἀμφοτέρω-θεν*, *ἐτέρω-θεν*. From Nouns, *ἡῶ-θεν*, *Διό-θεν*, *οὐρανό-θεν*, &c.

This Suffix is often used with the Prepositions *ἐξ* and *ἀπό*, as *ἐκ Διό-θεν*, *ἀπ' οὐρανό-θεν*, &c. With the Stems *ἐμε*, *σε*, *ἐ*, it forms a Genitive; as Il. 1. 180 *σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω*.

*-θοι*, only in *ἐνταν-θοῖ* *there*, Od.

*-τος*, *place*; *ἐν-τος*, *ἐκ-τος*. Originally, perhaps, it expressed the *place whence*, as Lat. *caeli-tus*, *divini-tus*.

*-τις*, in *αὐ-τις* *back*, *again* (Attic *αὐ-θις*).

*-σε*, *place whither*; *πό-σε*, *ὀππό-σε*, *κεῖ-σε*, *ἐτέρω-σε*, *ἀμφοτέρω-σε*, *ὁμό-σε*. From Nouns, *πάντο-σε*, *κυκλό-σε*.

*-φι(ν)*, *-φίς*, in *νόσ-φι(ν)* *apart*, *λικρι-φίς* *sideways* (Il. 14. 463). This may be the Instrumental Ending *-φι(ν)*.

*-φα*, in *μέσ-φα* *until*, lit. *meanwhile* (Il. 8. 508).

*-χι*, in *ἦ-χι* *where* (lit. *which way*, Lat. *quā*).

*-χα*, with Numerals; *δί-χα* *two ways*, *τρί-χα*, *πέντα-χα*, *ἑπτα-χα*.



-χθά, in the same sense, *τρι-χθά*, *τετρα-χθά*.  
 -κίς, -κι; with Numerals, in *δεκά-κίς*, *τετρά-κίς*, *εἰνά-κίς*, *εἰκοσά-κίς*;  
 and with similar meaning *πολλά-κίς* and *πολλά-κι*, *ὀσσά-κι*,  
*τοσσά-κι*.

The original Suffix is -κίς or -κι (not -άκίς), but in consequence of its having been used at first with Stems ending in -ᾱ (*τετρά-ᾱ*, *ἐπτά-ᾱ*, *δεκά-ᾱ*, *εἰνᾱ-ᾱ*), the combination -ακίς came to be felt as the Suffix, and was extended to other words by analogy. A similar explanation applies to the ᾱ of *πέντα-χα*.

-κας expresses *manner*; *ἀνδρα-κάς* = Lat. *viritim*.  
 -δε *place whither*, suffixed to the Accusative; *οἰκόν-δε*, *πόλεμόν-δε*, *ἄλαδε*. This Suffix is peculiar in being an enclitic; in strictness we should write *οἰκόν δε*, *πόλεμόν δε*, &c.  
 -δης expresses *direction* or *manner*; *χαμά-δης*, *ἄμυ-δης*, *ἄλλυ-δης*, *ἐπαμοιβα-δῆς* (Od. 5. 481).

110.] **Case-forms as Adverbs.** The Suffixes which follow have been explained, with more or less probability, as Case-Endings.

-α *manner*; *ἄρ-α* (lit. *fittingly*), *ἄμ-α*, *μάλ-α*, *θάμ-α*, *τάχ-α*, *σάφ-α*, *κάρτ-α*, *ρεῖ-α* or *ρέ-α*, *ὠκ-α*, *ἦκ-α*, *αἰψ-α*, *λίγ-α*, *σίγ-α*, *ρίμφ-α*, *πύκ-α*, *κρύφ-α*, *ἡρέμ-α*.

-η *way, direction*; *πάντ-η*.

Both these Suffixes are identified by Curtius with the Instrumental Case-Ending, Sanscr. -ā. With *πάντῃ* should perhaps be placed *πῇ*, *ὅπῃ*, *ᾗ* (= *qua*), *τῇ* (usually written *ῇ*, *τῇ*).

-ει, -ι *time, manner*; *αὐτο-νυχ-εῖ* (or -ῖ) *that very night*, Π. 8. 197; *τρι-στοιχ-ί* *in three rows*, *ἀναιμωτ-ί* (*ῖ*) *bloodlessly*, *ἀμογητ-ί* (*ῖ*) *without effort*, *ἀέκητ-ι* *without the will*. These may be Locatives.

-ως *manner*; a Suffix of which there are comparatively few examples in Homer: the commonest are from Stems in -ο, viz. *τῶς*, *ῶς*, *πῶς*, *οὕτ-ως* (also *οὕτ-ω*), *ὁμ-ῶς*, *φίλ-ως*, *αἰνῶς*, *καρπαλίμως*, *ἀσπασίως*, *ρῆϊδίως*, *ἐκπάγλως*, *κρατερῶς*, *μεγάλως* (rare); from other Stems, *ἀφραδέ-ως*, *περιφραδέ-ως*.

-ω, chiefly from Prepositions; *εἷς-ω*, *ἐξ-ω*, *πρόσσ-ω*, *ὀπίσσ-ω*, *ἄν-ω*, *κάτ-ω*, *προτέρ-ω* (*further on*), *ἐκαστέρ-ω*, *ἐκαστάτ-ω* (*further, farthest*), *ἀσσοτέρ-ω* *nearer*.

Two others are Adverbs of *manner*, *ὥ-δε*, *οὕτ-ω*.

It is not certain whether -ως and -ω are distinct Adverbial Endings; in any case *ὥδε* and *οὕτω* are to be counted with the Adverbs in -ως. Both -ως and -ω have been thought to be forms of the Ablative Case-Ending, Sanscr. -āt, Lat. -o(d).

-ου *place*; *ποῦ*, *ὁμ-οῦ*, *ἀγχοῦ*, *τηλοῦ*, *ὑψοῦ*, *αὐτοῦ*,—all periphrases. They are the same in meaning as the corresponding Adverbs in -όθι, and are perhaps merely later forms of the same words.

-δον, -δην, -δα, forming Adverbs of *manner*, are evidently Accusatives from Stems in -δο-, -δη-; e. g. *σχε-δόν* *nearly*, lit. *holding-wise*, *ἀποστα-δόν* *aloof*, *ἰλα-δόν* *in crowds*; so *βοτρυ-δόν*,

πυργη-δόν, &c.; βά-δην *steppingly*, τμή-δην, κρύβ-δην, κλή-δην, ἐπιγράβ-δην, ἐπιστροφά-δην, &c. (all from Verbs); μέγ-δα, κρύβ-δα, ἀμφα-δά, αὐτοσχε-δά. It is evident that these are much more numerous than the Noun-Stems in -δο, -δη can ever have been. In such cases we have to explain, not the derivation of the individual forms, but the origin of the type.

Other Adverbs obtained from Accusatives are: ἄκην *in silence*, ἄδην *enough*, ἀλλά *but*, ἄντην (ἀντίον, ἐναντίον, &c.) *opposite*, πάλιν *backwards*, δηρόν *long*, σχεδίην *hand to hand*, ἀμφαδίην *openly*, ἀπριάτην *without purchase*; perhaps also ἄγχι *near*, ὕψι *aloft*, ἱφί *mightily*. The Stem ἱφι appears in the Adj. ἱφι-α (μήλα), as well as in Compounds, ἱφι-άνασσα, &c.

Many Adverbs are formed with a final -s, which is liable to be lost before a word beginning with a consonant, as οὐτω(s) and the Adverbs in κυ(s) already mentioned; other Homeric instances are, ἄχρι(s) and μέχρι(s) *until*, ἰθύ(s) *straight towards*, μεσσηγύ(s) *between*, ἀτρέμα(s) *quietly*: also the Prep. ἀμφί, Adv. ἀμφίς, and Homeric ἀντικρύ, later ἀντικρύς. Similar Adverbs in which -s is not lost are, ἄλι-s, μόγι-s, χωρί-s; ἄγκάς, ἐκά-s, πέλα-s; ἐγγύ-s; χθέ-s; and those in -φι-s, -δι-s. Note also the group formed by -s subjoined to a monosyllabic Verbal Stem; πύξ *with the fist*, ἐπί-μιξ *in confusion*, ἀ-παξ *once*, μάψ *idly*, δ-δάξ *with the teeth* (δάκ-νω). The nature of this -s does not seem to be yet understood (Curt. Grundz. p. 650).

#### *Accentuation of Case-forms.*

III.] For the purpose of accentuation Nouns may be divided into those in which the accent remains on the Stem (and as far as possible on the same syllable of the Stem), and those in which it passes in the Gen. and Dat. to the Case-Ending.

Nouns of the Vowel-Declensions generally belong to the first of these groups. The last syllable if accented has the acute in the Nom. and Acc., the circumflex in the Gen. and Dat., and in the Adverbs in -ου and -ως: e.g. καλός, καλοῦ, καλῶ &c., Adv. καλῶς; but Acc. Plur. καλούς. On the Nouns in -ᾱ, see § 96.

One or two Feminines with Nom. Sing. in -ᾱ accent the Ending in those Cases in which the last syllable is long, as μέλα, Gen. μῆς; ἴα, Dat. ἱῆ; παρφύς *thick*, Fem. Plur. παρφεῖαι, Acc. παρφεῖας; ἄγνια *street*, Gen. ἀγνιῆς, Plur. ἀγνίαι, ἀγνιάς. So θαμνίαι and θαμνιάς answer to a Nom. Sing. θαμνίᾱ, Masc. \*θαμνός (not θαμνιός, cp. θαμέ-ς, θαμνίας); and κανστειρής (Il. 4. 342, &c.) is Gen. of κανστειρά.

αὐτως *in the very way* (from αὐτός), is made barytone by the authorities. The word is only Homeric, and the original accentuation may have been lost, perhaps by a confusion with οὕτως.

The second group consists of—

(1) Nouns with monosyllabic Stem, as πούς, ποδ-ός, ποδ-ί,

ποδ-οῖν, ποδ-ῶν, ποσσί; κύων, κυν-ός, κυν-ί, κυν-ῶν, κυσί; θήρ, θηρ-ός, θηρ-ί, θηρ-ῶν, θηρ-σί.

(2) The words πατήρ, μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ, ἀνήρ, γαστήρ; Gen. πατρ-ός, μητρ-ός, θυγατρ-ός, ἀνδρ-ός, γαστρ-ός &c.

The accent of the Accusatives μητέρα, μητέρ-as, θυγάτηρ-a, θυγατέρ-as, is at variance with the barytone Nom. μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ. Probably the Nom. Sing. was originally oxytone. The change of accentuation may be explained by supposing that the Nom. was influenced by the accent of the Vocative—that in fact the Voc. *pro tanto* took the place of the Nom. (cp. § 96). It is evident that the Voc. of these words would be especially familiar to the ear.

The Dat. Ending -εσσι never takes the accent; hence πόδ-εσσι, ἰγ-εσσι, ἀνδρ-εσσι, κύν-εσσι, &c. The reason may be that these are not the original Datives, but are forms that have followed the analogy of the Stems in -εσ, as ἔπεισ-σι, βέλεισ-σι, &c.

The Genitives παῖδ-ων, δῶδ-ων, Τρώ-ων, δμῶ-ων, θῶ-ων, are barytone; perhaps because the Stems are originally dissyllabic.

It appears that in an earlier stage of the language the shifting of the accent to the Case-Ending was always accompanied by 'weakening' of the Stem (§ 106). The few instances such as κύων, Gen. κυν-ός, and πατήρ, Gen. πατρ-ός, are to be regarded as surviving examples of the older declension.

112.] **The Vocative in the Consonantal Declension** sometimes retracts the accent, as πατήρ, Voc. πάτερ; δαήρ, Voc. δᾶερ; διογενής, Voc. διόγενης.

Proper Names with a long vowel in the penultimate are often properispomena, as Σαρπηδῶν, Voc. Σαρπηῶν; Ἀντήνωρ, Voc. Ἀντήνωρ; Μαχᾶων, Voc. Μαχᾶων. Otherwise they are mostly proparoxytone, as Ἀγάμεμνον, Ἀπολλων.

Oxytones in -εύς form the Voc. in -εῦ, as Ζεῦ, Ὀδυσσεῦ. This may be regarded as a retraction of the accent, since the circumflex stands for a double accent, viz. an acute followed by a grave in the same syllable.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FORMATION OF NOUNS.

113.] **Nominal Stems.** Some Nouns are formed with Stems identical with Verb-Stems; πύχ-εσ folds (πύσσω), στίχ-εσ ranks (στείχω). φλόξ flame (φλέγω), πῶκ-a covering (πτήσσω, ἑ-πτακ-ον). In these Nouns the Stem is usually either in the short form or in the O- form (§ 38).

Recent research has made it probable that in these Nouns the Stem was long

(and accented) in the Nom. and Acc., short (with the accent on the Case-Ending) in the Gen. and Dat. Instances of these double Stems have been given in § 106, 2; other traces remain. E. g. there are two words *πράξ* and *πράξ*, which originate in the declension *πράξ*, Acc. *πράξ-α*, Gen. *πράξ-ός*. So from *ποιός*, *ποδός* and Lat. *pes*, *ped-is* may be inferred a primitive *ποός* (or *πώς*), *πεδός*; from *ὄψ*, *ὄπ-ός* and *ὄδ-ος*, *ὄδ-ος* is a primitive *ὄψ*, Acc. *ὄψ-α*, Gen. *ὄπ-ός* or *ὄπ-ός*, &c.; cp. § 106, and the note to § 114.\*

Commonly however a Nominal Stem is formed from a Verb-Stem by means of one or more Suffixes, which we may call *Nominal Suffixes*. These are of two kinds:—

1. *Primary*, by which Nouns are formed from Verb-Stems; as *-ο* in *ἀγ-ός* *leader*, *-τι* in *φά-τι-ς* *saying*. Nouns so formed are called *Primitive* (sometimes *Verbal*: but this term is better known in a more restricted sense, § 84).

2. *Secondary*, by which Nouns are formed from other Nouns; as *-ιο* in *δικα-ιο-ς* *just*, *-ευ* in *ἵππ-εύ-ς* *horseman*. These Nouns are called *Denominative*.

The Suffixes which mark the Feminine Gender might be classified as Secondary; thus the Stem *καλη-* might be said to be formed by a fresh Suffix from *καλο-*, the Stem *δητριᾶ-* (for *δητ-τερ-γᾶ*) from *δητ-τερ-*, &c. But it is more convenient to treat the Feminine Endings as mere *inflections*, along with the corresponding Masc. forms.

In the same way we might treat Suffixes like *-τρο* (in *ἰη-τρόδ-ς* *healer*, *ἀρο-τρο-ν* *plough*) as compounded of *-τηρ* or *-τερ* (*ἰη-τήρ* *healer*, *ἀρο-τήρ* *ploughman*), and a Secondary *-ο*. Practically, however, *-τρο* is a single Primary Suffix: and this applies also to *-μνο* (in *βέλε-μνο-ν* *dart*), and one or two similar cases.

### *Primitive Nouns.*

114.] **Primary Suffixes.** The form of the Verb-Stem in Primitive Nouns is liable to the same variations as in the Tenses (§ 38). It will be seen that these variations are connected with the accent; but this part of the subject will be best treated separately (§ 115).

The chief Primary Suffixes are as follows:—

*-ο*, Fem. *-η*; the Verb-Stem taking three forms—

(1) The short form; as *ἀγ-ός* *leader*, *ζυγ-ό-ν* *yoke*, *φυγ-ή* *flight*.

(2) The *ο*-form; as *τόκ-ο-ς* (*τεκ-*) *offspring*, *ἀρωγ-ός* (*ἀρήγ-ω*) *helper*, *σπονδ-ή* (*σπένδ-ω*) *libation*.

(3) Attic reduplication; as *ἀγ-ωγ-ή* *leading*, *ἀκωκή* *point*, *ἐδωδή* *eating*, *ὀπωπή* *sight*, *ὀδωδή* *smell*. The radical vowel appears as *ω*, (as in *ἔρρωγα*, § 22).

\* Joh. Schmidt, in Kuhn's Zt., vol. xxv. p. 23 ff.

Since -o becomes -e in the Voc., and in Locative forms such as *αὐτονοχε-ί*, *ἀμαχε-ί*, the Suffix may be said to be '-o or -e'—in short, the Thematic vowel.

-ι: as *τρόφ-ι* (*τρέφ-ω*) *thick*, *φρόν-ι-s* *understanding* (with the Verb-Stem in the O- form). This Suffix also takes the forms—

-ᾱ (from \*γᾱ): as *φύζα* (*φῦγ-γᾱ*) *flight*, *δῖα* (*διF-γᾱ*) *bright*.

-ιδ (before vowels), as *ἐλπ-ί-s* *hope*, Acc. *ἐλπ-ιδ-a*.

-ᾱδ, as *λευκ-ᾱδ-a* (Aoc.) *white*.

The δ in these forms is developed from the ι; \*ἐλπί-ος, \*ἐλπίγ-ος, ἐλπίδ-ος. The Suffix -ᾱδ arises by combining -ι with a preceding vowel; it is related to -ιδ as -αζω in Verbs to -ιζω (§ 53); see Curt. Grundz. p. 640 ff. (5 ed.).

-ιο, -ιη; in *διος* (*διF-ιος*) *bright*, *ταμ-ιη* (also Masc. *ταμίη-s*) *dispenser*, *πεν-ιη* *poverty*.

-διο is either from -ιο (through the form -γιο), or is Secondary (§ 117); e.g. *στά-διο-s* *standing*, *ἀμφά-διο-s* *open*, *σχε-δίη* *near*, *παν-σν-δίη* *full array*.

-δο-ν, -δη-ν in Adverbs, for -γο, -γῆ. (Curt. *ibid.*)

-υ: with two forms of declension:—

(1) Gen. -ε-ος, with the short Stem; chiefly in Masc. and Neut. Adjectives, as *ταχ-ύ-s* *swift*, *ταρφ-ύ-s* (*τρέφ-ω*) *thick*; *βαθ-ύ-s*, *λιγ-ύ-s*, *γλυκ-ύ-s*, &c.

(2) Gen. -υ-ος, with the E- form; in Substantives (chiefly Fem.), as *πληθ-ύ-s* *multitude*, *ιθ-ύ-s* *path*, *αἶς* *mud*, *νέκ-υ-s* (Masc.) *corpse*, *γένυ-s* *chin*, *γῆρυ-s* *voice*, *cry*.

-εσ, with the E- form of the Stem, as *τείχ-ος* *wall*, *τεύχ-ε-a* *arms*, *ἔπ-ος* *word*, *πένθ-ος* *suffering*, *βένθ-ος* *depth* (cp. *βαθ-ύ-s*). The short forms *πάθ-ος*, *βάθ-ος* are not Homeric.

The O- form of the Stem is found in *δχ-ος* *chariot* (cp. the Pf. *ῥκωχα*, § 26, 5); the short form in *θάλ-ος* *blossom* (but cp. *νεο-θηλ-ής*), *κάρτος* (also *κράτος*), *θάρσος* (cp. *Θερσ-ίτης*, *Ἀλι-θέρσ-ης*).

Note however that in Homer the Substantive is *θάρσος* (for which *θράσος* occurs only once, Il 14. 416), the Adj. always *θρασύς*; so that a distinction is kept up in place of the original distinction between \**θέρσος* and *θρασύς*.

-ος; in *ἥως* (Sanscr. *ush-ás*) *dawn*, *αἰδώς* *shame*, both Fem. The Stem is probably in the short form; see § 30, note 3.

-ας; as *δέμ-ας* 'build.' The Stem is in the E- form; indeed the Stem-vowel is always ε, except in *γῆρας* *old age*, *κῶας* *fleece*, and *οὔδας* *floor*; cp. *γέρας*, *δέπας*, *κέρας*, *κνέφας*, *κρέας*, *κτέρας*, *πέρας*, *σέβας*, *σέλας*, *σκέπας*, *σφέλας*, *τέρας*.

-ευ, -ᾶν, -ον, -ων: e.g. *τέρ-ην*, Gen. -εν-ος (*τείρω*) *soft*, *μέλ-αν* *black*, *πέπ-ον* (Voc.) *tender one*, *ἀρηγ-όν-ες* *defenders*, *ἀγκ-ών*, Gen. -ῶν-ος *elbow*.

-υτ, -οντ, in Participles, and in a few Substantives, as *δράκ-ων* *a serpent*, lit. the 'staring' animal (*δέρκ-ομαι*), *ἄκ-ων*, *τέν-ων*.

-ᾶτ, in oblique Cases of Neuter Nouns as *ῥῖδωρ*, *ῥδατ-ος*, &c.

The *ǣ* of this Suffix represents the short form of a nasal syllable; see § 38, and the note at the end of this section.

-*ΝΟ*, -*ᾶνο*, -*νη*, -*ᾶνη*; as *δει-νό-s* *fearful*, *τέχ-νη* *art*, *ῥχ-ανο-ν* *handle*, *δρεπάνη* *sickle*.

Adjectives such as *ῥιγε-δανό-s* *horrible*, *ῥπε-δανό-s* *gentle*, *πευκε-δανό-s* *bitter*, *οὔτι-δανό-s* *worth nothing*, are probably derived from Verbs in -*ζω*; e.g. *οὔτιδ-ανός* supposes a Verb *οὔτιζω* in the transition stage when it was pronounced *οὔτιδ-γω*, § 53. So *ῥιγε-δανό-s* implies *ῥιγέ-δγω*, related to *ῥιγτ-ω* as -*αζω* (-*αδγω*) to -*αω*; see Curt. Verb. I. p. 326.

-*ΝΕΘ*; *τέμε-νος* *enclosure*, *ῥχ-νός* *imprint*.

-*ΝΥ*; *τᾶ-νυ-* *stretched out* (Lat. *tenuis*), found in Compounds, as *τανύ-πεπλος*: *θρη-νυ-s* *a foot-stool*.

-*ΕΡ*, -*ωρ*, -*ᾶρ*; as *ἀήρ* (*ἄφ-ήρ*) *air*, *αἶθ-ήρ* (*αἶθ-ω*) *bright sky*; *ῥλ-ωρ* *booty*, *ῥδ-ωρ* *water*; *μάκ-αρ* *great* (Il. 11. 68), *ῥαρ* *spring*.

-*ΡΟ*, -*ΛΟ*; generally with the short Stem; *πικ-ρό-s* *bitter*, *ᾶκ-ρο-s* *point*, *ῥδ-ρη* *seat*, *ῥσθλός* (*ῥσ-λό-s*) *good*: also with an auxiliary *ᾶ*, *σθεν-αρό-s* *strong*, *ᾶπαλός* *tender*.

-*ΡΙ*; in *ῥδ-ρι-s* *knowing*.

-*ΜΟ*, -*μη*; with the *O*-form, as *οἶ-μο-s* and *οἶ-μη* (*εἶ-μι*) *path*, *πότ-μο-s* (*πετ-*) *fall*, *κορ-μός-s* (*κείρω*) *a trunk*, *ῥλ-μο-s* (*ῥελ-*) *a rolling stone*.

-*ΜΙ*; in *φῥ-μι-s* *report*, *δύνα-μι-s* *power*.

-*ΜΕΥ*, -*μον*, -*μων*; *πυθ-μήν* (Gen. -*μέν-ος*) *base*, *ᾷτ-μίν* *breath*, *δεῖ-μων* (Gen. -*μον-ος*) *fearing*, *θη-μῶν-α* (Acc.) *a heap*.

-*Μᾶτ*; as *δεῖ-μα*, Gen. -*ματ-ος*, *fear*, *ὄνομα* *name*, &c.

Of these suffixes -*μον* and -*μᾶτ* go with the *E*-form of the Stem, -*μεν* with the short form.

With -*ο*, -*η* are formed -*μενο* (in Participles), and -*μνο*, -*μνη*, as *βέλε-μνο-ν* *a dart*, *λί-μνη* *a marsh*; -*μνᾶ* (-*μν-γᾶ*), in *μέρι-μνα* *care*.

-*μαρ*, -*μωρ*; as *τέκ-μαρ* and *τέκ-μωρ* *a device*; -*μερο*, in *ῥ-μερο-s* *desire*.

-*ΤΟ*, -*τη*; found with Stems—

(1) In the *O*-form, as *κοῖ-το-s*, *κοί-τη* (*κεῖ-μαι*) *lair*, *φόρ-το-ν* *burden*, *νόσ-το-s* *going, return* (*νίσσομαι* for *νεσ-γο-μαι*).

(2) In the short form, as *στα-τό-s* *stalled*, *δρα-τό-s* *flayed*; *ᾶκ-τή* *beach*; *δέκ-τη-s* *beggar*, *παι-βά-τη-s*.

-*ΤΙ*, -*σι*; generally with the short Stem, as *φά-τι-s* *saying*, *πίσ-τι-s* (for *πιθ-τις*) *trust*, *τί-σι-s* *vengeance*.

-*σιη*, as *κλισίη* *a tent*, *ῥπο-σχε-σίη* *promise*.

-*ΤΥ*; *βρω-τύ-s* *food*, *κλί-τύ-s* *a slope*, *μνησ-τύ-s* *wooing*, *ῥδη-τύ-s* *eating*. This Suffix is especially common in Homer.

-*ΤΕΡ*, in *πατήρ*, *μήτηρ*, *θυγάτηρ*, *γαστήρ*; § 106.

-τηρ, -τορ, -τωρ; as δο-τήρ-α and δω-τόρ-α (Acc.) *giver*, μήσ-τωρ-α (μῆδ-ομαι) *adviser*: Fem. -τειρα (-τερ-γᾶ), as δμῆ-τειρα *subduer*.

-τρ-ο, as ἡ-τρό-ς *healer*, ἄρο-τρο-ν *plough*.

-ΦΟΟ, -For, Fem. -υᾶ; in the Pf. Part., and in the Nouns δργ-υια *fathom*, ἄρπ-υια *storm-wind*, ἄγ-υια *street*.

Ῥᾶρ; as πῖαρ (for πι-ῤαρ) *fatness*, δνειαρ (δνη-ῤαρ?) *help*, εἶδαρ (εἶδ-ῤαρ) *food*, εἴλαρ *shelter*, &c.; -ῤερ is seen in πῖειρα, Fem. of πῖων *fat*.

-ΙΟΥ, -ΙΟΣ; in Comparatives, § 121.

-δον (for γον); as τηκε-δόν-ι (Dat.) *wasting*; -δωνη, as μελε-δῶναι *cares*.

*Note 1.* The Primary Suffixes were originally liable to variation of the kind already noticed (§ 113). The rule was that the Suffix took a *long form*, generally the O-*form*, in the *Nom. and Acc.*, the *short form* in the other Cases (with the accent on the Case-Ending). Thus the Sanscr. Participle *dhār-an* (= φέρων) being declined—

Acc. *dhār-antam*, Gen. *dhār-atas*,

the corresponding Greek forms must have been—

Acc. φέρ-οντα, Gen. φέρ-ατος.

Again, *aldós* is the O-*form* corresponding to a short form *aldeo* (cp. *ἀν-αἰδής*), and the original declension was probably—

Acc. αἰδῶσ-α, Gen. αἰδεσ-ός, &c.,

from which the uniform declension *aldó-a*, *aldó-os* was produced by assimilation.

Again, it is extremely probable that the groups -ερ-ᾶρ-ωρ, -εν-ᾶν-ον-ων, -μεν-μῶν, -τερ-τηρ-τορ-τωρ, are originally varieties in each case of a single Suffix. E.g. in the three words—

πέπων	Acc. πέπον-α	Gen. πέπον-ος
τέρην	„ τέρεν-α	„ τέρεν-ος
ἀγκών	„ ἀγκῶν-α	„ ἀγκῶν-ος

the original Endings being, Nom. -ων, Acc. -ων-α, Gen. -εν-ος, a different assimilation has taken place in each case. The short Stem of the Gen. and Dat., \**pepen-*, has become *pepon-* from imitation of the Nom. *πέπων*; inversely, the *τερεν-* of the Gen. and Dat. has turned the Nom. \**τέρων* into *τέρην*; finally, in *ἀγκών* the ω of the Nom. and Acc. is extended to all the Cases.

Similarly the Suffix forming 'Nouns of the agent' was originally, Nom. -τωρ, Acc. *τωρ-α*, Gen. -τερ-ος. The O-*form* is generalised in the Latin *da-tōr*, -*tōr-is* (like *μήστωρ*, -*τωρ-ος*). The declension -*τωρ-α*, -*τωρ-ος* is to be explained like *aldó-a*, *aldó-os*. The form -*τηρ* is produced in the Nom. by imitation of the Gen. \**-τερ-ος*, and is then generalised, as *ἡ-τήρ*, *ἡ-τήρ-ος*.

In some instances—originally perhaps in all—the Verb-Stem varies with the Suffix. Thus the two forms δῶ-τωρ, Gen. -τορ-ος, and δο-τήρ, Gen. -τήρ-ος, seem to be the result of a double assimilation from an original δῶ-τωρ, Acc. \**δῶ-τωρ-α*, Gen. \**δο-τερ-ος*.

When one of the Suffixes now in question takes an additional -ο, -η, the short form is liable to be further shortened: thus -μεν gives -μν-ο, -μν-η; -τερ gives -τρ-ο, -τρ-η. So ὑδ-ωρ, ὑδ-ρ-ος: *θεράπων*, Fem. *θεράπν-η*.

This further shortening explains the Fem. Ending -αινα, i.e. -ᾶν-γᾶ, where ᾶν (for ν) stands as the form answering to ων, εν (cp. the ᾶν of ἔ-κταν-ον, § 37); also

-*τη-ια*, which however is later, since Homer has only -*τηρ-ια* (i. e. -*τηρ-γα*), in *δη-τητα*, *δρῆσ-τητα*, *καύσ-τητα*, *πουλ-βό-τητα*. The original declension was probably, as Joh. Schmidt thinks, Nom. -*τηρ-ια*, Gen. -*τη-ιας*, &c. (K. Z. xxv. p. 36.)

On the same principle, when Verbs of the I-Class are formed from these Nouns, the Suffixes ending in *v* and *p* take the forms -*αν* (-*μαν*), -*αρ* (-*μαρ*), &c.; as *δει-μαίνω* (*δει-μαν-γω*), *πείθω* (*πέπων*), *τεκμαίρομαι* (*τέκμωρ*), *ἐχθαίρω* (*ἐχθρ-ός*).

The difference between the 'Nouns of the Agent' in -*τωρ* (-*τηρ*) and the group *πα-τήρ*, &c. (the Nouns of Relationship), is ultimately one of quantity; the Suffixes being—

-*τωρ*, Acc. -*τωρ-α* Gen. -*τηρ-ος* } Derivatives -*τρ-ο*, &c.  
 -*τηρ*, „ -*τήρ-α* „ -*τρ-ός* }

2. Heteroclite forms occur when different Suffixes are brought into a single declension. In particular—

(1) Suffixes ending in *v* interchange with Suffixes in *p*. Thus we find *πίων*, Gen. *πίον-ος* *fat*, but Fem. *πίειρα* (*πί-φερ-γᾶ*), and the Neut. Substantive *πίαρ* *fatness*. (Cp. the Lat. *femur*, *femin-is*, and *jecur*, *jecin-or-is*, which is evidently for an older *jecin-is*.)

(2) Final *τ* is introduced in the Suffix; as in the Gen. *ἥπα-τ-ος* (for *ἥπν-τ-ος*, cp. the Sanscr. *yakrt*, Gen. *yaḥn-as*, Lat. *jecur*, *jecin-or-is*), and other Neuters in -*αρ*, -*ωρ*, Gen. -*ατ-ος*; also in Neuters in -*μα*, Gen. -*ματ-ος* (for -*μν-τ-ος*; cp. the corresponding Latin Suffix -*men*, Gen. -*min-is*). The syllable before *τ* is shortened, so that the Suffix has three degrees of quantity; e. g. -*μων* : -*μεν* : -*μα* (or -*μᾶν*). Similarly *πρόφρων* (*φρεν-*), Fem. *πρόφρασσα* (for *προφρά-τ-γᾶ*). Cp. § 107, 2.

115.] **Accentuation.** The accent is often connected with the form of the Suffix, and sometimes varies with the meaning. But the rules that can be given on this subject are only partial.

1. Stems in -*ο* are generally oxytone when they denote an agent, barytone when they denote the thing done; e. g. *φορός*-*s* *bearer*, but *φόρο-ς* *that which is brought*; *αγός*-*s* *leader*, *ἀρωγός*-*s* *helper*, *τόκο-ς* *offspring*. But *νομός*-*s* *pasture*, *λοιγός*-*s* *pestilence* (perhaps thought of as an agent, 'destroyer').

2. Stems in -*η* are generally oxytone, but there are many exceptions (as *δίκ-η*, *μάχ-η*).

3. Most Stems in -*ιδ*, and all in -*ᾶδ*, are oxytone. But those which admit an Acc. in -*ιν* are all barytone.

4. Adjectives in -*υ* are oxytone; except *θῆλ-υ-ς*. Substantives in -*υ* are mostly oxytone; but see § 116, 4.

5. Neuters in -*εσ* are barytone, but Adjectives in -*εσ*, and the Fem. Nouns in -*ως*, Gen. -*οος*, are oxytone.

6. Nominatives in -*ηρ* and -*ην* are oxytone. Those in -*ωρ* and -*ων* (Gen. -*ονος*) are barytone, those in -*ων* (Gen. -*ωνος*) are oxytone.

Exceptions; *μήτηρ*, *θυγάτηρ*; *τέρην*, *ἀργών*, *ἀηδών*; Nouns in -*δών* (Gen. -*δόν-ος*).

7. Stems in -*το* with the O-form are barytone, with the short form oxytone; e. g. *κοῖ-το-ς*, *νόσ-το-ς*, but *στα-τό-ς*, &c.



### 8. Abstract Nouns in -τι, -σι are barytone; in -τῷ oxytone.

It will be seen that, roughly speaking, when the Verbal Stem is in the short form, the Suffix is accented, and *vice versa*: also that words with an active meaning (applicable to a personal agent) are oxytone, those with a passive meaning (expressing the *thing done*) are barytone.

116.] **Gender.** The Gender of Nouns is determined in most cases by the Suffix. The following rules do not apply to Compounds, as to which see § 125.

1. Stems in -ο are Masc. or Neut., with some exceptions, as δόδος, ἀταρπός, κέλευθος, νήσος, φηγός, ἀμπελος, νόσος, ταφρός, ψήφος, σποδός, ψάμαθος, ῥάβδος, δοκός, ῥινός, πρό-χοος. In these the change of Gender seems to be due to the meaning.

κλυτός is used in agreement with a Fem. in Il. 2. 742; and πικρός in Od. 4. 406.

Πύλος has the two epithets ἡμαθόεις and ἡγαθέη, and is probably therefore of both Genders.

2. Stems in -η (for -ᾱ) are mainly Fem.; but—

Stems in -τη denoting an agent are Masc., as δέκ-τη-s a *beggar*, αἰχμη-τή-s a *warrior*. Also, πόρκη-s the *ring of a spear*, ἔτης-s *comrade*, ταμῖη-s *dispenser*, perhaps ἀγγελίη-s a *messenger*; also the proper names Βορέα-s, Ἑρμεία-s, Αἰνεία-s, Αὐγεία-s, Τειρεσία-s, Ἀγχίση-s, Ἀἰδῆ-s.

Nouns in -της are probably formed from Feminine abstract or collective Nouns in -τη. Thus there may have been Feminines δέκ-τη *begging*, αἰχμη-τή the *body of spearmen*, &c. The formation of a concrete Noun from such words may be illustrated from various usages. The first step is the use of the abstract or collective word as a concrete; cp. Od. 22. 209 δηλική δέ μοι ἐσσι θοῦ art one of the same age (= δηλῆς) with me; Il. 12. 213 δῆμον ἔοντα being one of the common people; Latin *magistratus*, *potestas* (Juv. 10. 100), *optio*; English a *relation* (= a relative). So φυγ-άς doubtless meant primarily a *body of fugitives*, νομ-άς a *pasturing tribe*, &c. With the change of Gender (without a fresh Suffix) we may compare the French *un trompette*, meaning a *bearer of a trumpet*, Italian *il poilestà the magistrate*.

So ἔτης-s is probably from a word σφέ-τη *kindred*, ἀγγελίη-s (if the word exists, see Buttmann Lexil. s. v.) from ἀγγελίη. The Masc. ταμῖη-s may be formed from the concrete Fem. ταμίη, the office of household manager being generally filled by a woman (γύνη ταμίη, Od.). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 7-13.

3. Stems in -ᾱ (-γαῖ); -ῖδ, -ᾷδ are Fem.; also most Stems in -ι. But μάν-τι-s is Masc., and some Adjectives—ῖδ-μι-s, τρόφ-ι-s, εὐνι-s—are of all Genders.

Masc. Nouns in -ο sometimes form a Fem. in -ι, -ιδ, -ᾷδ: as θούρο-s, Fem. θούρι-s (Acc. θούρι-ν, Gen. θούριδ-ος); φόρ-το-s *burden*, φόρ-τι-s (Gen. φόρτιδ-ος) a *ship of burden*; τόκο-s, Fem. τοκάδ-ες; λευκό-s, Fem. λευκάδ-α (πέτρην).

Originally (as in Sanscrit) the chief Feminine Suffix was -ι; and it is this Fem. ι that yields the varieties -ιδ, -ᾷδ and -γαῖ. The metre shows that the long ι

should be restored in *ῥιν-ς* (βοῦν ῥιν εὐρυμέταπον Il. 10. 292, Od. 3. 382), *βλο-συνῶπις* (Il. 11. 36), and *βοῶπις* (Il. 18. 357, where the Ven. A has *βοῶπι πότνια Ἥρη*). The *τ* appears also in *ψιδ-ος*, *κνημιδ-ας*, *ἐνπλοκαμιδ-ες*.

4. Adjectives in *-ῶ* are generally Masc., and form the Fem. in *-εῖα* or *-ᾶ* (for *-εῖα*), as *ἡδεῖα*, *ώκέα*. But *θῆλυ-ς* as a Fem. is commoner than *θήλεια*; and we also find *ἡδὺς ἀϋτμή* (Od. 12. 369), *πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρήν* (Il. 10. 27).

On the other hand most Substantives in *-υ-ς* are Fem. (and oxytone), and this *υ* is naturally long, as in *ἰθύ-ς aim* (whereas the Adj. *ἰθύ-ς straight* has *ῡ*), *πληθύ-ς multitude*, *ἰλύ-ς mud*, *Ἐρινύ-ς*, and the abstract Nouns in *-τύ-ς*, as *βρω-τύ-ς*, *ὄρχησ-τύ-ς*, *κλι-τύ-ς*. But there are a few Masc. Substantives (chiefly barytone) in *-υ*, *θρήνυ-ς*, *στάχυ-ς*, *βότρυ-ς*, *νέκυ-ς*, *ἰχθύ-ς*; also the Neut. *ἄστυ*, *δόρυ*, *γόνυ*, *πῶϋ*, *μέθυ*.

It appears that the long *-υ* was originally Fem., like *ᾱ* and *ι*; cp. the preceding note.

5. The Suffix *-εσ* is almost confined in Homer to Neut. Substantives; the only examples of Adjectives are *ὑγιής* (Il. 8. 524), *ἐλεγχέ-ες* (Il. 4. 242., 24. 239), *φραδέ-ος νόου* (Il. 24. 354). In Il. 4. 235 (*οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψευδέσσι πατήρ Ζεὺς ἔσσει' ἀρωγός*) we may equally well read *ψεύδεσσι* (*Zeus will not help falsehood*).

It seems very probable that these words are to be accounted for in much the same way as the Masculines in *-της*, viz. as abstract turned into concrete Nouns by a simple change of Gender. The transition may be observed in *ψεύδος* in such uses as Il. 9. 115 *οὐ γὰρ ψεύδος ἐμὰς ἀτὰς κατέλεξας not falsely (lit. not falsehood) hast thou related my folly*. So *ἐλέγχεα reproaches*! passes into *ἐλεγχείες*.

6. The different Feminine Suffixes are chiefly used to express an abstract or a collective meaning; e.g. *κακό-ς coward*, *κᾶκη cowardice*; *φύζα* and *φυγ-ή flight*; *βουλή counsel*, also *the body of counsellors, a council*; *φρόν-ι-ς understanding*; *νιφ-άς (-ᾶδ-ος) a snow-storm*; *πληθ-ύ-ς multitude* (collective and abstract); and the Nouns in *-τις* (*-σις*), *-τυς*, *-ιη*, *-δων*.

#### Denominative Nouns.

117.] **Secondary Suffixes.** The following are the chief Secondary or 'Denominative' Suffixes. (Note that final *ο* of the Primitive Stem is elided before Secondary Suffixes beginning with a vowel.)

*-ιο*, *-ιη*; as *δῖκα-ιο-ς just*, *ἄρμον-ιη a joining*, *ἄρθμ-ιο-ς friendly*, *αἰδοῖο-ς* (for *αἰδοσ-ιο-ς*) *reverenced*, *γελοῖο-ς* (probably to be written *γελῶ-ιο-ς*) *laughable*.

*-ειο*, *-εο* (chiefly used to denote *material*, especially the animal which furnishes the material of a thing); e.g. *ἵππ-ειο-ς*, *ταύρ-ειο-ς*, *αἶγ-ειο-ς*, *βό-ειο-ς* and *βό-εο-ς*, *κυν-έη*, *χάλκ-ειο-ς* and

χάλκ-εο-s, κυάν-εο-s, δουράτ-εο-s, φλόγ-εο-s, ἡγάθ-εο-s (from ἀγαθός-s), δαιδάλ-εο-s, &c. These must be distinguished from the Adjectives in which ειο stands for εο-ιο, as τέλειο-s (for τελεσ-ιο-s), ουνείδειο-s, Ἀργεῖο-s.

A variety of -ειο, -α-ιο is to be recognised in -ἰδιο, -ᾶδιο; e. g. κουρ-ἰδιο-s, μαψ-ιδίως, ῥη-ἰδιο-s, ἐπι-νεφρ-ἰδιο-ν; κρυπτ-ᾶδιο-s, διχθ-ᾶδιο-s, μινυθ-ᾶδιο-s.

But other Stems in -διο, as στᾶ-διο-s, σχε-δίη, παρ-συ-δίη, are either Primitive (§ 114), or derived from Stems in -δο (from -γο).

As Curtius points out (Grundz. p. 648) -ᾶδιο and -ἰδιο stand to -αιο, -ειο very much as Verbs in -αῖω, -ῖω to Verbs in -αω, -εω (-εδιο-s becoming -ἰδιο-s as -εβ-γω becomes -ιδ-γω, -ῖω). See § 53.

-ἰδη, -ᾶδη; in patronymics, as Ἀτρε-ἰδη-s, Πηλη-ἰάδη-s, Ἀσκληπι-ᾶδη-s. This δ is also explained as a development from ι or γ (Curt. *ibid.*); but the theory is not free from doubt.

-ρο, -ερο; as λιγυ-ρό-s *shrill*, δυοφ-ερός *dark*.

-ευ; ἵππ-εύ-s *horseman*, ἀριστ-εύ-s *one who does best*, χαλκ-εύ-s, ἱερ-εύ-s, νομ-εύ-s, Σμινθ-εύ-s, &c.—all from Nouns in -ο.

-ῖμο; ἀοιδ-μο-s *matter of song*, μόρ-μο-s *fated*, &c.

-ῖνο; φήγ-ωο-s *oaken*, εἰάρ-ωο-s *of spring*, &c.

-τητ; φιλό-τητ-a *love*, δηῖο-τήτ-a *battle*.

-σῦνο, -σῦνη; γηθό-συνο-s *joyful*; ἵππο-σῦνη *horsemanship*, &c.

-εντ (for -Fεντ), Fem. -εσσα; ὑλή-εντ-a, Fem. ὑλή-εσσα-a *wooded*, διη-εντ-a *full of eddies*, λειριό-εντ-a *like the lily*, &c.

-ῖκο; only found in ὄρφαν-ικό-s *orphan*, παρθεν-ική *virgin*, and a few Adjectives from proper names, as Τρω-ικό-s, Ἀχαι-ικό-s, Πελασγ-ικό-s. In these words it is evident that there is no approach to the later meaning of the Suffix.

-τη (τᾶ); ναύ-τη-s, ἱππό-τα, τοξό-τα (Voc.), ἀγρό-ται, αἰχμη-τή-s, κορυνή-τη-s, ὑπηνή-τη-s, πολιή-τη-s and πολί-τη-s, ὀδί-τη-s. Some of these are perhaps Primitive: e. g. αἰχμη-τή-s may come from an obsolete \*αἰχμάω *to wield the spear*: see § 119.

The ι of -ἰδη, -ῖμο, -ῖνο, -ῖκο was probably not part of the original Suffix, but was the final vowel of the Stem. We may either suppose (e. g.) that μόρ-ι-μος was formed directly from a Stem μορ-ι- (cp. μοῖρα for μορ-γᾶ), or that it followed the analogy of ἄλκι-μος, φύξι-μος, &c. Cp. the account given in § 109 of the α of -ακis. It is remarkable that ο, which is almost regular as a 'connecting vowel' of Compounds, is extremely rare before Suffixes (except -τη, -τητ, -συνο).

Of the use of Secondary Suffixes to form *Diminutives* there is no trace in Homer. It may be noted here as another difference between Homeric and later Greek that the Verbals in -τέος are entirely post-Homeric.

118.] **Compound Suffixes.** There are some remarkable in-

stances in Homer of a Secondary amalgamating with a Primary Suffix. E. g.—

-αλ-εο; ἄζ-αλέο-s *dry*, ἀργ-αλέο-s (for ἀλγ-αλέο-s) *rainful*, θαρσ-αλέο-s, καρφ-αλέο-s, κερδ-αλέο-s, λευγ-αλέο-s, μυδ-αλέο-s, ῥωγ-αλέο-s, σμερδ-αλέο-s. It is used as a Secondary Suffix in λεπτ-αλέο-s *thin*, ὀπτ-αλέο-s *roast*.

-άλ-ιμο; κῦδ-άλιμο-s *glorious*, καρπ-άλιμο-s *swift*, πευκ-άλιμο-s *shrewd*.

-εινο (for -εσ-ινο or -εσ-νο); φα-εινός-s *shining*, αἰπ-εινός-s *lofty*, ἀλεγ-εινός-s *rainful*; Secondary in ἐρατ-εινός-s, κελαδ-εινός-s, ποθ-εινός-s. This Suffix takes the form -εννο in ἀργ-εννός-s *shining* and ἐρεβ-εννός-s *murky*.

119.] **Gender.** The rules previously given (§ 116) apply to Denominative Nouns; the exceptions are extremely few. Note Il. 19. 88 ἄγριον ἄτην; Il. 20. 229 ἄλδς πολιοῖο; Od. 4. 442 δλοώτατος ὁδμή; Od. 3. 82 πρῆξις . . δήμιος. In these instances metrical convenience may have had some influence.

120.] **Denominative Verbs.** Some apparent anomalies in the Denominative Verbs may be explained by the loss of an intermediate step of formation. Thus, there are many Verbs in -εω not formed from Nouns in -ευ-s, as βουλεύω (βουλ-ή), ἀγορεύω (ἀγορή), θηρεύω (θήρ); so that, instead of the three stages—

νομός-s, Denom. Noun νομ-εύ-s, Denom. Verb νομ-εύ-ω  
ἄριστο-s, „ „ ἄριστ-εύ-s, „ „ ἄριστ-εύ-ω

the language goes directly from any Noun to a Verb in -εω.

Again, the Verbs in -ιαω (§ 60) presuppose Nouns in -ιη, which are seldom found in use: δηριάο-μαι (cp. δῆρι-s from which an intermediate δηρί-η might be formed), μητιάω (cp. μήτι-s); κυδιόων, δοιδιόονσα, ἐδριόωντο, μειδιόων, θαλπιδόων, φυσιόωντες, φαληριόωντα, ἐφ-(καθ-)εψιόωνται, δειελιήσας.

Similarly, a Primitive Noun may appear to be Denominative because the Verb from which it is formed is wanting. E. g. if in the series—

ἀνι-η *vexation*, ἀνι-άω, ἀνι-η-ρός

the Verb were passed over, we should appear to have a Denominative Noun in -ρο-s. Again, if the Primitive Noun in -η and the Verb in -αω were both wanting, we should practically have the Compound Suffix -η-ρο: and this accordingly is the case (e.g.) in αἰψ-ηρός-s (αἰψα) *swift*, θυ-ηλή (θύ-ω), ὑψ-ηλός-s (ὑψι), φύξ-ηλι-s.

In this way are formed the peculiar Homeric -ωρη, -ωλη, which are used virtually as Primary Suffixes (forming abstract Nouns); ἐλπ-ωρή *hope*, θαλπ-ωρή *comfort*, ἀλεωρή (ἀλεφ) *escape*, τερπ-ωλή *delight*, φειδ-ωλή *sparing*, παυσ-ωλή *ceasing*. Note that the dif-

ference between *-ωρη* and *-ωλη* is euphonic; *-ωρη* is found only when there is a preceding *λ* in the Stem.

The Verb-Stem in Denominative Verbs is not always the same as that of the Noun from which it is formed: in particular:—

1. Verbs in *-εω*, *-ωω* lengthen the final *-ο* of the Noun-Stem to *-η* and *-ω*; as *φόβυ-s*, *ἐ-φόβη-sα*; *χόλο-s*, *ἐ-χόλω-sα*.

2. Verbs in *-ζω* form Tenses and derivative Nouns as if from a Verb-Stem in *-δ*; as *ὑβρι-s*, *ὑβρι-ζω*, *ὑβριστής* (as if *ὑβριδ-τη-s*, although there is no *δ* in the declension of *ὑβρι-s*).

3. Nominal Stems in *-ρο*, *-λο*, *-νο* often suppress the final *-ο*, as *καθαρό-s*, *καθαίρω* (for *καθαρ-γω*); *ποικίλο-s*, *ποικίλλω* (for *ποικιλ-γω*), *ποικίλ-ματα*.

The *η* and *ω* of the Verbs in *-εω* and *-ωω* (originally *-ηω*, *-ωω*), and also the *ζ* of the Verbs in *-ζω* have been explained from the original *γ* of the Suffix by which these Verbs form the Present. If so, the other Tenses should come directly from the Nominal Stem—those of Verbs in *-εω*, *-ωω* from Stems in *ε* or *ο*, those of Verbs in *-ζω* without any trace of *δ*, &c. We must either suppose, therefore, (1) that the formative *-γε* or *-γο* was not confined to the Present—so that (e.g.) *ὑβριστής* is for *ὑβρι-γ-τής*: or (2) that from the familiarity of the Pres. *χολώ-ω*, *ὑβριδ-ω*, &c., the forms *χολω-*, *ὑβριδ-*, &c. came to be thought of as the Verb-Stems, instead of *χολο-*, *ὑβρι-*, &c. The latter seems the more probable supposition.

### *Comparatives and Superlatives.*

121.] The Suffixes which express comparison—either between two sets of objects (Comparative) or between one and several others (Superlative)—are partly Primary, partly Secondary. Hence it is convenient to treat them apart from the Suffixes of which an account has been already given.

The Comparative Suffix *-ιον* is Primary: the Positive (where there is one) being a parallel formation from the same (Verbal) Root. The Homeric Comparatives of this class are:—

*γλυκ-ίων* (*γλυκ-ύ-s*), *αἰσχ-ιον* (*αἰσχ-ρό-s*), *πάσσων* (for *παχ-ίων*, *παχ-ύ-s*), *βράσσων* (*βραχ-ύ-s*), *θάσσων* (*ταχ-ύ-s*), *κρείσσων* (for *κρετ-ίων*, *κρατ-ύ-s*), *κακ-ίων*, *ὑπολίζου-ες* (*ὀλίγ-ο-s*), *μείζων* (*μέγ-α-s*), *μᾶλλον* (*μάλ-α*), *ἄσσων* (*ἄγχ-ι*), *ἥσσων* (*ἦκα*), *χείρων* and *χερε-ίων* (*χέρ-η-s*), *ἄρε-ίων* (*ἄρε-τή*), *κέρδ-ιον* (*κέρδ-ος*), *ρίγ-ιον* (*ρίγ-ος*), *κάλλ-ιον* (*κάλλ-ος*), *ἄλγ-ιον* (*ἄλγ-ος*), *πλε-ίων* (Root *πλε-*), *μείων* (Root *μῖ-*), *φιλ-ίων*, *ἀμείνων*, *βέλτ-ιον*, *λώ-ιον*.

The Superlative *-ιστο* is used in the same way; we have:—

*ῥδ-ιστο-s* (*ῥδ-ύ-s*), *ῶκ-ιστο-s* (*ῶκ-ύ-s*), *βάρδ-ιστο-s* (*βραδ-ύ-s*), *κύδ-ιστο-s* (*κύδ-ος*), *κῆδ-ιστο-s* (*κῆδ-ος*), *ἐχθ-ιστο-s* (*ἐχθ-ρό-s*), *ἐλέγχ-ιστο-s* (*ἐλεγχ-ος*), *οἶκτ-ιστο-s* (*οἶκτ-ο-s*), *μήκ-ιστα* (*μῆκ-ος*), *βάθ-ιστο-s* (*βαθ-ύ-s*), *ρή-ιστο-s* (*ρεία*, for *ρή-α*), *φέρ-ιστο-s* (*φέρ-ω*); also,

answering to Comparatives given above, αἰσχ-ιστο-s, πάχ-ιστο-s, τάχ-ιστα, κάρτ-ιστο-s, κάκ-ιστο-s, μέγ-ιστο-s, μάλ-ιστα, ἄγχ-ιστα, ἡκ-ιστο-s, ἄρ-ιστο-s, κέρδ-ιστο-s, βίγ-ιστα, κάλλ-ιστο-s, ἄλγ-ιστο-s, πλε-ῖστο-s: finally, the anomalous πρῶτ-ιστο-s.

Traces of a Comparative Suffix -ερο appear in ἐν-εροι *those beneath* (Lat. *inf-eru-s, sup-eru-s*).

The Suffix -το or -ᾶτο is found in the Ordinals τρί-το-s, &c., and with the Superlative meaning in ὑπ-ατο-s, νέ-ατο-s, πύμ-ατο-s, μέσσ-ατος, ἔσχ-ατο-s, and πρῶτος (for πρό-ατο-s); also combined with Ordinal Suffixes in the Homeric τρί-τ-ατο-s, ἐβδόμ-ατο-s, ὀγδό-ατο-s. The form -ᾶτο is probably due to the analogy of the Ordinals τέτρα-το-s, ἑνα-το-s, δέκα-το-s, in which the ᾶ is part of the Stem.\*

A Suffix -μο may be recognised in πρό-μο-s *foremost man* (Lat. *inf-ī-mu-s, sum-mu-s, pri-mu-s, ulli-mu-s, mini-mu-s*).

The common Suffixes -τερο, -τᾶτο appear with a Verb-Stem in φέρ-τερο-s, φέρ-τατο-s (cp. φέρ-ιστο-s), βέλ-τερο-s (βόλ-ομαι), φίλ-τερο-s, φίλ-τατο-s (cp. ἐ-φίλα-το *loved*), δεύ-τερο-s, δεύ-τατο-s (δεύ-ω *to fail, come short of*).† Otherwise they are used with Nominal Stems: e.g. πρεσβύ-τερο-s, βασιλεύ-τερο-s, μελάν-τερο-s, κύν-τατο-ν, μακάρ-τατο-s, ἀχαρίστερος (ἀ-χαριτ-τερος). Final ο of the Stem becomes ω when a long syllable is needed to give dactylic rhythm; as κακῶ-τερο-s, κακοζείνῳ-τερο-s; sometimes it is dropped, as in γεραί-τερο-s from γεραῖό-s, δεξι-τερό-s from δεξιό-s, ὑπέρ-τερο-s, ἐνέρ-τερο-s. In ἀνιηρέσ-τερος (Od. 2. 190) the Stem follows the analogy of θυμ-ῆρες, &c. In μυχοί-τατο-s *innermost* the Stem appears to be a Locative Case-form; cp. παροί-τεροι *more forward*, and later forms like κατώ-τερο-s, ἀνώ-τατο-s, &c.; so perhaps in παλαι-τερος (πάλαι).

The Suffix -τερο is combined with the Suffix -ιον in ἄσσο-τέρω (Adv.) *nearer*, χειρό-τερο-s and χερείω-τερο-s *worse*.

*Note.* The Suffix -ιον (-γων) has taken the place of an older -ιος (see § 107, 4), which again (on the principles stated in the note to § 114) points to a variation between -ιος (= Lat. -ior) and -εος. With a second Suffix -το and consequent further shortening to -ισ this gives -ιστο-το.

A trace of -γες may perhaps be found in πλείς (Il. 11. 395), πλείας (Il. 2. 129) *more*, for πλεί-ες, πλεί-εας (by Hypphaeresis, § 105, 4); which forms, again, would represent πλε-γες-ες, -ας.

-τερο, -τᾶτο are combinations of -το (in τρί-το-s, &c.) with the Suffixes -ερο and -ᾶτο respectively. The tendency to accumulate Suffixes of comparison is seen in ἐν-έρ-τερος (-τατος), ἄσσο-τέρω, χειρό-τερος and χερείω-τερος; τρί-τ-ατος, ἐβδόμ-ατος, πρῶτ-ιστος; Lat. -issimu-s (for -is-ti-mu-s), mag-is-ter, min-is-ter.

\* Ascoli in Curt. Stud. ix. p. 339 ff.

† This very probable etymology is given by Brugman. K. Z. xxv. p. 298.

122.] **Comparative and Superlative Meaning.** The Stem is often that of a Substantive, as *κύν-τερο-s* *more like a dog*, *βασιλεύ-τατο-s* *most kingly*; so that the Adjectival character is given by the Suffix; and the meaning is often, not that an object has more of a quality than some other object or set of objects, but that it has the quality *in contradistinction to objects which are without it*. Thus in *πρό-τερο-s* the meaning is not *more forward*, but *forward*, opposed to *ὕσ-τερο-s* *behind*. So *ὑπέρ-τερο-s* and *ἐνέρ-τερο-s*, *δεξι-τερό-s* and *ἀρισ-τερό-s*, *δεύ-τερο-s*, &c. The same thing appears in the Pronouns *ἡμέ-τερο-s*, *ὕμέ-τερο-s*, *ἐ-τερο-s*, *πό-τερο-s*, *ἐκά-τερο-s*, *ἀμφό-τερο-s*, &c.; *ἡμέ-τερο-s* (e. g.) is not *more belonging to us*, but *belonging to us (not you)*. So in the Homeric Comparatives:—

*ἀγρό-τερο-s* of the country (opp. to the town).  
*ὄρέσ-τερο-s* of the mountains (opp. to the valley).  
*θεώ-τεραι*, opp. to *καταιβαταὶ ἀνθρώποισιν* (Od. 13. 111).  
*θηλύ-τεραι* female (opp. to male).  
*κουρό-τεροι* the class of youths.  
*ἀπλό-τεροι* the class that bears arms.

#### Composition.

123.] It is a general law of Greek and the kindred languages that while a Verb cannot be compounded with any prefix except a Preposition, a Nominal Stem may be compounded with any other Nominal Stem, the first or prefixed Stem serving to limit or qualify the notion expressed by the other.

The Homeric language contains very many Compounds formed by the simple placing together of two Nominal Stems: as *πολι-πορθο-s* *sacker of cities*, *ρόδο-δάκτυλο-s* *rose-fingered*, *τελεσ-φόρο-s* *bringing to an end*, *βουλη-φόρο-s* *bringing counsel*, *ὑψ-αγόρη-s* *talking loftily*, *πρωθ-ήβη-s* (for *πρωτο-ήβη-s*) *in the prime of youth*, &c.

124.] **Form of the Prefixed Stem.** The instances which call for notice fall under the following heads:—

a. Stems in -ο, -η:—

The great number of Nominal Stems in -ο created a tendency (which was aided by the convenience of pronunciation) to put -ο in place of other Suffixes. Thus we have—

-ο for -η, as *ῥυλο-τόμο-s* *wood-cutter*, &c.

-ο for -εσ, as *ῥυλο-κόμο-s* *wool-dresser*, *μενο-εικής* *pleasing to the spirit*; and for -ᾶς, as *γηρο-κόμο-s* *tending old age*.

-μο for -μον, as *ἀκμό-θετο-ν* *anvil-block*; and for -μα, as *αἰμο-φόρυκτο-s* *dabbled with blood*, *Κυμο-δόκη*, &c.

-ρο for -ρά, in *πατρο-κασίγνητος*, *μητρο-πάτωρ*, *ἀνδρο-φόνος*, and

the like. In *ἀνδρά-ποδον* the true short Stem (as in *ἀνδρά-σι*) is retained.

-ο inserted after a consonant; *παῖδ-ο-φόνος* *child-slayer*, *ἀρματ-ο-πηγός* *chariot-builder*, *ὑδατ-ο-τρεφής* *water-fed*, *ἐλε-ό-θρεπτος* (for *ἐλεσ-ο-*) *grown in a marsh*, *ἡερ-ο-φοῖτις* *flying in air*, *δοῦρο-δόκη* (*δορφ-ο-*) *spear-holder*, *κεραο-ξός* (*κερασ-ο-*) *worker in horn*. Sometimes the -ο is a real Suffix; e.g. in *δι-ο-γενής* (*διφ-γο*) *Zeus-sprung* (= *δίων γένος ἔχων*).

Stems in -η instead of -ο appear in *θαλαμη-πόλο-ς* *attendant of a chamber*, *πυρη-φόρο-ς* *bearing wheat*, *νεή-φατο-ς*, *ἐλαφη-βόλο-ς*, *ἐκατη-βόλο-ς*, *κραναή-πεδο-ς*, *ὑπερή-φανο-ς*, *ὀλιγη-πελέων*. We may suppose that there was a collateral Stem in -η (e.g. *θαλάμη* is found, but in a different sense from *θάλαμο-ς*, *Od.* 5. 432), or that the Compound follows the analogy of *βουλη-φόρο-ς*, &c.

Fem. -ᾱ becomes either -ο, as *ἀελλό-πος* *storm-foot*; or -η, as *γαῖη-οχο-ς* *earth-holder*, *μοιρη-γενής* *born by fate*.

The result of these changes is to make ο the 'connecting vowel' in the great majority of Compounds. In later Greek this form prevails almost exclusively.

#### δ. Stems in -Υ:—

The Compounds which contain these Stems are mostly of an archaic stamp: *ἀργί-ποδ-ες* *with swift (or white) feet*, *ἀργι-όδουτ-ες* *white-toothed*, *ἀργι-κέραυνο-ς* *with bright lightning*, *τερπι-κέραυνο-ς* *hurling thunderbolts* (*τέρπω=torqueo*), *εἰλί-ποδ-ες* *trailing (?) the feet (of oxen)*, *ἡλί-βατο-ς* *with treacherous foot-hold* (cp. *ἡλός* *erring*), *αἰγί-λιψ* *deserted by goats*, *ἄλ-πλοο-ς* *washed by the sea*, also *ἄλι-αῆς*, *ἄλι-πόρφυρος*, *Ἀλί-αρτος*, *Ἀλί-ζωνοί*, *Ἀλι-θέρης* (cp. *ἄλι-εύς* *fisherman*), *αἰγί-βοτο-ς* *fed on by goats*, *χαλί-φρων* *of light mind*, *δαί-φρων* *warlike (or prudent)*, *ἀλεξι-κακο-ς* *defender against ill*, *λαθι-κηδής* *forgetting care*, *πυκι-μηδής* *with shrewd counsel*, *καλλι-γύναικ-α* *with beautiful women* (cp. *κάλλι-μος*), *κυδι-άνειρα* *glorifying men* (cp. *κυδι-όων*); with the Proper Names, *Αἰθί-οπ-ες*, *Πειρί-θοο-ς*, *Ἀλκί-νοο-ς*, *Ἀλκι-μέδων* (cp. *ἄν-αλκι-ς*), and the words beginning with *ἀρι-* and *ἐρι-*.

The meaning of several of these words is very uncertain, owing to the merely ornamental and conventional way in which they are used in Homeric poetry. It seems to follow that they are survivals from an earlier period, one in which the number of Stems in -ι was probably greater than in Homeric times.

Loss of ο may be recognised in *ἀρτί-πος* (= *ἄρτιος τοῦ πόδας*), *ζεί-δαρος* *grain-giving* (*ζειά*), *κραται-γάλος* *of strong pieces*, *Δηί-φοβος*; cp. *γεραί-τερος* from *γεραίός*.

#### ε. Stems in -αι:—

This group is mainly Homeric: *ἐρυσί-πολι* (Voc.) *deliverer of the city* (with v.l. *ῥυσί-πολι*, *Il.* 6. 305), *ἀερσί-ποδ-ες* *lifting the feet* (i.e. with high action), *πλήξ-ιππο-ς* *smiter of horses*, *λυσι-μελής* *loosening the limbs (of sleep)*, *ταυσι-πτερο-ς*, *ταλασι-φρων*,



ἀεσί-φρων, ταμεσί-χρως, φαεσί-μβροτο-s, φυσί-ζοος, φθισί-μβροτο-s, τερψί-μβροτο-s, ἐνοσί-χθων (ἐννοσί-γαιος, &c.), πηγεσί-μαλλο-s, ὤλεσι-καρπο-s, ἀλφεσί-βοιος, ἐλκεσί-πεπλο-s, φθισ-ήνωρ, πλησι-οτιο-s, ἐρυσ-άρματ-es, ῥηξ-ήνωρ, γαμψ-ῶνυξ; and Proper Names, Πρωτεσί-λαο-s, Ἀρσί-νοο-s, Δεισ-ήνωρ, Λύσ-ανδρος, Πεισ-ήνωρ, Πεισί-στρατο-s, Ὀρσί-λοχο-s, Ἀναβησί-νεως, &c.

There are a few Stems in -τι; βωτι-άνειρα *feeding men*, Καστι-άνειρα (cp. κε-κασ-μένος).

It is a question whether these Stems can be connected with the abstract Nouns in -τι-s, -σι-s. Some of them appear also in simple Nouns, as τέρψι-s, πλήξι-s; but more commonly there is a difference of quantity, as in φύσι-ζοο-s *life-giving* (φύσι-s), λῦσι-μελής, φθισί-μβροτο-s. Compare also ταμεσί-χρως with τμήσι-s, Πεισί-στρατο-s with πίστι-s, &c.

This group of Compounds is also to be noticed for the distinctly *Verbal* or *participial* meaning given by the first part of the word; cp. the next group, and § 126.

#### d. Stems in -ε:—

These are nearly all Verbal, both in form and meaning: ἐλκε-χίτων-es *trailing the chiton*, μενε-δήιο-s *withstanding foemen* (so μενε-χάρμη-s, μενε-πόλεμο-s, Μενέ-λαο-s, Μενε-σθεύς, &c.); ἐχέ-θυμο-s *restraining passion*, ἐχέ-φρων *possessing judgment*, ἐχε-πενκές *carrying sharpness*, Ἐχέ-πωλο-s, Ἐχέ-υηος, Ἐχε-κλῆς; ἀγε-λείη *driving spoil*, ἀρχέ-κακο-s *beginning mischief*, ἀγχε-μαχο-s *fighting close*, λεχε-ποίη *with beds of grass*: Ἀρχέ-λοχο-s, Φέρε-κλος, Μελέ-αγρο-s; also (if ε is elided) ψευδ-άγγελο-s *bringing false news*, αἰθ-οψ *fiery*, μισγ-ἀγκεια *the meeting-place of glens*, Ἀλέξ-ανδρος.

Stems in -σε; ἀκερσε-κόμη-s *with unshorn hair*, Περσε-φόνεια.

With the Stems in -ε may evidently be placed ταλα-, in ταλδ-φρων *with enduring mind*, ταλα-εργό-s *enduring in work*, ταλαύριμος (for ταλα-φρινο-s) *bearing a shield of hide*, ταλα-πενθής *bearing sorrow*, ταλα-πείριος *bearing trial*; and τλη- in Τλη-πόλεμος, &c.

#### e. Case-forms:—

The Dative is probably to be recognised in ἀρητ-φατο-s *slain in war* (and so Ἀρητ-θοο-s, Ἀρητ-λυκο-s), πυρι-ηκής *sharpened by fire* (πυρί-κανστο-s, Πυρι-φλεγέθων), διῦ-πειτής *falling in the sky*; the Dat. Plur. in κηρесси-φόρητο-s *brought by the fates*, ὄρεσι-τροφο-s *nursed in mountains*, ἐγχεσί-μωρο-s *furiously with spears*, ἐντεσι-εργό-s *working in harness*, τειχεσι-πλήτα (Voc.) *drawing near to (assailing) walls*, Ναυσι-κάα, Μηδεσι-κάστη, Πασι-θέη, Χερσι-δάμας; a Locative form in χαμαι-εύνης *sleeping on the ground*, ὁδοι-πόρο-s *a wayfarer*, χοροι-τυπή *figuring in the dance*, Πυλοι-γενής *born at Pylos*: perhaps also in παλαι-φατο-s *of ancient fame*, and (to express manner) in ἰθαι-γενής *duly born*, ὀλοοι-τροχο-s *rolling*. Cp. ἐμ-πυρι-βήτης *made to stand over the fire*, i. e. a *kettle*.

This use of the Dative may have been suggested by the Stems in -ι and -σι. Compounds such as *ἐλκεσί-πεπλος*, *ἔλκεσί-καρπος*, *ἀλφεσί-βοιος*, containing forms which sounded like the Dat. Plur. of Stems in -εσ, may have served as types for the group *ἐγχεσί-μορος*, *τειχεσί-πλήτης*, *δρεσί-τροφος*, &c. in which the Dat. Plur. takes the place of the Stem.

Conversely, *φερέσ-βιος* *life-bearing* ought to be \**φερεσί-βιος*, but has followed the type of *δρέσ-βιος*, *τελέσ-φόρος*, &c.

The forms *διτ-φιλο-s*, *ἀρητ-φιλο-s*, *ἀρηι-κτάμενο-s*, *δαϊ-κτάμενο-s*, *δουρι-κλυτό-s*, *δουρι-κλειτό-s*, *ναυσι-κλυτό-s*, should probably be written as separate words, *Διτ φίλος*, *Ἀρηι κτάμενος*, &c.

As to -κτάμενος, see the rule, § 125, 3: as to -κλυτός, -κλειτός, cp. the rules of accentuation, § 128.

The Genitive is very rare: *οὐδενόσ-ωρος* *caring for nothing*, *Ἑλλήσ-ποντος*.

The Accusative may possibly be recognised in *δικασ-πόλο-s* *busied about suits* (*δίκαι*), *ἄταλά-φρων* *with childish thought* (= *ἄταλά φρονέων*, which is also used in Homer), *ἀκαλα-ρρεϊτης* *gently flowing*, *Ἀλκά-θοος* (cp. Dat. *ἀλκ-ί*), *ποδά-νιπρον*, *κυνά-μνια*.

125.] **Form of the second Stem.** 1. The use of a Verbal Stem as a Noun, but without a distinct Nominal Suffix (§ 113), is more common in Composition than in simple Nouns: as, *δι-ζυγ-ες* *yoked in a pair*, *δι-πλακ-α* (Acc. Sing.) *two-fold*, *χέρ-νιβ-α* *hand-washing*, *ὄν-οπ-α* *wine-like*, *νῆιδα* (*νῆ-ῖδα*) *ignorant*, *αἰγί-λιπ-ος* (Gen.) *left by goats*, *πολυ-αῖξ* *much starting*, *βου-πλήξ* *an ox-whip*.

2. Nouns in -ώς (Gen. -οος) and in -ος (Gen. -εος) form the Nom. of the Compound in -ης, Neut. -ες, as *ἀ-σφαλές* *safe*, *ἀν-αιδής* (Neut. *ἀν-αιδές*) *without shame* (*αἰδώς*).

Conversely, Stems in ην (εν-) usually take ων (ον-) in Composition: e. g. *φρήν* (Gen. *φρεν-ός*) forms *πρό-φρων*, Gen. *πρό-φρον-ος*: and Neuters in -μα form Compounds in -μων, Gen. -μον-ος, as *ἀν-αίμων-ες* (*αἷμα*) *bloodless*. So *πατήρ*, *μήτηρ*, *ἄνῆρ*, &c. form -ωρ (Gen. -ορ-ος), as *μητρο-πάτωρ*, *εὐ-ήνωρ*.

Some Stems take a final -τ, as *ἀ-βλή-τ-α* (Acc. Sing.) *unthrone*, *ἀ-κμη-τ-ες* *unwearied*; so *ἐπι-βλής*, *ἀ-δμής*, *ἀ-γνώς*.

In Adjectives the Suffix is often replaced by one ending in -ο; as *ὁ-πατρο-s* *of one father*, *βαρβαρό-φωνο-s* *with strange voice* (from *φώνη*), *χρυσ-ηλάκατο-s* *with golden distaff* (*ἡλακάτη*), *δυσ-ώνυμο-s* *of evil name*, (*ὄνομα*), *ἀ-σπερμο-s* *without seed* (*σπέρμα*), &c. In other cases the Suffix is retained, and thus we find in Compounds (contrary to the general rules of Noun-formation)—

Masc. Stems in -η, -ιδ, as *ἀργυρο-δίνη-s*, *λευκ-άσιπιδ-ες*.

Masc. and Fem. Stems in -εσ, as *μελι-ηδής* *honey-sweet*, *ἡρι-γένεια* (for -εσ-γᾶ) *early born*.

Fem. Stems in -ο, as *χρυσό-θρονο-s* (*Ἥρη*), *ρόδο-δάκτυλο-s* (*Ἡώς*), and many other Adjectives 'of two terminations.'

A Masc. Stem in -ματ, viz. ἐρυσ-άρματ-ες (ἵπποι).

3. The use of a Participle in the second part is irregular, but occurs in some Proper Names, as Οὐκ-αλέγων, Πυρι-φλεγέθων, Θεο-κλύμενος. In other cases we can write the words separately, as πάλιν πλαγχθέντας (Π. 1. 59), δάκρυ χέων, πᾶσι μέλουσα, κάρη κομώνυτες, εὐ ναιετάων, εὐρὺ ρέων, ἐὺ κτήμενος, πάλιν ὄρμενος, Ἀρηϊ κτάμενος, δαΐ κτάμενος, &c.

4. Abstract Primitive Nouns are not used in the second part: thus we do not find ἐπες-βολή, but ἐπες-βολή (through a concrete ἐπες-βόλο-ς): and so βο-ηλασίη (not βο-ήλασι-ς), ἀνδρο-κτασί-η, εὐ-δικ-ίη, &c. Except after Prepositions; as ἀμφί-βασι-ς (which comes directly from the Verb ἀμφι-βαίνω), ἐπί-κλησι-ς, προ-χρή, προ-δοκή. Note however παλῖωξις (for παλι-ίωξι-ς), βου-λυτό-ς (*the time of unyoking*), βού-βρωστι-ς.

5. When the latter part of a Compound is derived from a dissyllabic Verbal Stem beginning with a vowel, its initial vowel is often lengthened: e. g.:—

ἐλα- *drive*, ἵππ-ηλάτα, ἐξ-ήλα-τος, βο-ηλα-σίη.

ἐρα- *love*, ἐπ-ήρα-τος, πολυ-ήρα-τος.

ἀμελγ- *milk*, ἀν-ήμελκτος, ἵππ-ημολγοί.

ἀρό-ω *plough*, ἀν-ήρο-τος.

ἀλέγ-ω *care*, δυσ-ηλεγ-έος (Gen.), ἀπ-ηλεγ-έως.

ἐρέφ-ω *cover*, κατ-ηρεφ-ής, ἀμφ-ηρεφ-ής, ὑπ-ωρόφ-ιος.

ἀμειβ-ω *change*, ἐξ-ημοιβ-ός.

ἐρετ- *row*, φιλ-ήρετ-μος, δολιχ-ήρετμος.

ἐνεκ- *carry*, δι-ηνεκ-ής, ποδ-ηνεκ-ής, δOUR-ηνεκ-ής.

ἐλυ(θ)- *come*, νε-ήλυδ-ες.

ἀγερ- *assemble*, ὁμ-ηγερ-έες, θυμ-ηγερ-έων (= θυμὸν ἀγείρων).

ἐριδ- *strive*, ἀμφ-ήριστος *striven about*.

So ποδ-ήνεμος, εὐ-ώνομος (πολυ-ώνυμος, &c.), εὐ-ήνωρ (ἀνερ-), εὐ-ηφενής (from ἄφενος *wealth*), γαμψ-ώνυξ, πεμπ-ώβολον, ἀν-ήκεστος, ἀν-ώϊστος, ἐρι-ούνης (ὀνα- *help*), ὑπ-ώρεια (ὄρος), δι-ηκόσιοι and τρι-ηκόσιοι (ἐκατόν).

Similar lengthening is found, but less frequently, in the first part of the Compound; ὠλεσί-καρπος, ἡλιτό-μηνος, ὠρεί-θυια. Also in other derivatives, as ἡνεμό-εις, ἡνορ-έη, τηλεθόωσα (θάλέθω), ἡγερέθονται (ἀγερ-).

126.] **Meaning of Compounds.** The general rule is that the prefixed Stem limits or qualifies the meaning of the other: as ὤμο-γέρων *hale old man*, δημο-γέρων *elder of the people*, τρι-γέρων (Æsch.) *thrice-aged*; ἵππό-δαμο-ς *tamer of horses*, ἵππό-βοτο-ς *pastured by horses*, ἵππό-κομος *with plume of horse-hair*, ἵππο-κέλευθος *making way with horses*; βαθυ-δινήεις *deep-eddying*.

The Prefixed Stem may evidently express very different relations—the subject,

the object, the material, the manner, &c.—and various attempts have been made to classify Compounds according to these relations. Such attempts are usually unsatisfactory unless the differences of meaning upon which they are based are accompanied by differences of grammatical form.

It will be seen that in many Compounds a change is made from a Substantive to an Adjective without the use of a new Suffix; e.g. *ροδο-δάκτυλο-s* means, not *a rosy finger*, but *having rosy fingers*; so *ἵππο-κομος* with *a horse-plume*, *βαθν-δίη-s* (= *βαθν-δινή-εις*), &c. Such Compounds are called by Curtius *Attributive*.

It is evident that Compounds which differ in Gender from the Stem which holds the second place in them must be Attributive; e.g. *ἵππιο-χαίτη-s* (from Fem. *χαίτη*) with *a horse's mane (as plume)*. The formation of these Compounds is analogous to the turning of abstract into concrete Nouns by a mere change of Gender (instead of a Suffix), § 116. Thus *διο-γενής* (= *διόν γένος ἔχων*) is to *διόν γένος* nearly as *ψευδής* *false* to *ψῆδος* *falsehood*.

The order of the two Stems may be almost indifferent; i.e. it may be indifferent which of the two notions is treated as qualifying the other; e.g. *ποδ-ώκης* with *swiftness of foot* (= *ὥκυν τοὺς πόδας*) is the same in practical effect as *ὥκύ-πους* with *swift feet* (*ὥκεις πόδας ἔχων*).

Among the meanings which may be conveyed by a Stem in a Compound, note the poetical use to express *comparison*: as *ἀελλό-πος*, *storm-foot*, i.e. *with feet (swift) as the storm*, *μελί-γηρυ-s* *honey-voiced*, *ροδο-δάκτυλο-s*, *κυν-ῶπι-s*, &c. So too *ποδ-ήνεμο-s* *like the wind in feet*, *θυμο-λέων* *like a lion in spirit*.

In the Compounds called by Curtius *Objective*, i.e. where the relation between the two parts is that of governing and governed word, the general rule requires that the governed word should come first, as in *ἵππο-δαμο-s* *horse-taming*. This order is reversed in certain cases in which the first Stem has the force of a Verb. The Stems so used are—

1. Stems in *-ε* and *-σι* (§ 124, c, d), as *ἐλκε-χίτωνες*, *ἐχέ-φρων*, &c.; *ἐλκε-σί-πεπλος*, *φθι-σ-ήνωρ*, &c.

2. Some of the Stems in *-ι*, as *εἰλι-ποδες*, *κυδι-άνειρα*, *λαθι-κηδής*, *τερπι-κέραυνος* (§ 124, b); and in *-ο*, as *φιλο-πόλεμος* *loving war*, *φυγο-πόλεμος* *flying from war*, *ἁμαρτο-επής* *blundering in speech*, *ἡλιτό-μηνος* *astray as to the month*: also the Compounds of *ταλα-*, *τλη-*, as *ταλα-πενθής* *enduring sorrow*, *Τλη-πόλεμος*, &c.

In most of these cases the inversion is only apparent. For instance, *ἐλκεσί-πεπλος* means *trailing* the robe as distinguished from other ways of wearing it; the notion of trailing is therefore the limiting one. So *τανυσί-πτερος* means *long-winged*; *μενε-πόλεμος*, *φυγο-πόλεμος*, *Τλη-πόλεμος*, *Νεο-πόλεμος* describe varieties of the genus 'warrior.'

Nevertheless we must recognise a considerable number of Compounds in which the Prefixed Stem is Verbal in form as well

as in meaning. A similar group has been formed in English (e.g. *catch-penny*, *make-shift*, *do-nothing*, &c.), and in the Romance languages (French *vau-rien*, *croque-mitaine*, Italian *fa-legno*, *fa-tutto*, &c.). These groups are of relatively late formation, and confined for the most part to colloquial language. The corresponding Greek forms probably represent a 'new departure' of the same kind, the origin of which can no longer be traced.

127.] **Stems compounded with Prepositions.** These are of two readily distinguishable kinds:—

1. The Preposition qualifies; as *ἐπι-μάρτυρος* *witness to* (something), *περι-κτίου-ες* *dwellers around*, *ἀμφί-φαλο-s* *with crest on both sides*, *πρό-φρων* *with forward mind*.

2. The Preposition governs, i.e. the Compound is equivalent to a Preposition governing a Noun; *ἐν-νύχ-ιο-s* *in the night*, *κατα-χθόν-ιο-s* *under-ground*, *ἀπο-θύμ-ιο-s* *displeasing* (lit. *away from the mind*), &c.; also (but less commonly) without a Secondary Suffix, as *ἐγ-κέφαλο-s* *brain* (lit. *within the head*), *ἐπ-άρουρο-s* *attached to the soil*.

The placing of the Preposition before the governed Stem is a departure from the general rule stated above. It may be explained by the habit of putting the Preposition before its Case when they are separate words. The question whether the Preposition was originally put before its Case will be noticed in the chapter on the Prepositions.

It may be held, however, that the Preposition serves (in some of these Compounds at least) as the limiting or qualifying member of the word. Compare *νύχ-ιο-s* *by night*, *ἐν-νύχ-ιο-s* *within the night*: it is evident that the *ἐν* limits the sense of *νύχτιος* in essentially the same way as *παν-* in *παν-νύχ-ιο-s* *all the night*. So *κατα-χθόν-ιο-s* is nearly equivalent to *χθόν-ιο-s*; the Preposition merely makes it clear in what sense the Suffix *-ιο* is to be understood—'belonging to the earth' by being *under* it.

128.] **Accentuation.** The Accent generally falls on the last syllable of the prefixed Stem, or, if that is impossible, then as far back as possible; *χρυσό-θρονος*, *ἀελλό-πος*, *ἐπ-ήρατο-s* (*ἐρατό-ς*), *αἰν-αρέτη-s* (*ἀρετή*), &c. The chief exceptions are the following:—

1. When the second Stem ends in *-ο* and has the force of an Active Participle, it is oxytone, or, if the penult is short, paroxytone; as *ὑ-φορβό-s*, *δημιο-εργό-s*, *τοξο-φόρο-s*. Except Compounds with Prepositions, as *ἐπι-κλοπο-s*, *πρό-μαχο-s*, *ὑπό-τροπο-s*; also those in *-οχο-s*, and one or two more, *πολλί-πορθο-s*, *ἀγχι-μολο-ν*.

2. Adjectives in *-ης* (Stems in *-εσ*), Nouns in *-ευ-s*, Nouns of the agent in *-τηρ* and *-της*, and Abstract Nouns in *-η* and *-ιη*

retain their accent; *οἶνο-βαρής*, *ἡνι-οχεύ-ς*, *μηλο-β.ιτῆρ-ας*, *ἱππο-κορυστή-ς*, *ἐπ-ιωγή*, *ἄρμα-τροχιή*.

But a few Adjectives in *-ης* are barytone, as *ὕψι-πέτης*, *ποδ-ώκης*, *χαλκ-ήρης*, *τανυ-ήκης*; also the Fem. forms *ἡρι-γένεια*, *ληϊ-βότεира*, *δυσ-αριστο-τόκεια*, *μισγ-άγκεια*.

3. When the second Stem is a long monosyllable, it is accented: *βου-πλήξ*, *ἀπο-ρρώξ*, *παρα-βλῶπ-ες*, *παρα-πλήγ-ας*, *ἀβλής*, &c. (§ 125, 2). Hence the Fem. forms *βο-ῶπ-ι-ς*, *γλαυκ-ῶπ-ι-ς*, &c. (as if from *βο-ῶψ*, *γλαυκ-ῶψ*, &c.).

129.] Proper Names in Greek are generally Compounds; the exceptions are chiefly names of gods, as *Ζεὺς*, *Ἥρῃ*, *Ἀθήνη*, &c., and of certain heroes, as *Πάρις*, *Πρίαμος*, *Αἴας*, *Τεύκρος*, &c. Note that the gods whose names are Compound, as *Διό-νυσος*, *Δη-μήτηρ*, *Περσε-φόνηια*, are less prominent in Homer.

The second part of a Proper Name is liable to a peculiar shortening; *Πάτρο-κλο-ς*, *Φέρε-κλος*, for *Πάτρο-κλής*, &c., *Σθένε-λος* for *Σθενέ-λαο-ς*, *Αἴγι-σθος* for *Αἴγι-σθένης*, *Πόλυ-βος* from *βοῦς* (cp. *ἐκατόμ-βη*). In these names the shorter form has (or had originally) the character of a 'nick-name,' or pet name.

In general, however, the 'pet' name is formed by dropping one of the two Stems altogether: the other Stem taking a Suffix in its place.\* Thus we have in Homer the names—

in *-το-ς*, as *Ἑκα-τος* (for *ἐκατη-βόλος*), *Εὔρυ-τος* (*Εὔρυ-βάτης*, *Εὔρύ-αλος*, &c.), *Ἴφι-τος*, *Ἐχε-τος*, *Λήϊ-τος*.

in *-τωρ*, as *Ἀκ-τωρ* (for a name beginning *Ἄγε-*), *Ἐκ-τωρ* (*Ἐχε-*), *Μέν-τωρ* (*Μενε-*), *Καλή-τωρ*, *Ἀμύν-τωρ*, &c.

in *-της*, as *Θερσί-της* (cp. *Θερσί-λοχος*, &c.), *Πολί-της*, *Ὀρέσ-της*, *Θυέσ-της*, *Μέν-της* (cp. *Μέν-τωρ*):

in *-ων*, as *Δόλ-ων*, *Ἀγάθ-ων*.

in *-εύς*, as *Περσ-εύς* (from *Περσε-φόνος*), *Οἰν-εύς* (cp. *Οἰνό-μαος*, &c.), *Πρωτ-εύς*, *Λεοντ-εύς*, &c.

in *-ιος*; *Δολ-ιος* (*Δόλ-οψ*, &c.), *Ὀδ-ιος*, *Τυχ-ιος*, *Φήμ-ιος*, *Καλήσ-ιος*, and many more.

in *-ια-ς*, *-εια-ς*; *Πελ-ίης*, *Τειρεσ-ίας*; *Ἑρμείας*, *Αἰνέας*, *Αὔγείας*.

In these names the Suffix is not used with its proper force, but merely in imitation of the corresponding groups of Common Nouns. This is evident from the fact that so many of these words are inexplicable as Simple Nouns. Note especially the names in *-το-ς* and *-ων* formed from Adjectives, as *Εὔρυ-το-ς*, *Ἴφι-το-ς*, *Ἀγάθ-ων*; and those in *-εύς* from Nouns of the consonantal declension (§ 118); as *Λεοντ-εύς*, *Αἰγ-εύς*, and even from Verbs, as *Περσ-εύς*.\*

\* Aug. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt*, Göttingen, 1874.

The first part of the Compound has probably been dropped in Κλυμένη (cp. Περι-κλύμενος), Θόων (cp. Ἴππο-θόων), &c.

130.] **Numerals.** Although the Numerals are not properly to be counted as 'Nouns,' it will be convenient to notice here the chief peculiarities of formation which they exhibit.

1. There are two Fem. forms for εἰς, viz. μία and ἑα; also a Neut. Dat. ἑῷ (Il. 6. 422). - The Stem ἄ- in ἄ-παξ, ἄ-πλοος, &c. may be regarded as a short form of the Stem ἐν-.

2. The forms δύο and δύν are equally common in Homer. For the number 12 we find the three forms δώδεκα, δώδεκα, and δυοκαίδεκα; also the Ordinals δυωδέκατος and (rarely) δωδέκατος.

3. Besides τέσσαρ-ες there is a form πίσυρ-ες, applied to horses in Il. 15. 680 and 23. 171, to other objects in Il. 24. 233 and three times in the Odyssey (5. 70., 16. 249., 22. 111).

The Stem τετρα- appears in the Ordinal (τέτρα-τος and τέταρ-τος), and most derivatives, as τετρά-κισ, τετρα-χθα, τετρά-φαλος *four-crested*, &c.; but cp. τεσσαρά-βοιος *worth four oxen*.

-The variation in the Stem of this Numeral has been recently discussed by Prof. Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxv. p. 47 ff.). He shows that the Stem had three forms (answering to the three degrees of quantity in Suffixes, cp. μων : μιν : μῆ, § 114, note). The long form is seen in Sanscr. *catvāras*, which would lead us to expect Greek \*τετῶρες; the shortest in the Sanscr. Ordinal *turtya*, for *ktur-tya*, in which the shortening affects both syllables, and the first is consequently lost. This shortest Stem appears in *τρά-πεζα* a *four-footed table*, and *τρυ-φάλεια* a *four-ridged helmet*, and is not derived from the form τετρα-. It probably fell into disuse owing to its unlikeness to τέσσαρες; accordingly it has only survived in words in which the meaning 'four' had ceased to be felt.

The form *πίσυρες* is sufficiently distinct from Lesbian *πέσσυρες*, Boeotian *πέτρα*, and there is no decisive ground for regarding it as Æolic.

4. Under ἐννέα note the varieties ἑνα-τος and εἶνα-τος *ninth*, probably for ἐνφα-τος; so εἰνά-κισ, εἰνά-νυχες, εἰνά-ετες; also ἐννῆμαρ (for ἐννέ-ημαρ) ἐννέ-ωρος *of nine seasons*, ἐννήκοντα (for ἐννε-ήκοντα, cp. τρι-ήκοντα, &c.) and ἐνεήκοντα—the last a form difficult to explain.

5. The analogy of the Numerals ending in -ᾶ (ἑπτὰ, δέκα, with the Stems τετρα-, εἰνᾶ-) has led to the use of ᾶ as a connecting vowel in Numerals generally; hence πεντά-ετες and ἑξά-ετες (Od. 3. 115), ὀκτά-κνημος, τεσσαρά-βοιος, ἑικοσά-βοιος. But inversely ο is found for ᾶ in πεντηκοντό-γυος (Il. 9. 579); cp. § 124, a.

## CHAPTER VII.

## USE OF THE CASES.

*Introductory.*

131.] The Case-Endings and Adverbial Endings serve (as has been said in § 90) to show the relation in which the words to which they are suffixed (Nouns, Pronouns, Adverbs, &c.) stand to the Verb of the Sentence.

This relation may be of three kinds:—

1. The Noun or Pronoun may express the Subject: or rather (since a Subject is already given by the Person-Ending of the Verb) it may *qualify* or *define* the Subject so given. E.g. in the sentence βασιλεὺς δίδω-σι *the-king he-gives* βασιλεύς explains the Subject given by the Ending -σι.

2. The Noun, &c. may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. E.g. in ταῦτα δίδω-σι, ἐμοὶ δίδω-σι, καλῶς δίδω-σι, ἀπο-δίδω-σι the Noun, (Pronoun, Adverb, Preposition) qualifies the meaning expressed in the Stem δίδω-.

Constructions of these two kinds are found in Sentences which involve the addition of one word only to the Verb. Those of the second kind might be called 'Adverbial'—using the term in the widest sense, for a word construed with a Verb-Stem.

Note that a Nominative may be used 'adverbially': e.g. βασιλεὺς ἐσ-τι may mean *he-is king* (as well as *the king he-is*). See § 162.

3. The Noun, &c. may be connected with, and serve to qualify, another Noun or Adverbial word. E.g. in the Sentences βασιλέως υἱὸς δίδωσι, Κύρου βασιλέως περιγίγνεται, the word βασιλέως is not connected with the Verb, but with a Noun.

If the former constructions are 'Adverbial,' these might be called 'Adnominal' or 'Adjectival.' The Sentences in which they are found must contain at least two words besides the Verb; they are therefore of a higher order of structure than the two former kinds.

From these relations, again, more complex forms of structure are derived in several ways, which it will be enough to indicate in the briefest manner.

A Verb compounded with a Preposition becomes for the purposes of construction a new Verb, with a syntax of its own.

Similarly, the phrase formed by a Verb and a Noun (Case-form or Adverb) may be equivalent in the construction to a single Verb, and may take a further Adverb, or govern Cases of Nouns accordingly. E.g. in κακὰ ῥέζει τινά *he does evil to some one* the Acc. τινά is governed by the phrase κακὰ ῥέζει: in τίεν ἴσα



τέκεσσι *honoured like his children* the Dat. τέκεσσι is governed by *τίεν ἴσα*.

Again, the new Case-form or Adverb so 'governed' may belong in sense to the Noun. Thus in the sentence μέγ' ἔξοχος ἐπλετο *he is greatly eminent*, since ἔξοχος expresses the meaning which μέγα is intended to qualify, we may consider that practically μέγα is construed with ἔξοχος alone. In this way it comes about that an Adverb may in general be used to qualify an Adjective; and that very many Adjectives and Adverbs 'govern' the same Cases as the Verbs which correspond to them in meaning. E.g. in οὐτ' εἶκελος ἀλκὴν the Adj. εἶκελος takes the construction of a Verb meaning *to be like*.

In a strictly scientific treatment of the Cases the various constructions with the Verb should come before the constructions with Nouns and Prepositions. Such a treatment, however, would have the inconvenience of frequently separating uses of the same Case which are intimately connected. E.g. the construction ἀλγεί τὴν κεφαλὴν (2) cannot well be separated from the extension of the same construction in μέγας ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα (3). The Nominative, too, is used, not only as the Subject, but also as the Predicate, or part of it. It will be best therefore to take the several Cases in succession, and to begin with the 'oblique' Cases.

### *The Accusative.*

132.] **Internal and External Object.** The uses of the Accusative have been divided into those in which the Acc. repeats, with more or less modification, the meaning given by the Verb, and those in which the action of the Verb is limited or directed by an 'Object' wholly distinct from it. E.g. in the sentence ἔλκος δ' με οὔτασε, lit. *the wound which he wounded me*, δ' (ἔλκος) qualifies οὔτασε by a word which expresses to some extent the same *thing* as the Stem of the Verb οὔτασε: whereas με qualifies it in a different way. As the latter kind of Acc. had been known as the Acc. of the EXTERNAL OBJECT, so the former has more recently been termed the Acc. of the INTERNAL OBJECT. We shall take first the different uses which fall under the description of the 'Acc. of the Internal Object.'

The foundation of this division (as Delbrück observes, Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 29) is the circumstance that all Accusatives which do not express the external Object of an action may be explained in nearly the same way. The real difficulty arises when we try to find a principle which will explain these different Accusatives and at the same time exclude the modifications of the Verbal meaning that are expressed by other Cases or Adverbial forms. No such principle can be laid down. The fact seems to be that the Accusative originally had a very wide 'Adverbial' use, which was encroached upon by the more specific senses expressed by other Cases. The different constructions included under the 'Internal Object' have all the appearance of fragments of an earlier more elastic usage.

133.] **Neuter Pronouns** may be used in the Accusative 'ad-

verbially,' i. e. to define the action of the Verb: as Il. 1. 289 ἄ τιν' οὐ πείσσομαι ὅτω *in which I think that some one will not obey*; Od. 10. 75 τὸδ' ἰκάνεις *comest as thou dost*; Il. 5. 827 μήτε σύ γ' Ἄρηα τό γε δαίιδι *fear not Ares as to this*; τόδε χῶεο *be angry at this*; τάδε μαίνεται *does these mad things* (=is mad with these acts); πάντα δ' ἐνίκᾳ *conquered in all trials*.

This use includes the adverbial τί *why?* (e. g. τί ἦλθες *in regard to what have you come?* = what means your coming?): τό *therefore*, ὅ, ὅτι *because, that*: τί *in any way*, οὐδέν *not at all*, ἀμφοτέρων *for both reasons* (Il. 7. 418), δοιά *in two ways* (Od. 2. 46), πάντα *altogether*, &c.; also the combination of Pronoun and Adverb in τὸ πρὶν, τὸ πάρος, &c. *the time before* (see the chapter on the Article).

134.] **Neuter Adjectives** are often used in this way; as εὐρὺν ῥέει *flows in a broad stream*, ὀξεία κεκληγῶς *uttering shrill cries*; so πρῶτον, πρῶτα *in the first place*, πολὺ, πολλόν, πολλά *much*, μέγα *greatly*, ὀλίγον, τυτθόν *little*, ἴσον, ἴσα *equally*; ὅσον, τόσον, τοῖον; ἄντιον, ἐναντίον; ὕστερον, ὕστατα, μᾶλλον, μάλιστα, ἄσσον, ἀγχιστα; εὖ (Neut. of ἥς or ἑς), ἱφι (Neut. of \*ἱφι-s, § 110), ἡδύ, δεινόν, δεινά, αἰνά, καλά, πυκνά, μακρά, ἀδυνά, βαρύν, βαρέα, ὀξύ, ταρφέα, ὑπέρμορα, ἐνδέξια, ὄχα, ἔξοχα; and many more.

Note the combination of Pronoun and Adjective in τὸ πρῶτον, τὰ πρῶτα, τὸ τρίτον, τὸ τέταρτον: also in τὰ ἄλλα *in other respects*.

This construction is very common in Homer, and may almost be said to be the usual Homeric mode of forming an Adverb. It has been already observed that Adverbs in -ως are comparatively rare in Homer (§ 110).

135.] **Cognate Accusative.** This term denotes that the Verb is construed with a Substantive in the Acc. of 'cognate' form, or at least of equivalent meaning.

A Cognate Acc. is generally used to introduce the Adjective or Pronoun which really qualifies or defines the predication contained in the Verb: e. g. ἀπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν *to wage a war without result* (cp. the adverbial use of a Neut. Adj. in ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν *to war without ceasing*); ὅς κεν ἀρίστην βουλήν βουλευέσθῃ *who shall give the best counsel* (=ἀριστα βουλεύσθῃ); ἐφίλει παντοίην φιλότητα *treated with all manner of love*; ἵεναι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν *to go the same way*. So ἐπί-κλησιν καλέουσι *call by way of surname*: and with a Noun in the Plural, βουλὰς βουλευεῖν *to give counsel (from time to time)*; δάσαντο μοίρας *divided into the several shares*; αἰχμὰς αἰχμάσσουσι νεώτεροι (with repetition for the sake of emphasis), &c.

With a Pronoun referring to a cognate Noun; λώβης . . ἦν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε, ἔλκος δ' με βροτὸς οὕτασεν, ὑπόσχεσις ἦν περ ὑπέστην, &c.

136.] **Other Adverbial Accusatives.** The following uses may be placed here as more or less analogous to the Cognate Accusative:

(1) Accusatives expressing a particular *sphere* or *kind* of the action denoted by the Verb: e. g.—

Il. 6. 292 ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν . . τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγε *the voyage on which he brought back Helen*: (cp. Od. 6. 164 ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσε . . τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ δὴ κ.τ.λ.); and so ὁδὸν οἴχεσθαι, ὁδὸν ἡγήσασθαι *to lead on the way*; again ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν *to go on an expedition* (and in Od. 21. 20 ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθεν *went a long way on an expedition*), ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα *going on a message*; βουλὰς ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς *taking the lead in good counsels*; Od. 8. 23 ἀέθλους . . τοὺς . . ἐπειρήσαντ' Ὀδυσσεύς; Od. 19. 393 οὐλὴν τὴν ποτὲ μιν οὖς ἤλασε. So δαινύντα γάμον *holding a wedding-feast*, δαίνω τάφον *gave a funeral feast* (whereas the cognate δαίτην δαινυμένους means *holding an ordinary feast*); ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα *let us join battle*, ξρίδα ῥήγνυντο βαρεῖαν *were torn in grievous strife*.

So probably we should explain Il. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν, like Il. 15. 33 φιλότης τε καὶ εὐνὴ ἣν ἐμίγησ. Cp. Pind. N. 1. 67 ὅταν θεοὶ . . γιγάντεσσιν μάχην ἀντιάζωσι.

Note that this construction is chiefly applied to the *familiar* spheres of action—battle, council, feasting, &c.

(2) Accusatives expressing an *attribute* of the action.

Il. 9. 115 οὐ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας *with no falsehood hast thou recounted my folly*: Od. 7. 297 ταῦτά τοι . . ἀληθείην κατέλεξα.

So δέμας (in phrases like δέμας πυρός *like fire*), and the Adverbs ἄκην, ἄδην, λίην, with many others (see § 110), are originally the Accusatives of abstract Nouns.

Add the poetical expressions such as πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς *with look of fire*, μένεα πνείοντες *breathing martial fury*.

The phrase πῦρ δεδορκώς is a boldness of language (compared e. g. with δεινὸν δερκόμενοι) analogous to that which we observed in Compounds such as ἀελλό-πος *with storm-(like) feet*, as compared with ἀπύ-ποδες &c.; see § 126.

(3) The words ἔργον, ἔπος, μῦθος, with Pronouns, are used nearly as the Neuter of the same Pronouns: e. g.—

Il. 1. 294 πᾶν ἔργον ὑπέιφομαι *I shall yield in every matter* (πᾶν ἔργον=πάντα): 5. 757 οὐ νεμεσίξῃ Ἄρει τάδε καρτερὰ ἔργα (constr. like τόδε χῶεο); cp. 9. 374.

Od. 3. 243 ἔπος ἄλλο μεταλλῆσαι *to ask another question*.

Il. 5. 715 ἣ ῥ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν *our promise was idle*.

(4) Words expressing the *sum* or *result* of an action are put in the Acc.; as Il. 4. 207 ἔβαλεν . . τῷ μὲν κλέος ἄμμι δὲ πένθος; 24. 375 ῥίψει χεῖρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου λυγρὸν δλεθρον. So ποινήν *in compensation*, πρόφασιν *on the pretence*, ἐπὶ κλήσιν *nominally*, χάριω *as a favour* (only in Il. 15. 744).

The use of Substantives to qualify a Verb evidently bears the same relation to the use of Neut. Adjectives as Nouns in Apposition bear to ordinary Adjectives qualifying Nouns.

*Note.* Many of these constructions have been treated as varieties or extensions of the 'Cognate Accusative.' E. g. from ὁδὸν εἰλεῖν have been explained, on the one hand, ὁδὸν ἡγήσασθαι, ὁδὸν ἀνήγαγε, &c., on the other, ἀγγελίην εἰλεῖν, &c.; so δαίνυντο γάμον, δαίνυ τάφον, have been regarded as modelled on δαίτην δαίνυσθαι; μῦθον ὑπέστημεν as justified because a promise is a μῦθος, ψεῦδος κατέλεξας because ψεῦδος = a false tale, and so on. It must not be supposed, however, that these analogies explain any of the uses in question, or that the 'Cognate' Acc. is prior to the others, either in simplicity or in the order of development. If we compare the Cognate Acc. with the use of Neuter Adjectives and Pronouns, we see that (e. g.) ἀριστα βουλεύειν is simpler, and doubtless earlier in type, than ἀρίστην βουλήν βουλεύειν, ἅπερ ὑπέστην than ὑπόσχεσιν ἥπερ ὑπέστην, τὰ ὑπέστημεν than τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν. Again, δαίνυσθαι γάμον is probably an earlier phrase than the tautologous δαίνυσθαι δαίτην, τὸν μῦθον ὑποστήναι than ὑπόσχεσιν ὑποστήναι, &c. The repetition in the Noun of the notion already given in the Verb is a feature of complexity which itself needs explaining and which in fact is evidently due to particular circumstances. The Cognate Acc., in short, is a special form of the use of the Acc. as a defining or qualifying word. Grammarians have explained other constructions by its help because it is familiar, whereas most other Adverbial Accusatives are restricted to particular words or phrases; but in so doing they have fallen into the error of deriving the simple from the complex.

137.] **Accusatives of the 'part affected.'** Many Verbs that are Intransitive or Reflexive in sense take an Acc. restricting the force of the Verb to a *part* or *attribute* of the subject: as κάμνει χεῖρα *his hand is weary*, πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε *his hands are as fire*, βλήτο κνήμην *was wounded in the shin*, ἀλλάων περίεμι νόον *I am beyond others in understanding*; φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων *was pleased at heart listening*; οὐ λῆγε μένος *ceased not in his fury*; γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο *in descent he was from the river*, γενεὴν ἔφκει (Il. 14. 474) *was like in descent*, i. e. bore 'a family likeness'; ἀθανάτησι δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρίζειν *to rival the immortals in form and feature*. See also § 141.

138.] **Accusative of Time and Space.** The word expressing *duration* of time is put in the Acc., as ἓνα μῆνα μένων *waiting a month*, χεῖμα εὕδει *sleeps through the winter*, τρὶς ἀνάξασθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν *to reign for three generations of men*.

The Accusative of Space expresses the *extent* of an action, as Il. 23. 529 λείπετο δουρὸς ἐρωήν *was a spear's throw behind*; cp. Od. 6. 259.

These Accusatives are to be compared with the Neuter Adjectives of quantity, as πολὺ, ὀλίγον, τόσον, &c.

139.] **Accusative with Nouns.** The chief uses are:—

(1) Neut. Adjectives, as μέγ' ἔξοχος *greatly surpassing*.

(2) Cognate Accusative, as Il. 15. 641 ἀμείνων παντοίως ἀρετὰς *better in every kind of excellence*. This is rare in Homer.

(3) Acc. of the 'part affected'; ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος *like in eyes and head*, (cp. χεῖρας ζοικε), βοὴν ἀγαθὸς *good in shouting*, γένος κακὸς καὶ ἀναλκίς *a coward by right of descent*. With a Substantive: χεῖράς τ' αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι.

140.] **Accusative of the External Object.** Under this head it is unnecessary to do more than notice one or two points:—

(1) The ceremonial words ἀπάρχω, κατάρχομαι, &c. are construed according to the acquired meaning: as τριχὰς ἀπάρχειν *to cut off hair as a preliminary*, cp. Od. 3. 445 (with the note in Riddell and Merry's edition). So ὄρκια τέμνειν *to make a treaty* (by slaying a victim).

(2) The Verbs εἶπον, αἰδῶ, &c. may take an Acc. of the person spoken to: Il. 5. 170 ἔπος τέ μιν ἀντίον ἦνδ' αἰ: Il. 13. 725 Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἑκτορα εἶπε. Cp. Il. 9. 59., 17. 651, Od. 4. 155. But this construction is rare with the simple Verbs: it is found *passim* with Compounds (προσηύδα, προσέειπε, &c.).

(3) An Acc. may be used of the person *about* whom something is *told, known, thought*, &c. if the thing or fact is indicated by a Participle or dependent Clause: as Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πώσ-σοντας ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of their cowering*: Il. 2. 409 ἦδε γὰρ ἀδελφεὸν ὥς ἐπονείτο *he knew of his brother how he toiled*. Similarly Il. 13. 352 ἥχθετο Τρῶσιν δαμναμένους *he was vered at their being subdued by the Trojans*. See the section on the Acc. with the Infinitive.

(4) The Acc. of the object to which motion is directed (*terminus ad quem*) is common with ἰκνέομαι, ἰκω, ἰκάνω (which always imply *reaching* a point), but is comparatively rare with other simple Verbs, such as εἶμι, ἔρχομαι, νέομαι, ἄγω, ἡγέομαι. The words so used with these Verbs are mostly Nouns denoting *house* (δῶ, Il. 7. 363, &c.; δόμον, Od. 7. 22, Il. 22. 482; οἶκον, Od. 14. 167), *city* (Od. 6. 114., 15. 82), *native land* (Il. 7. 335., 15. 706): cp. also Il. 1. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίην; 6. 37 ξυνάγουσα γεραιᾶς νηόν; 21. 40 Λῆμνον ἐπέρασσεν; Od. 4. 478 Αἰγύπτιοιο ὕδωρ ἔλθης.

Compound Verbs—esp. with the Prepositions εἰς, ἐπί, πρὸς, ὑπό, παρά—usually take an Acc. of this kind.

There is no reason to infer from these and similar instances that the Accusative is originally the Case of the *terminus ad quem*. It is natural that a Verb of motion should be defined or qualified by a Noun expressing *place*, and that such a Noun should generally denote the place *to which* the motion is directed. But this is not necessary. The Acc. is used with Verbs denoting *motion from*, as φεύγω, νοσφίζομαι, ὑποείκω (Il. 15. 228); and even with other Verbs of motion it may express the *terminus a quo* if the context suggests it, as ἀνεδύσατο κύμα *rose from the wave*, ὑπερώϊα κατέβαινε *came down from the upper chambers*.

If the Verb distinctly expresses *motion to*—as is the case with Verbs compounded with *εἰς*, *ἐπὶ*, *πρός*, &c.—the Accusative can only express the *terminus ad quem*; with these Verbs accordingly it is used freely.

For uses with Prepositions, see the sections dealing with the several Prepositions.

141.] **Double Accusatives.** It is needless to enumerate the different circumstances in which a Verb may be construed with two Accusatives. Many examples will be found among the passages already quoted; and it will be seen that the combination of an Acc. of the External Object with one of the various 'Accusatives of the Internal Object' is especially frequent. It is worth while however to notice some cases in which the Accusatives are not to be explained independently, but one is construed with the phrase formed by the Verb in combination with the other. E. g. we cannot say *ῥέξειν τινά* *to do to a person*, but we may have *κακὸν ῥέξειν τινά* *to do evil to a person*. The notion 'doing' given by *ῥέζω* is so vague that an Acc. of the person would be ambiguous: but the more definite notions of doing evil, good, much, &c. become susceptible of the construction.

A similar account is to be given of the 'Accusative of the Whole and Part,' which is very common in Homer; e. g. *τὸν βάλε κνήμην* *him he smote on the shin*, *σὲ φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων* *has escaped you over the fence of teeth*. The second Acc. has been explained as parallel in construction to the first, the part being added 'epexegetically' or in 'Apposition' to the whole. But the difference between this 'Acc. of the Part' and an epexegetic word appears if we consider that

*Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἑκαστου*

is equivalent to *Τρῶες ἔτρεμον τὰ γυῖα ἑκαστος*, where *ἑκαστος* is (as before) epexegetic of *Τρῶες*, but *γυῖα* is an Acc. qualifying the Verb. So it is impossible to explain *τὸν βάλε κνήμην* differently from *βλήτο κνήμην*. The only difference is that with the Active *βάλε* there is an Acc. of the *person struck* before the second *limiting* Acc. is introduced.

### *The Dative.*

142.] Comparison of the Case-system of Greek with that of Sanscrit shows that the Greek Dative does the work of three Sanscrit Cases, the Dative, the Instrumental, and the Locative. There is also reason to think that distinct forms for these three Cases survived down to a comparatively late period in Greek itself. This is made probable (1) by the traces in Homeric Greek of Instrumental and Locative Case-forms, and (2) by the readiness with which the *uses* of the Greek Dative (especially

in Homer) can be re-apportioned between the three Cases—the original or true Dative, and the two others.

143.] The true Dative expresses the person *to* or *for* whom something is done, or who is regarded as chiefly affected or interested: e. g.

Il. 1. 283 Ἀχιλλῆϊ μεθέμεν χόλον *to put away his anger for (in favour of) Achilles*; cp. Od. 11. 553.

Od. 1. 9 τοῖσιν ἀφέλετο *took away for (i. e. from) them*.

Il. 21. 360 τί μοι ἐριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς; *what is there for me (that concerns me) in strife and help?*

Od. 7. 303 μὴ μοι τοῦνεκ' ἀμύμονα νείκεε κούρην *chide not for me on that account the blameless maiden*; cp. Il. 14. 501.

Od. 9. 42 ὥς μὴ τίς μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίσι ἴσῃς *that for me no one should go away wronged (i. e. that I might see that no one &c.)*.

Il. 1. 250 τῷ δύο γενεαὶ ἐφθιάρο *he had seen two generations pass*.

Il. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἔκοντο *they came for them when hard pressed, i. e. their coming was (what such a thing is) to hard pressed men*. So Il. 14. 108 ἐμοὶ δέ κεν ἀσμένῳ εἴη *it would be for me when welcoming it, i. e. would be what I welcome*.

The Dat. with Verbs of *giving, showing, telling (a fact), praying, helping, favouring, being angry, &c.*, and the corresponding Adjectives (φίλος, ἔχθρός, &c.), is evidently of this kind.

The true Dat. of Nouns denoting things is rare in Greek (perhaps only used when the thing is regarded as an agent, or stands for a person, as Πριάμοιο βίη for Πρίαμος). In this respect Latin (where the Dat. is the representative of the true Dat. only) offers a marked contrast; cp. the various uses, especially of abstract Substantives, explained by Mr. Roby under the headings 'indirect object' (1143, n. 11), 'work contemplated' (1156), and 'predicative dative' (1158 ff.). It will be seen however that the Greek Infinitive is in fact the Dat. of an abstract Substantive.

The so-called *Dativus commodi*, 'Ethical Dative,' &c. need not be separated from the general usage. Note however that—

1. The Dative of the Personal Pronouns is very often used where we should have a Possessive agreeing with a Noun in the Clause; as Il. 1. 104 ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ ἔκτεν *his eyes were like fire*; Od. 2. 50 μητέρι μοι μνηστήρες ἐπέχραον *the suitors have assailed my mother*: so Il. 1. 55, 150, 188, 200, &c.

2. δίχομαι with the Dat. means *to take as a favour*: Il. 15. 87 Θέμιστι δέκτο δέπας *accepted the cup from Themis (as a compliment)*; or *to take as an attendant does*, Il. 2. 186, 13. 710., 17. 207, Od. 15. 282. For the Gen. see § 152.

3. ἀκούω with the Dat. means *to hear favourably*; Il. 16. 515 ἀκούειν ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ; and so κλύθι μοι in prayers (Il. 5. 115, Od. 2. 262). See § 151, d.

4. The Dat. with Verbs meaning *to give commands (κελεύω, σημαίνω, &c.)*, and *to lead the way (ἀρχω, ἡγέομαι, ἡγεμονεύω)* is apparently the true Dat. But with Verbs meaning *to have power, to be king (as κρατέω, ἀνάσσω)* this is doubtful: e. g. ἀνασόμεν Ἀργείοισι might mean *to be king for the Argives, or among the Argives (Loc.)*. The latter is the view held by Delbrück. See § 145, note.

5. The 'Dat of the Agent' with Passive Verbs seems to be a special application of the true Dat.; cp. Il. 13. 168 ὃ οἱ κλισίῃσι λείπειτο *which for him was*

(= which he had) left in the tent. So *Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους, Πηλείωνι δαμνῆς*, &c. because the victory is gained by the victor; and so in Attic, *ἡθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* 'Cyrus got his Greek force collected.' The restriction to Past Tenses is intelligible, because the *past fact* is thought of as a kind of *possession* or *advantage* (cp. the English auxiliary *have*). This view is strongly supported by the Latin Dat. of the Agent, which is not common except with Verbals and Past Participles (Roby, Pt. II. 1146). Evidently *nobis facienda* = 'things for us to do,' *nobis facta* = 'things we have got done.'

144.] The Instrumental Dative. The so-called Instrumental Case appears to have been employed to express not only the instrument of an action, but any attendant object or circumstance; hence it covers the ground of the Datives of 'circumstance,' 'manner,' &c.; as *ἡχῇ* with noise (*κλαγγῇ, ἀλαλητῇ, ἐνοπῇ*, &c.); *σιγῇ, σιωπῇ*; *αἰδοῖ* with reverence (Od. 8. 172); *ἀνάγκῃ, βίῃ, σπουδῇ*; *κακῇ αἰσῇ* with evil fortune; *φυγῇ* (ἱκοντο) in flight; *κερδοσύνῃ* in his cunning; *γενεῇ* by descent; also the Dat. of the way by which, with the Adverbs in -ῃ (§ 110).

In Homer it often expresses the *reason* or *occasion* (for which *διὰ* with the Acc. is regular in later Greek): Od. 3. 363 *φιλότῃτι ἔπονται* accompany out of friendship (*propter amorem*); Od. 9. 19 *ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλω* who am regarded by men for my craft (cp. 13. 299); Il. 16. 628 *ὀνειδείους ἐπέεσσι χωρήσουσι* will give way for reviling words; Od. 14. 206 *τίετο . . ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε καὶ νιάσι*; Od. 17. 423 *οἷσιν τ' εὖ ζῶουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται* things because of which men live well and are called opulent.

The 'comitative' or 'sociative' sense is chiefly found in the Plural, which denotes *attendants, surroundings, adjuncts*, &c.; Od. 4. 8 *ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι πέμπε* sent with horses and chariots (cp. 4. 533); Od. 11. 161 *νῆϊ τε καὶ ἐτάροισι* with a ship and comrades; Il. 12. 28 *κύμασι πέμπε* let go with the waves; Il. 2. 818 *μεμαότες ἐγχέῃσι* ardent with their spears; Il. 6. 243 *ξυστῆς αἰθούσῃσι τετυγμένον* built with smooth porticoes (cp. Od. 9. 185, &c.); Il. 2. 148 *ἐπὶ τ' ἡμῦν ἀσταχύεσσι* bends forward with the ears (of a field of corn). For the corresponding Sing. cp. Od. 12. 241 *ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε ψάμμῳ κυανέῃ* the ground showed beneath with its dark sand; Od. 15. 116 *χρυσῷ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται* (19. 563); Il. 15. 282 *ἐπιστάμενος ἄκουτι*:—passages in which a strictly Instrumental meaning is unsuitable.

This Dative is idiomatically used with *αὐτός*: as Il. 8. 24 *αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ δὲ θαλάσῃ* with the earth and sea as well (without their losing hold): Od. 14. 77 *θέρμ' αὐτοῖς ὀβελόισι* hot with the spits as they were. Cp. Thuc. 1. 81 *τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι* to be enslaved, country and all; 2. 101 *οὐ παρήσαν ταῖς ναυσί.*\*

\* The two last quotations are taken from 'Notes on Thucydides, Book I,' signed J. R. (the late Mr. Riddell of Balliol), and published in a series of papers entitled 'Terminalia' (Oxford, 1851).

Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 58) notices the difficulty of finding a special



The Dative with Verbs meaning *to be with, to follow, to join, to agree with, to be like, &c.*, and again with the Prepositions *σύν* and *ἅμα*, and the various Pronouns and Adjectives meaning *the same, equal, like, &c.*, is generally Instrumental.

The Dat. with Verbs meaning *to fight, strive, &c.* may be the Instrumental or (more probably) the true Dat. Words meaning *to trust &c.* probably take an Instrumental Dat. of the *ground* of trust, a true Dat. of the *person* trusted or obeyed: cp. the Lat. construction of *confidere* with a Dat. or Abl.

The 'Dat. of the Agent' with the Passive may sometimes be an extension of the Instrumental (analogous to the Latin Abl., Roby, Pt. II. 1220). See § 143, 5.

Note the *occasional* use of the Instrumental Dat. with Verbs of *buying*, as Il. 7. 475 οὐνίζοντο . . ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ κ.τ.λ., Od. 15. 483 πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν: of *abounding*, Il. 17. 56 βρύει ἀνθεῖ λευκῷ (cp. § 151, e): also with a Verb of 'cognate' meaning, as θάνον οὐκίστω θανάτῳ (Od. 11. 412), βέον ὕδατι (Od. 5. 70).

145.] **The Locative Dative.** The Dative without a Preposition denoting the *place* of an action is much commoner in Homer than in later Greek. It is used—

(1) Of towns and countries: Ἰλῖν εἰσὶ *are in Ilios*, Φρυγίῃ ναίεσκε *dwelt in Phrygia*: so Οὐλύμπῳ, Λακεδαίμονι, Δῆλῳ, Σχερῆνι, Θήβῃ, Κρήτῃ, Ἀργεῖ, Ἑλλάδι, &c.

(2) Of the great divisions of the world, the chief spheres of action, &c., as αἰθέρι, οὐρανῷ, οὐρεσι, ἀγρῷ *afield*, δόμῳ *in the house*, νομῷ *at pasture*, πόντῳ *out at sea*, αἰγιαλῷ *on the shore*, χέρσῳ *on dry land* (Il. 4. 424–5), οὔδῃ *on the ground*, πεδίῳ, χθονί; χορῷ *at the dance*, μάχῃ, βουλῇ, ἀγορῇ, τραπέζῃ *at table* (Od. 21. 35).

But the Dat. in ἐριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι (Il. 1. 8), ὁσμῇ μάχεσθαι (Il. 2. 863), &c. is one of *manner* (Instr.), rather than of place.

(3) Of the *parts* of a thing, especially of the body; ὤμῳ and ὤμοισι, χροῖ; καρδίῃ, φρεσὶ, θυμῷ; ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ, ἐσχατῇ πολέ-

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explanation of the 'sociative' use of the Dat. in combination with *αὐτός*. It may help towards such an explanation to observe that the use of a Case-form in a particular sense not unfrequently depends upon the presence of a qualifying word in agreement with it. E. g.—

ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ *it is for me what I desire.*

τοίχῳ τοῦ ἑτέρου *by the wall on the other side.*

μίσσῳ δουρὸς ἐλὼν *taking the spear by the middle.*

εἰ τεθνεώτος ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of his being dead.*

ἡχθεο Τρώσιν δαμναμένους *he was vexed at their being subdued by Trojans.*

In each of these instances the qualifying word indicates the sense in which the Case is used, and so makes the use possible. The 'ethical Dat.' is suggested by *βουλομένῳ*, the Gen. of *place* by *τοίχῳ*, the Gen. of *part* by *μίσσῳ*, the *fact about* the person by *τεθνεώτος*, the *cause of feeling* by *δαμναμένους*. Now, in such a phrase as *αὐτοῖς ὀβελόισι σπῖts and all*, the force of *αὐτός* is 'without change,' 'as before,' and so the phrase means *with the meat sticking to the spits as before* (cp. *αὐτῶς, αὐτοῦ, αὐθι*). Thus the sociative sense is emphasised by the addition of *αὐτοῖς*. Without such an addition there would generally be nothing to decide between the different possible meanings of the Dative, and consequently a Preposition (*σύν* or *ἅμα*) would be needed.



μοιο, μύχῳ Ἄργεος (θαλάμοιο, &c.), μέσῳ ἔρκεϊ, πρώτῃσι πύλῃσι, βένθεσι λίμνης, τάρφεσιν ὕλης, &c.

The Dat. of the part *with* which a person does something is Instrumental; as *χερσὶ μαχῆσθαι, κεφαλῇ κατανέυσθαι, ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ*. But the Locative mode of expression is the prevailing one; cp. *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι, ἐγνώῃσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ, ἐν θυμῷ μεμῶτες*, &c.

(4) Of time: *ἡματι τῷ ὅτε κτλ. on the day when*, &c., *ὥρῃ χειμερινῇ in the season of winter*, &c.

The Dative is often used in Homer after a Verb of motion (where we expect *εἰς* or *πρὸς* with the Acc.): as Il. 5. 82 *πεδίῳ πέσε* *fell on the plain*; Il. 7. 187 *κυνέῃ βάλε* *threw into the helmet*; Il. 3. 10 *εὐτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὁμίχλην* *has spread a mist over the tops of the mountains*; Il. 18. 294 *θαλάσῃ ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς* *to coop up by (lit. on) the sea*; *προκαλέσσατο χάρμῃ* *called out (to meet) in combat*. This idiom helps to show that the use of the Accusative for the *terminus ad quem* of motion does not represent the original force of that Case.

The Dat. after the Prepositions *ἐν, ἐπὶ, παρὰ, μετά, ὑπό, ἀνά, περί, ἀμφί*, and the Verbs compounded with them, is generally Locative.

With a compound Verb the sense may of course require a true Dat.: cp. Il. 1. 174 *πάρ' ἐμοὶ γέ καὶ ἄλλοι* *I have others at my command*, where *παρὰ* = *πάρεισι*. So Il. 7. 73 *ὑμῖν ἐν γὰρ ἔασι* may mean *there are among you* (Loc.), or *you have* (true Dat.) *among you*. Cp. Lat. *inesse alicui* or *in aliquo*.

The Locative Dat. of *persons* is chiefly found in the Plural, with Prepositions and compound Verbs (such as *ἐνῶρτο* *arose among*, *μεταπρέπω*, &c.). It is occasionally used with Adjectives, as Il. 6. 487 *ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσι*, Od. 15. 227 *Πυλίοισι μέγ' ἔξοχα δώματα*.

The Locative Plural of *persons* is perhaps to be recognised in the uses—

(1) with *κρατέω* and *ἀνάσσω*: Il. 2. 669 *θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει* *is king among gods and men* (= in heaven and earth); Od. 1. 71 *δου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον πᾶσιν Κυκλάπεςσι*; Il. 13. 217 *ὅς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀνασσε*. Cp. the equivalent constructions with Prepositions, as Il. 1. 252 *μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἀνασσε*, Od. 7. 62 *ὅς ἐν Φαίηξιν ἀνασσε*.\*

This group of uses is almost confined to Homer.

(2) in phrases introducing a speech, as *τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη, τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε*, and the like; cp. Il. 9. 528 *ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἔρέω*, Od. 10. 188 *μετὰ πᾶσιν ἔειπον*, 16. 378 *ἔρέει δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναστάς*.

(3) in such passages as Il. 2. 285 *πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσι*; 4. 95 *πᾶσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῆδος ἄροιο*. Contrast the Dat. in this last place with the true Dat. in Il. 1. 159 *τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοὶ τε* *winning honour for Menelaus and thee*: cp. also Il. 23. 703 *ἐνὶ σφίσι τῶν*.\*

\* Note that many examples under (1) and (3) answer to the Latin Abl. with *totius*, of the 'whole over which' (Roby, Pt. II. p. 35). Cp. *Ἄργεϊ παντί*.

(4) in Il. 21. 45 *ἐτέρπετο δ᾽ αἰ φίλοισι* *had pleasure with his friends* (so Od. 14. 245): cp. *μετὰ δ᾽ αἰ φίλοισι* (Od. 1. 19). But this Dat. may well be the Instrumental (comitative sense). In the Singular, as Il. 5. 682 *χάρη δ' ἄρα οἱ προσιόντι*, 23. 556 *χαίρων Ἀντιλόχῳ*, *δτι κ.τ.λ.*, the meaning is, 'rejoiced at the fact (of his coming, &c.);' it may therefore be explained as an Instrumental.

### *The Genitive.*

146.] The Greek Genitive, as appears at once by comparison with Latin or Sanscrit, stands for the original or 'true' Genitive, and also for the Ablative. The uses of the Gen. may therefore be divided (theoretically at least) between these two Cases. The distinction however is more difficult than in the case of the Dative; partly, perhaps, because the Case-forms of the Ablative were earlier lost than those of the Locative and Instrumental, but also from the peculiar syntactical character of the Genitive.

The Ablative (like the Cases already treated of) belongs (originally, if not in all uses) to the second group of constructions distinguished in § 131, i.e. it is construed with the predicate given by a *Verb*. The Genitive is originally of the third group; and properly qualifies a *Noun*. Hence the Ablative and Genitive uses are generally distinguished partly in meaning, partly in grammatical structure. But they are not necessarily distinguished in meaning (since the true Gen. as well as the Abl. may be used so as to imply motion *from*); and they are not always distinguished by the structure, since (1) the Ablative (like the Acc. and Dat.) may be construed with a *Noun*, and (2) the true Gen. may be apparently construed with a *Verb*. To give a single example: *θεῶν γένος ἐστί* might be (theoretically) = *he is offspring from-gods* (Abl.), and on the other hand *θεῶν ἐστί* may be = *he is (offspring) of-gods* (Gen.).

It will be most convenient therefore to go through the different uses without attempting in every case to separate those which belong to the Case originally from those which have been transferred to it from the Ablative.

147.] **The Genitive with Nouns.** The manner in which a Genitive serves to define or qualify the 'governing' Noun may be very various. E. g. *Τρώων χόλος* may mean *anger of* (i. e. *felt by*) *the Trojans*, or (as in Il. 6. 335) *anger at the Trojans*, or *anger on account of the Trojans* (as in Il. 15. 138 *χόλον υἱὸς ἔης* means *anger at the death of his son*). Compare also—

*ἔρκος πολέμοιο* a bulwark in (or against) war.

*τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* a sign to men.

*λάβρη Λαομέδοντος* with secrecy from Laomedon.

*βῆη ἀέκοντος* with force used to one unwilling.

*κύματα παντοίων ἀνέμων* the waves raised by all winds.

*ὄμφαλοι κασσιτεροῦ* bosses made of tin.

*Ἰλίου πολίεθρον* the town of Ilios.

*Οἰλήος ταχὺς Αἴας* swift Ajax son of Oileus.

δαιμόνιε ξείνων *unaccountable stranger!*  
 ὑπόψιος ἄλλων *suspected by others.*  
 ἐπίστροφος ἀνθρώπων *going about among men.*  
 ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο *rich in substance.*  
 ἰθὺς Διομήδεος *straight for Diomedes.*

The different uses of the Genitive often answer to the different meanings given by the Suffixes which serve to form Adjectives from Nouns (§ 117). Compare, for instance,—Il. 2. 54 Νεστορέη παρὰ νηὶ Πυλιογενέος βασιλῆος *by the ship of Nestor the Pylian king*; Il. 6. 180 θεῖον γένος οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων *the offspring of gods, not of men*; τόξον αἰγός (Il. 4. 105) *a bow of goat's horn*, but ἄσκος αἰγίος *a bag of goatskin*; 'Οἰλῆος Ἀίας and Ἀίας 'Οἰλιάδης; Τελαμώνιος υἱὸς *the son of Telamon*; and so in the Pronouns, e.g. ἐμεῖο ποθῇ (Il. 6. 362), but σῇ ποθῇ (Il. 19. 321).

These uses have been classified as Objective and Subjective, Possessive, Partitive, Material, &c. In many cases however the variety of relations expressed by the Gen. eludes this kind of analysis. Such classifications, moreover, are apt to lead us into the fallacy of thinking that relations which are distinct to us, because expressed by different language, were distinctly conceived by those who expressed them all in the same way;—the fallacy in short of supposing\* the distinctions of thought to be prior to the language which embodies them.

The relation of the Genitive to the governing Noun is in many ways analogous to the relation of the Accusative to the Verb, and also to that which subsists between the first part of a Compound Noun and the second. In each of these cases the relation is that of a defining or qualifying word to the notion defined or qualified, and it is one which may be of various kinds, as may be suggested by particular combinations of meanings.

Notice, as especially frequent in Homer—

(1) the use of a Gen. after Nouns meaning *grief, anger, &c.*, to express the *object* or *cause* of the feeling: as ἄχος ἡνιόχοιο *grief for the chariot-driver* (Il. 8. 124, 316, &c.), ἄχος σέθεν (Il. 4. 169); ὀδύνη 'Ηρακλῆος (Il. 15. 25); πένθος παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο (Il. 18. 88); κῆδε' ἐμῶν ἐτάρων (Il. 22. 272, Od. 11. 382); and so in the much-disputed phrase 'Ελένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε (Il. 2. 356, 590) *efforts and groans about Helen*.

(2) the 'partitive' use after τίς (Interrog.) and τις (Indef.), often with several words interposed: as Il. 1. 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν κ.τ.λ.; Il. 1. 88 οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος . . χεῖρας ἐπόλσει συμπάντων Δαναῶν *no one shall . . . of all the Greeks*.

\* Prof. Max Müller (Lectures, I, p. 103) shows how the Genitive Ending -οιο (for -ο-ογο) may be explained as a Suffix of the same kind as those which form Adjectives from Nouns. If his hypothesis is admitted, the Genitive is simply 'an Adjective without Gender,' in respect of *form* as well as *use*. And even if the identification on which he chiefly relies (of the Case-Ending -οιο and Suffix -οιο with the Pronoun οἷος, οἷα, οἷαδ) should be thought open to question, there can be little doubt that the Case is originally 'adnominal' or adjectival in character.

The partitive Gen. is also seen in the Homeric phrases *δια θεάων bright one among goddesses*, *δια γυναικῶν, δαιμόνιε ξείνων*.

148.] **Genitive in the Predicate.** Among the various uses of the Gen. in construction with a Verb the first to be noticed are those in which the Case evidently retains its attributive or adjectival character. This use (which is singularly common in Latin,\* see Roby, Pt. II. 1282) is rare in Homer. Examples are,—*αἱματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο thou art of good blood*, *ἐποίησεν σάκος αἰδόλον ἑπταβόειον ταύρων ζατρεφέων made a shield seven hides thick, of (hides of) goodly bulls*. In classifying the Greek uses of the Gen. the chief object is to separate constructions of this kind (in which the Case is ultimately the adjectival or 'true' Gen.) from those in which it represents an Ablative, and therefore is essentially akin to the Adverbs.

149.] **Genitive of Place.** A Gen. expresses a vague local relation (*within, in the sphere of, &c.*), in the following uses:—

(1) After a negative—

Il. 17. 372 *νέφος δ' οὐ φαίνεται πάσης γαίης οὐτ' ὀρέων*.

Od. 3. 251 *ἦ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαιϊκοῦ*. Cp. 14. 98., 21. 109.

(2) When two *sides* or *alternative* places are contrasted †—

Il. 9. 219 *αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἴξεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο*

*τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέριοιο*. Cp. 24. 598.

Od. 1. 23 *Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,*

*οἱ μὲν δυσσομένον Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος,*

and so perhaps Od. 12. 27 *ἦ ἄλός ἦ ἐπὶ γῆς*, and Od. 4. 678 *αὐλῆς ἐκτὸς ἑῶν in the court outside* (cp. 9. 239).

(3) With Verbs of motion, to express the space *within* which the motion takes place, as Il. 2. 785 *διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο made their way over the plain*: so *ἴων πολέος πεδίοιο, ἴππῳ ἀτυζομένῳ πεδίοιο, πεδίοιο διώκειν, κονίοντες πεδίοιο, &c.*; 10. 353 *ἐλκόμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον*: 24. 264 *ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο*, cp. Od. 2. 404., 3. 476. The Acc. also is found with *πρήσσω*.

Note that this use of the Gen. is almost confined to *set phrases*; also that it is only found with the Gen. in *-οιο* (the archaic form).

The difference of meaning between this Genitive and the Accusative of Space (§ 138) seems to be that the Acc. *measures* the action of the Verb, whereas the Gen. only gives a local rela-

\* Perhaps because in Latin the Gen. is not confounded with the Abl.; for the 'Mixture' of two or more Cases necessarily re-acts on the usage of each.

† So with the partitive Gen.,—

Il. 11. 761 *πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορι τ' ἀνδρῶν*  
the contrast makes the use of the Gen. intelligible.

tion in which the action stands. When an Acc. of quantity and a Gen. are both used, the Acc. often seems to govern the Gen.; e. g. ὁμίλου πολλὸν ἐπελθὼν *advancing far in the throng*, παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο τυτθὸν *to go a short space of plain beyond*. So with Adverbs: ἔνθα καὶ ἐνθ' ἴθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο: ἄδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο; and with a negative: οὐκ Ἀργεὸς ἦεν = *he was nowhere in Argos*. Thus the Gen. has a partitive character.

150.] **Genitive of Time.** This Gen. expresses a period of time to which the action belongs, without implying anything as to its duration; e. g.—

Od. 14. 161 τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται *he will come (some-time in) this very year*. So Il. 5. 523 νημεῖης *in calm weather*; 8. 470 ἡοῦς *in the morning*; 11. 691 τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων *in former years*; 22. 27 ὁπώρας εἰσι *goes in autumn*.

It appears from the corresponding construction in Sanscr. and Zend that this is the true Genitive (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 45).

151.] **The quasi-partitive Genitive.** Under this term we may include a number of constructions in which the Gen. is used (in preference to some other Case) because the action of the Verb does not affect the person or thing in a sufficiently direct and unqualified way: e. g. in λωτοῖο φαγὼν *eating of the lotus* (not *eating up the lotus*); πτέρυγος λάβε *took by the wing* (not *took the wing*); λούεσθαι ποταμοῖο *to bathe in a river* (but *λούειν ὕδατι to bathe with water*).\*

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\* Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 39) aptly quotes from J. Grimm the saying that 'the Accusative shows the fullest, most decided mastering of an object by the notion contained in the Verb of the sentence. Less "objectifying" is contained in the Gen.; the active force is tried and brought into play by it, not exhausted.' The contrast, however, is to be traced not merely between the Gen. and the Acc., but generally between the Gen. and all the Cases which are used primarily with Verbs. Thus the Gen. of Space and Time is used for the Locative, the Gen. of Material for the Instrumental; and perhaps other Genitives are used for the Abl. (§ 151, e, note, § 153, note).

It is important, however, to observe here (especially since we have adopted the term 'quasi-Partitive' for these uses) that the partitive relation is not the only one which may lie at the root of the construction:—

1. The Gen. of Place noticed in § 149 (2) is not partitive; for δυσομένου ἑσπέρωνος (e. g.) does not mean *within sunset*, but *on the side of, belonging to, sunset*. The Gen. is like the Latin 'novarum rerum esse' *to be on the side of change*; cp. Liv. 22. 50 ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

2. The Gen. of Time is similar. Such a Gen. as ἡοῦς *in the morning* is to be compared with the use of the Adj. in ἐσπέριοι ἄφικοντο *they came in the evening*, lit. *belonging to the evening, as men of the evening*. It differs from the Dat. of Time negatively, in the want of a distinct Locative meaning.

3. The Gen. of the *person* with Verbs of *hearing*, &c. (§ 151, d) is clearly not partitive. The *thing* heard is not *part of*, but something *belonging to*, the person. But the Gen. of the *sound* heard may be partitive; and so is doubtless the Gen. of *material*, § 151, e.

As to the Gen. of *price*, see § 153. If a true Gen., it is not partitive.

The chief uses to which this view may be applied are:—

a. With Verbs that imply *fastening to, holding by, &c.*: Il. 1. 197 ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα *took Achilles by the hair*.

So χειρὸς ἑλών *taking by the hand* (but δεξιτερὴν ἔλε χεῖρα *took the right hand*), ποδὸς ἔλκε *dragged by the foot*, ὤσεν ποδὸς *fastened by the foot*, κόνιος δεδραγμένος *clutching the dust*, λισσέσκετο γούνων *entreated by seizing the knees*, ἐρείσατο γαίης *propped himself against the earth* (i. e. his hand touching it), μέσσου δουρὸς ἑλών *taking his spear by the middle*; and with a metaphorical sense, περίσχεο παιδὸς *take charge of thy child*, σέο ἔξεται *will depend upon thee*.

The Gen. in this group of uses is probably akin to the Gen. of the *space within which* action takes place, § 149. Compare, for example, ἐρείσατο γαίης with ἴξε τοῖχου τοῦ ἐτέρου,—passages given under the same head by Kühner (§ 418, 8, a). Or it may be Ablatival: cp. πρύμνηθεν λάβε, § 159.

b. With Verbs meaning *to touch, to hit* (an object aimed at), *to reach* (a person), *to put in or on* (a chariot, ship, wall, &c.), with the derivative meanings, *to attain to, get a place or share in, &c.*; as ἀλλήλων ἐφίκοντο *got at each other*; τύχε γάρ ῥ' ἀμάθοιο βαθείης *he happened to fall in deep sand*; so νεκροὺς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον *heaped the corpses on the funeral pile*; so metaphorically, κακῶν ἐπιβασκόμεν *to bring into mischief*; ἀντίαν πολέμοιο *to join in war*, ἀντίων ἐκατόμβης (but Il. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντίωσαν because λέχος is the *whole* object, cp. § 136, 1).

c. With Verbs meaning *to aim at, strive after, desire, care for, complain of, grieve for, be angry about, &c.*; as Αἶαντος ἀκόντισε *threw a dart at Ajax*, οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο *held out his arms for his child*, σκοπέλων ἐπιμαίεο *feel for the rocks* (but ἐπεμαίετο ἵππους *touched up the horses*), ἐπειγόμενος Ἄρης *hasting to (eager for) battle*, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπη οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις *these you do not regard or heed*, Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται *is enraged on behalf of the Cyclops*; and many similar instances.

Kühner (§ 416, Anm. 9) quotes Il. 5. 582 χερμαδίῳ ἀγκῶνα τυχὼν μέσον as a use of τυγχάνω with the Acc. If so, the explanation is that the Acc. denotes the exact point hit, and we may compare the Attic use of τυγχάνω with Neut. Pronouns in the Acc. But it is possible to construe ἀγκῶνα with βάλε in the earlier part of the sentence.

d. With Verbs meaning *to hear, perceive, know of, remember, and the like*; the Gen. expressing—

- (1) the *person from whom* sound comes;
- (2) the *person about whom* something is heard, known, &c.
- (3) the *sound* heard (but the Acc. is more usual).

The particular thing heard or known is often indicated by a Participle agreeing with the Genitive: e. g.—

Il. 1. 257 εἰ σφῶν τάδε πάντα πυθόλατο μαρναμένοισιν (= *if they heard of all this fighting on your part*).

Il. 4. 357 ὡς γνῶ χωμένοιο (= ὡς ἔγνω αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐχώετο).

Od. 2. 220 εἰ δέ κε τεθυῶτος ἀκούσω: so 4. 728, &c.

The Verb οἶδα, when it means *to know about, to be skilled in*, takes a Gen., as Il. 11. 657 οὐδέ τι οἶδε Πένθεος *knows nothing of the sorrow*. So Od. 21. 506 φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς: Il. 16. 811 διδασκόμενος πολέμοιο.

1. μένημαι may take a Neut. Pronoun in the Acc. (Od. 14. 168., 24. 122): so Il. 9. 527 μένημαι τόδε ἔργον: 23. 361 ὡς μεμνέμετο δρόμους (i.e. not *remember about the courses*, but *keep count of the courses*): and with a person, Il. 6. 222 Τυδεία δ' οὐ μένημαι. In this last instance the meaning is very general,—‘I remember nothing of Tydeus’—whereas it usually means ‘*I bethink me of, I am affected by the memory*’; cp. Il. 2. 686., 15. 662, Od. 15. 23.

2. All these Genitives may be ‘true Genitives’: we hear or know something in or of a person or other object. On the other hand it is natural to regard the person or object heard as the *source* from which our perception comes, and thus to make the Gen. Ablative: e.g. μητρὸς ἐπείθετο like μητρὸς εἰσέξατο. Probably the Gen. of the *person* from whom a thing is heard is Ablative, while the others (Gen. of the *sound* heard, and the *person* or *thing* heard *about*) are true Genitives.

e. The Gen. of *material*, &c. The construction so termed is found with Verbs that imply the use of a material (especially one of indefinite quantity), a stock drawn upon, &c. E.g.—

Il. 1. 470 κούροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο *filled up the cups to the brim with liquor*; 9. 214 πάσσε δ' ἄλός *sprinkled with salt*. So πυρός in the phrases πρῆσαι πυρός *to burn with fire*, πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν *to propitiate (the dead) with fire*.

Il. 18. 574 χρυσοῖο τετεύχατο κασσιτεροῦ τε *were made of gold and tin*.

Od. 3. 408 ἀποστλῶντες ἀλείφατος *shining with fat*.

And with a distinctly *partitive* force:—

Od. 1. 140 χαριζομένη παρεόντων *favouring him (with good things) from her store*; 9. 102 λωτοῖο φαγών *eating of the lotus*; and so with γεύω *to give a taste of*.

Il. 5. 268 τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψε *stole (a strain) from the brood*.

9. 580 πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι *to cut off (a τέμενος) from the plain*.

14. 121 Ἀδρήστοιο δ' ἔγημε θυγατρῶν *married (one) from the daughters of Adrastus* (so Od. 9. 225., 12. 64., 15. 98).

The Gen. with Verbs meaning *to stint, grudge, spare* is probably of the same nature (*to stint* being = *to give little*).

The Genitives in λούεσθαι ποταμοῖο *to bathe in a river*, χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολὺς ἄλός *washing his hands in the sea*, &c. are intermediate between this group and the Genitives of Space (§ 145).

A Gen. of the *person* may be used with Verbs meaning *to gain profit from*; e.g. Il. 1. 410 ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος: 16. 31 τί σευ ἄλλος ὀνήσεται; Od. 11. 452 υἱὸς ἐνιπλησθῆναι (υἱὸς = *the company of his son*): also with πειράομαι *to try* (Od. 8. 23); cp. the Gen. with γεύω.



Note also the elliptical expression, Il. 21. 360 *τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς* *what (share) have I in combat and aid?*

Most of these Genitives are clearly 'partitive,' and all of them can be explained as 'true Genitives.' Some however may be Ablative. In particular, the Gen. of *material* with *τεύχω*, *ποιέω*, &c. is so regarded by Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 48) on the ground of the Sanscrit use. It may be that in certain cases the original usage allowed either Gen. or Abl., according to the shade of meaning to be expressed; just as with Verbs of *filling*, &c. Latin employs either the Gen. or the Abl. (which however may represent the Instrumental).

*f.* With Verbs meaning *to rule, be master*; viz.—

*ἀνάσσω*, Gen. of the *place* or *thing*, as Il. 1. 38 *Τενέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις*: Od. 24. 30 *τιμῆς ἥσπερ ἀνάσσεις*: of the *people*, only Il. 10. 32, Od. 11. 376. The Gen. of the *thing* and Dat. of the *people* combined, Il. 20. 180 *Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξειν τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου*.

*βασιλεύω*: Od. 1. 401., 11. 285.

*κρατέω*: Il. 1. 79 *Ἀργείων κρατεῖ* *has power over the Argives*.

*σημαίω*: Il. 14. 85 *στρατοῦ ἄλλου σημαίνειν*: so *ἡγοῦμαι*, &c.

*θεμιστεύω*: Od. 9. 114 *θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παιδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων*.

It is probable, from the analogy of Sanscrit, that this is the true Gen.; but the original force of the Case is obscure.

152.] **The Ablative Genitive.** The Ablative expressed the object (person, place, or thing) from which separation takes place, and is represented by the Gen. in various uses: as—

*Οὐλύμποιο κατήλυθε* *came down from Olympus*.

*ἀνέδν πολιῆς ἁλός* *rose from the grey sea*.

*χάζοντο κελεύθου* *gave way from the path*.

*ἔσχοντο μάχης* *were stayed from the fight*.

*παιδὸς ἔργει μυῖαν* *keeps off a fly from her child*.

*διώκετο οἴο δόμοιο* *chased from his house*.

*κακότητος ἔλυσαν* *delivered from ill*.

*ἀτεμβόμενος ἴσσης* *defrauded of a share*.

*παιδὸς ἐδέξατο* *received from her son*.

*Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα* *sprung from Zeus*.

*πίθων ἠφύσσετο οἶνος* *wine was drawn from casks*.

*περιγίγνεται ἡνιόχοιο* *gets beyond the charioteer*.

*Ἀντιλόχοιο λείπετο* *was left behind Antilochus*.

*γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων* *exchanging knee past knee (= putting them in front by turns)*.

*ἄρχομαι* *to begin from (a point)*, Il. 9. 97, Od. 21. 142.

*ἀμαρτάνω* *to miss, lose, fail in*.

*ἀμύνω*, *ἀλαλκεῖν* *to ward off (attack) from, defend*.

*ἀκοῖω*, *πυνθάνομαι*, *ἐκλυνον* *to hear from*: see § 151, *d*, note 2.

*τεύχω*, *ποιέω* *to make of (material)*: see § 151, *e*, note.

For the Gen. with Verbs of *buying, selling*, &c., see § 153.

Adjectives implying separation (*want, freedom*, &c.) may take

an Ablatival Gen. by virtue of their equivalence to Verbs of similar meaning; or they may be construed as Nouns, that is to say, with a 'true Gen.' E.g. λείος πετράων might be *smooth* (i. e. *cleared*) *from rocks*, or *smooth as to rocks*. Cp. the similar Latin Adjectives which take either Abl. or Gen.

The Gen. with Adjectives of *comparison* represents the Ablative (cp. the Latin construction). It expresses the point *from which the higher degree of a quality is separated*: cp. the Gen. with Verbs of *excelling* and *falling behind* (above), and with Adjectives of similar meaning, as Od. 21. 254 βίης ἐπιδενέες εἰμὲν Ὀδυσῆος *we are wanting in strength behind (compared with) Ulysses*.

The Gen. with ἐξ, ἀπό, παρά, πρὸς, περὶ (*beyond*), ὑπό (*from under*), κατὰ (*down from*) is Ablatival; with ὑπέρ, πρό, and some of the 'improper Prepositions,' as χωρὶς, ἀνευ, τῆλε, ἄτερ, νόσφι, ἀμφίς, ἐκός, ἐκτός, ἄψ, πάλιν, it may be either the Ablatival or the true Genitive. When *motion from* is not implied, the Case is probably the true Gen.; see the chapter on the Prepositions.

It should be observed that the use of the Ablatival Gen. with simple Verbs is comparatively restricted. Note that in Homer—

(1) Proper Names of places are not construed in this way (the form in -θεν being used).

(2) The Gen. is not used with simple Verbs of *going, coming, bringing*: e.g. we could not substitute the Gen. for the form in -θεν in such phrases as κλισίῃθεν λούσα, ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένη, οἰκοθεν ἦγε, Ἰλιόθεν με φέρον, &c.

Later poets seem to be more free in this respect (probably because they treated the usage as an archaism, adopted as being poetical): e.g. Soph. O. T. 142 βάθρων ἴστασθε, Ant. 418 χθονὸς δέλτα, Phil. 630 νεὼς ἄγοντα, &c. Further extensions are,—the use for the place from which something is *seen*, as Soph. El. 78, 324, and for the *agent*, Eur. Or. 497, El. 123.

153.] **Gen. of Price.** Verbs meaning *to change places with* take an Ablatival Gen., as γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων (quoted in the last section): hence the constructions—

Il. 6. 235 τεύχε' ἀμειβε χρύσεια χαλκείων *exchanged armour, golden (passing in exchange) for bronze*.

Il. 1. 111 Χρυσήϊδος ἀγλὰ' ἄποινα . . δέξασθαι *to accept a splendid ransom for Chryseïs*; so Od. 11. 327.

Il. 11. 106 ἔλυσεν ἀποίνων *released for a ransom*.

Hence also we may explain the construction with Verbs meaning *to value at, set off against (a price)*; as Il. 23. 649 τιμῆς ἧς τέ μ' ἔοικε τετιμῆσθαι; so with the Adjectives ἀντάξιος, &c. The construction τρίποδος περιδόμεθον *let us wager a tripod* is doubtless of the same nature; but the original meaning of the Verb is not quite clear.

It is possible however that a word expressing value or price may be construed as a Gen. with a Noun. As we can say τεύχεα ἑκατόμβοια *armour worth a hundred oxen*, we might have τεύχεα ἑκατὸν βοῶν (as in Attic prose, e.g. δέκα μνῶν χωρίον *a plot worth ten minae*); cp. the Latin *magni emere, magni facere*, &c.

*Case-forms in -φι(ν).*

154.] **The Case-Ending -φι(ν)** is found in a number of Homeric forms which appear to be construed indifferently as Datives or Genitives. It will be shown, however, that there is ground for believing these forms to have been used for the Dat. only in the Instrumental and Locative senses (the latter being comparatively rare), and for the Gen. only in the Ablative sense. They formed, therefore, a 'mixed Case,' composed of the same elements as the Latin Ablative, viz. the original Instr. Abl. and Loc.

In respect of usage these forms are archaic: that is to say, they are confined for the most part to lines and phrases of a fixed conventional type. In several instances the survival is evidently due to the influence of the metre: thus δακρυόφι, στήθεσφι take the place of δακρύων, στήθεων; δοστέοφιν and ικριόφιν, of δόστων, δόστοισι, and ικριών, ικριοισι—forms impossible in a hexameter. So κατ' ὄρεσφι, ὑπ' ὄχεσφι, for κατ' ὄρεων, ὑπ' ὄχλων.

155.] **Instrumental.** The forms in φι(ν) appear to have been forms of the Instrumental (Sing. and Plur.), and certainly the majority of the Homeric examples may be referred to that Case: ἐτέρηφι *with the other hand* (Il. 16. 734, &c.), δεξιτερῇφι (Od. 19. 480); βίηφι *by force* (Il. 16. 826, Od. 1. 403, &c.), and in the phrase κρατερῇφι βίηφι *with might and main*, also *in strength* (βίηφι φέρτερος, Od. 6. 6, &c.); ἀναγκαίηφι δαμέντας (Il. 20. 143); γενεῇφι νεώτατος (Il. 14. 112, &c.).

In the 'comitative' use, αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν *chariot and all*, ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν *with horses and chariot* (Il. 12. 114, Od. 4. 533); with Prepositions, ἄμ' ἡοῖ φαυνομένηφιν, σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν (often in the Iliad), also παρ' ὄχεσφιν (construed with Verbs of rest, Il. 5. 28, 794., 8. 565., 12. 91., 15. 3)—unless ὄχεσφιν is a Loc. (§ 157); with words expressing *agreement, likeness, &c.*, as παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει *filled his hand*, θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος (Il. 7. 366, &c.).

With Verbs of *trusting*; Il. 4. 303 ἵπποσύνη τε καὶ ἡγορέηφι πεποιθώς; so ἀγλαίηφι (Il. 6. 510), βίηφι (several times).

156.] **Ablative.** Forms used as Ablative Genitives are:—

Il. 2. 794 ναύφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν *start from the ships*.

13. 700 ναύφιν ἀμυνόμενοι *defending the ships*.

3. 368 ἐκ δέ μοι ἔγχος ἦτ' ἔθη παλάμηφιν.

10. 458 ἀπὸ μὲν . . κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλοντο.

Od. 5. 152 δακρυόφιν τέρσοντο *were dried from tears*.

8. 279 καθύπερθε μελαθρόφιν ἐξεκέχυντο.

With the Prepositions—

ἐξ: as ἐξ εὐνῇφι, ἐκ θεόφιν, πασσαλόφι, ποντόφιν, στήθεσφιν, Ἐρέβεςφιν, &c.

ἀπό: as ἀπὸ νευρήφι, αὐτόφι, χαλκόφι, στήθεσφι, ναῦφι, &c.  
παρά when it means *from*: Il. 12. 225 παρὰ ναῦφι ἐλευσόμεθ'  
αὐτὰ κέλευθα, and so Od. 14. 498.

So probably in the three other places of the Iliad—

18. 305 παρὰ ναῦφι ἀνέστη δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

8. 474 πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδάκεια Πηλείωνα.

16. 281 ἐλπόμενοι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδάκεια Πηλείωνα  
μνησθὲν μὲν ἀπορρίψαι, φιλότητα δ' ἐλίσσθαι.

The notion of *leaving* the ships is implied, so that παρὰ ναῦφι = παρὰ νεῶν.

κατά *down from*: κατ' ὄρεσφι (Il. 4. 452., II. 493).

ὑπό *from under*: ὑπ' ὄχεσφι (Il. 23. 7), ὑπὸ ζυγόφι (Il. 24. 576).

157.] **Locative.** This use is found in several clear instances, as well as others of an indecisive kind:—

Il. 19. 323 Φθίῃφι in *Phthia*; Il. 13. 168 κλισίῃφι λέλειπτο *was left in the tent*; θύρῃφι *out of doors*, Lat. *foris* (Od. 9. 238., 22. 220); κεφαλῇφι ἔθηκε *put on the head* (Il. 10. 30, 257, 261; cp. 496, Od. 20. 94); ὄρεσφι in *the mountains* (Il. 11. 474 ὡς εἴ τε δαφουνοὶ θήρες ὄρεσφι: Il. 19. 376 τὸ δὲ καλεῖται ὕψοθ' ὄρεσφι: 22. 139 ἥντε κῆρκος ὄρεσφι κ.τ.λ.; 22. 189 ὡς δ' ὅτε νεβρὸν ὄρεσφι κυὼν κ.τ.λ.); Il. 2. 480 ἥντε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἐπ-  
λετο πάντων: Il. 16. 487 ἀγέληφι μετελθὼν *coming into the herd*.

With the Prepositions:—ἐν, as Il. 24. 284 ἐν χειρὶ . . δεξιτερῇ-  
φι (= Od. 15. 148): πρὸς, in Od. 5. 432 πρὸς κοτυληδονόφι  
(*sticking*) *to the suckers*: ἀμφί, in Od. 16. 145 φθινύθει δ' ἀμφ'  
δοτεόφι χρώς: ὑπό, in ὑπ' ὄχεσφι, ὑπὸ ζυγόφι (Il. 19. 404, unless  
the meaning is *from under*).

With ἐπί *on, at*, in the combinations ἐπ' ἱκρίοφι, ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφι,  
ἐπὶ νευρήφι (all in the Odyssey) the Case may be either the Loc.  
or the Gen.

παρ' αὐτόφι occurs four times in the Iliad (12. 302., 13. 42., 20. 140., 23. 640).  
In three of these places there is a v.l. παρ' αὐτόθι (or παρ' αὐτόθι), which generally  
gives a better sense, and is required by the grammar in 13. 42 ἔλποντο δὲ νῆας  
'Αχαιῶν ἀλρήσειν κτενέειν τε παρ' αὐτόφι (= παρὰ νηυσί). It seems probable that  
the Endings -θι and -φι were confused, possibly at a very early period.

158.] **The true Dat. and Gen.** There is only one example of  
the true Dat., viz. Il. 2. 363 ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφι ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ  
φύλοις *that phratría may bear aid to phratría, and tribe to tribe*.

It is not quite clear whether any forms in -φι(ν) belong to the  
true Gen.; the instances in question are:—

(1) Il. 21. 295 κατὰ Ἰλίοφι κλυτὰ τεῖχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι *to coop up  
the army within the famous walls of Ilios*.

(2) Od. 12. 45 πολλὸς δ' ἀμφ' ὀστεόφι θῖς ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων *there  
is around a great heap of bones, of men rotting*. But this may be an  
Instrumental of material, = 'a heap (is made) of bones.'

(3) Il. 16. 762 κεφαλῆφιν ἐπεὶ λάβεν οὐχὶ μεθίει (Gen., § 151, a).  
 11. 350 οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῆφιν (but the Gen. might be construed with ἀφάμαρτε, as an Abl.).

(4) The phrase δακρυόφι πλησθεν (Il. 17. 696, &c.).

(5) Certain uses with Prepositions; viz. ἐπὶ in Il. 13. 308 ἡ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν . . ἡ ἐπ' ἀριστερόφιν *towards right or left*; διὰ through, in διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν (Il. 5. 41, &c.), also 10. 185 ἐρχεται δι' ὄρεσφι: πρόσθε in Il. 5. 107 πρόσθ' ἵπποιῦν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

The first four of these references evidently do not prove much. The first would be a clear instance of the true Gen. if we could be sure of the text: but there is some probability in favour of Ἰλίοο (§ 98), proposed by Leo Meyer (Decl. p. 55). The form δακρυόφι with πλησθεν &c. may be an Instr. (like the Latin Abl. with similar Verbs) or an Ablative Gen., § 151, e.

Again, the uses with ἐπὶ and πρόσθε may be Locative. The uses with διὰ are more important, because they are not isolated, but form a distinct group. It is improbable that διὰ *through* should take an Ablative Gen. or a Locative. It remains to consider whether the Instrumental is admissible. Now the Sanscrit Instr. is often used of the space or time *over which* an action extends (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 58): and so the Abl. in Latin (Roby, Pt. II. 1176, 1179). This use appears in Greek as the Dat. of the *way by which*, and perhaps in the phrases περιόντι τῷ θέρει, &c. It is at least possible that δι' ὄρεσφι and διὰ στήθεσφι are fragments of this use. If so, one or two other uses assigned above to the Loc. may be really Instr.; especially ὄρεσφι, Il. 11. 474., 22. 139, 189.

On the other hand, if the forms in -φι(v) constitute a 'mixed Case' (Locative, Instrumental, and Ablative), there must have been a tendency to extend its sphere from the Loc. and Instr. to the Dat., and from the Abl. to the Gen. Thus the few instances of forms in -φι(v) standing for the true Dat. and Gen. may be first steps towards an amalgamation of five Cases (such as we have in the Greek Dual). Or we may class them with the 'false archaisms' which doubtless exist in Homer, though not to the extent supposed by some commentators.

#### *Forms in -θεν and -ως.*

159.] **The Ending -θεν** expresses the point *from which motion* takes place; hence it is common in construction with Verbs of motion, and after the Prepositions ἐξ and ἀπό. Cp. also—

Il. 3. 276 Ζεὺ πάτερ Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων *ruling from Ida*.

8. 397 Ἰδῆθεν ἐπεὶ ἴδε *when he saw, looking from Ida*.

15. 716 Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἔπει λάβε *when he had got hold from (i. e. in the direction from, beginning with) the stern*; so ἐτέρωθεν *on the other side*, ἀμφοτέρωθεν *on both sides*.

Of time; ἡώθεν *from (beginning with) dawn*.

In a metaphorical sense; of an *agent* (regarded as the source of action), as Il. 15. 489 Διόθεν βλαφθέντα βέλεμνα: Od. 16. 447 οὐδέ τί μιν θάνατον τρομέεσθαι ἀνωγα ἔκ γε μνηστῆρων θεόθεν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι. Also, Il. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεὴς ὀνομάζων *naming from (on the side of) the father*. And in two phrases, Il. 7. 39,

736 οἶόνθεν οἶος *quite alone*, and Il. 7. 97 αἰνόνθεν αἰνῶς *quite terribly*, —where the force of the Ending is indistinct.

It is to be observed that (except in the Personal Pronouns) this form is not found with Verbs meaning to *deprive of, free from, defend, surpass*, or with the corresponding Adjectives and Adverbs. Hence it cannot be held to be equivalent to an Ablative (§ 152), and probably differed from the Abl. in expressing *motion from* rather than *separation*.

On the other hand, the Pronominal forms ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν are freely construed—

(1) as Ablatives: πρὸ ἔθεν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν, ἀνευ ἐμέθεν; and with a Comparative, Il. 1. 114 οὗ ἔθεν ἐστί χερσίων, &c. Cp. also Il. 9. 419 μάλα γάρ ἔθεν . . χεῖρα ἔην ὑπέρσχε.

(2) as true Genitives: Il. 4. 169 ἀλλά μοι αἰνὸν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσεται *I shall have terrible grief for thee*; with Verbs of *hearing* (Il. 2. 26, &c.), *remembering* (Od. 4. 592), *caring* (Il. 1. 180 σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω), *reaching or touching* (ἀντιάζω, πειράζω, &c.); and with ἄσسون, πρόσθε, ἅντα, ἀντίον, ἕνεκα, ἔκῃτι.

160.] The Ending -ως is generally derived from the -āt of the Sanscrit Ablative of Stems in -a. There seems no reason to doubt this identification, although the transition of meaning which it supposes is not a very easy one.

The chief examples in common use in Homer are—

From Pronominal Stems: ὧς, τῶς, πῶς, ὁμῶς, αὐτως, ἄλλως.

From Stems in -ο: αἰνῶς, ἀσπασίως, ἐκπάγλως, ἐπισταμένως, θαρσαλέως, κακῶς, καρπαλίμως, κραιπνῶς, κρατερῶς, δτραλέως, πυκινῶς, ῥηϊδίως, στερεῶς, στυγερῶς, χαλεπῶς.

From other Stems: πάντως, ἀτρεκέως, ἀσφαλέως, ἀφραδέως, περιφραδέως, διηνεκέως, ἐνδυκέως, λιγέως, νωλεμέως, προφρονέως.

It will be seen that comparatively few of these Adverbs come from the *short familiar* Adjectives. Thus καλῶς, αἰσχροῦς, μεγάλως, ταχέως, φίλος are very rare in Homer; and there is no Adverb of the kind from δεινός, ἴσος, ὀρθός, βαρύς, ὠκύς, ἄξυς.

#### The Nominative.

161.] **Impersonal Verbs.** It is evident that in a language which distinguishes the Person and Number of the Verb by the Ending, it is not essential that there should be a distinct word as Nominative. The Verb ἐσ-τί (*e.g.*) stands for *he is, she is, it is*; the person or thing meant by the Ending may be left to be gathered from the context. In certain cases, however, the Subject meant by an Ending of the Third Person is too indefinite to be expressed by a particular Noun, such as the context could supply to the mind. For instance, in the sentence οὕτως ἐσ-τί *it is so*, the real Subject given by the Ending -τι (in English by

the word *it*) is not a particular thing already mentioned or implied, but a vague notion—‘the case,’ ‘the course of things,’ &c.\* Verbs used with a vague unexpressed Subject of this kind are called IMPERSONAL.

The vague Subject may be conceived as a Plural, as Il. 16. 128 οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλωνται *the case shall no longer allow of flight*, Od. 2. 203 ἴσα ἔσσεται *things will be even*.

It may be observed that a Neuter Pronoun used as the Subject sometimes gives a vague meaning, not far removed from that of an Impersonal Verb; e.g. Il. 1. 564 εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστὶ *if this is so* (cp. οὕτως ἐστὶ *it is so*); ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται *it is a good thing too*.

An Impersonal Verb is often followed by an Infinitive, or dependent Clause, which supplies the want of a Subject. See Chapter X.

162.] **Nominative in the Predicate.** In certain cases the Predicate of a sentence may be limited or modified by a Nominative in agreement with the Subject. This is especially found—

1. With Adjectives of *time*; as ἐσπέριοι ἀφίκοντο *they came in the evening*, ἐννύχιος προμολῶν *coming forth by night*, εὖδον παννύχιοι *sleep all night*, χθις ἐβη *went yesterday*.

Such Adjectives seem to answer most nearly to the Gen. of *time within* which, but may also express *duration*, as πανημέριος and παννύχιος.

2. In describing the *attitude, manner, position, &c.* in which an action is done: as παλινόσπος ἀπέστη *stood off with a start backwards*, ὕπτιος οὐδεὶς ἐρείσθη *was dashed face upwards on the ground*; so πεζὸς εἰλήλουθα, λαβρὸς ἐπαιγίζων, πρόφρων τέτληκας (cp. προφρονέως), ἀμετροέπης ἐκολῶα, &c.

Similarly, ὅδε and κείνος are sometimes used instead of Adverbs of place: Il. 5. 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης *now, too, yonder is Ares at his side*; 10. 434 Θρήικες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε *here are the Thracians apart*.

3. With Verbs meaning *to be, to become, to appear, to be made, called, thought, &c.*; as κάρτιστοι τράφεν *they were nurtured the mightiest, (i.e. to be the mightiest)*; εἰσωποὶ ἐγένοντο νεῶν *they came to be in front of the ships*: ἦδε ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή *this appeared the best counsel*.

In all such cases the Nominative which goes with the Verb not only qualifies the notion given by the Verb-Stem, but also becomes itself a Predicate (i.e. the assertion of an attribute). E.g. κάρτιστοι τράφεν implies that they were κάρτιστοι. A Noun so used is called a SECONDARY Predicate.

The use of εἰμί as the ‘logical copula’ is merely a special or ‘singular’ case of

\* See Riddell's Digest, §§ 95-100.

this type of sentence. The Verb has then little or no meaning of its own, but serves to mark the following Noun as a Predicate. The final stage of the development is reached when the Verb is omitted as being superfluous.

4. With Impersonal or half-Impersonal Verbs meaning *to be*, &c.; the Predicate being—

(a) a Neuter Adjective; as *μόρσιμόν ἐστι* *it is fated*; *νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη* *it would be worthy of indignation*; *οὐ τοι ἀεικές* *it is not unmeet for thee*: with a Pronominal Subject, *ἐσθλὸν γὰρ τὸ τέτυκται* *it is a good thing*.

In the Plural, *οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται* *there is no more escaping*; cp. *λοιγία ἔργα τὰδ' ἔσσεται* *this will be a pestilent business*.

In one or two instances the Adverbial form in -ως is used in phrases of this kind: Il. 9. 547 *Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν* *things went ill for the Curetes*; Il. 7. 424 *διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν* *it was hard to distinguish*; Il. 11. 838 *πῶς κεν εἰοι τάδε ἔργα*; This may be regarded as older than the Neut. Nominative, since it indicates that the Verb is not a mere 'copula,' but has a meaning which the Adverb qualifies. Cp. Il. 6. 131 *δὴν ἦν* *lived long* (= *δηναιὸς ἦν*); Od. 11. 336 *πῶς ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι*;

(b) an abstract Noun; as Il. 17. 556 *σοὶ μὲν δὴ Μενέλαε κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος ἔσσεται εἰ κ.τ.λ.* *to thee it will be a humbling and reproach if &c.*; *οὐ νέμεσις* *it is no wrong*; *εἰ δέ μοι αἴσα* *but if it is my fate*: with a Pronominal Subject, *λώβη τάδε γ' ἔσσεται* *this will be a shame*.

The use of an abstract Noun instead of an Adjective is a license or boldness of language of which we have already had examples; see § 116 and § 126.

The Latin idiom called the Predicative Dative (Roby, Pt. II. pp. xxv-lvi) may be regarded as a less violent mode of expression than this Nom., since the Dat. is a Case which is originally 'adverbial,' i.e. construed with the Predicate given by the Verb-Stem. In other words, *dedecori est* is a less bold and probably more primitive way of saying *it is disgraceful* than *dedecus est*; just as *κακῶς ἦν* is more primitive than *κακὸν ἦν*.

It is worth while to notice the tendency to import the ideas of obligation, necessity, &c. into these phrases: e.g. *οὐ νέμεσις* *it is not (worthy of, a matter of) indignation*, *ὄνειδος ἔσσεται* *it will be (ground of) reproach*. So in Latin *vestra existimatio est* = *it is matter for your judgment*.

5. The ordinary use of the Participle belongs to this head: as *διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε* *parted after having quarrelled*. In this use the Participle qualifies the Verb-stem, and at the same time makes a distinct assertion: see Chapter X.

163.] **Interjectional Nominative.** The Nom. is not unfrequently used in Homer without any regular construction, as a kind of exclamation: e.g.—

Il. 5. 405 *σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, νῆπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κ.τ.λ.* *fool! he knows not, &c.*



Similarly *σχέτιος cruel! δύσμορος the unhappy one!* (Od. 20. 194): and so Il. 1. 231 *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς devourer of the people!*

Of the same kind is the interjectional use of *αἰδώς shame!* (Il. 5. 787., 13. 95., 16. 422).

A similar account may be given of one or two passages in which commentators generally suppose 'anacolouthon': viz.—

Il. 10. 436 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἶδον ἥδὲ μεγίστους·

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὅμοιοι

*whiter than snow they are!* &c.; and so in the equally abrupt—

Il. 10. 547 αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν εὐκότες ἥλιοιο.

2. 353 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξι' ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων (*he did so I tell you*) *by lightning on the right* &c.

Od. 1. 51 νῆσος δεινδρήεσσα, θεὰ δ' ἐνὶ δώματα ναεῖ *an island (it is) well wooded, and a goddess has her dwelling there!*

These forms of expression, when we seek to bring them under the general laws of the grammatical Sentence, resolve themselves into *Predicates with an unexpressed Subject*. That there may be logical Propositions of this kind has been justly recognised by a recent writer, Dr. Christoph Sigwart (Logik. I. p. 55 ff.). The Predicate, he shows, must always be expressed in a word (or words); but the Subject, when it is of the kind which would be expressed by a Pronoun (*it, this, &c.*) may be indicated by a gesture. The simplest examples of the type are the imperfect sentences used by children, such as *horse!* for *this is a horse*. When such sentences are introduced into literary language, they give it an abrupt and interjectional character, as in the examples quoted. We might add the phrases such as οὐ νέμεαι *it is no wrong* (§ 162), in which the want of a Verb makes the expression somewhat interjectional. Compare, for instance, οὐ νέμεαι with αἰδώς, *'Ἀργεῖοι shame on you, Greeks!*

### *The Vocative.*

164.] Regarding the use of the Vocative in Homer the chief point to be noticed is the curious one (common to Greek and Sanscrit) that when two persons are addressed, connected by *τε*, the second name is put in the Nominative.\* For instance—

Il. 3. 277 Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἴδηθεν μεδέων κῦδιστε μέγιστε,

Ἡέλιος θ' ὃς κ.τ.λ.

Similarly, the Vocative is not followed by *δέ* or any similar Conjunction, but the Pronoun *σὺ* is interposed; as Il. 1. 282 Ἀτρεΐδῃ σὺ δὲ παῦε κ.τ.λ. *but, son of Atreus, cease, &c.*

The Nominative is often used for the Voc., especially, it would seem, in order to avoid the repetition of the Voc.; e.g. Il. 4. 189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε. On this point however it is not always possible to trust to the accuracy of the text. Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 333) has good grounds in the conditions of the metre for proposing to change a great many Vocatives into Nominatives.

\* Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 28.

*Adjectival Use of the Noun.*

165.] **Substantive and Adjective.** This seems a convenient place for one or two remarks on the distinction expressed by these terms.

It will be seen from §§ 114 and 117 that there is no general difference in the mode of forming Substantives and Adjectives. Certain Suffixes, however, are chiefly or wholly employed in the formation of *abstract* and *collective* Nouns (which are necessarily Substantives): as in the Feminine Nouns in -τι-s, -τυ-s, -δων, the Neuters in -μα(r), the Denominatives in -της (Gen. -τηρ-ος). Further, the Suffixes which form Nouns in -τη-s, -τηρ, -τωρ and -εως are practically confined to Substantives.

In respect of meaning and use, again, the distinction between concrete Substantives and Adjectives is practical rather than logical. Certain Nouns are *mainly* used as qualifying words in agreement with other Nouns; these are classed as Adjectives. In such combinations as βοῦς ταῖρος, ἄνδρες ἀλφεισταί, χαλκῆς ἄνδρες, βασιλεὺς Κῦρος, Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρεΐδης, where the qualifying word is one that is not generally used as an Adjective, we speak of the 'adjectival use' of a Substantive. Conversely, when an Adjective stands by itself to denote an individual or group of objects, the use is called 'substantival': e.g. κακός *a base fellow*, κακά *evils*, τυκτὸν κακὸν *a made mischief*. This is a use which arises when the objects to which an Adjective applies are such as *naturally* form a distinct class.

Abstract and Collective Nouns, it is evident, are essentially Substantives. Thus there is a clear distinction, both in form and meaning, between Abstract and Concrete Nouns; but not between Substantives and Adjectives.

The common definition of an Adjective as a word that expresses 'quality' ('Adjectives express the notion of QUALITY,' Jelf, ii. p. 7) is open to the objections (1) that an abstract Substantive may be said to express quality, and (2) that every concrete Noun of which the etymological meaning is clear expresses quality in the same way as an Adjective. *E.g.* the definition does not enable us to distinguish μάχηρής from μάχημων.

It is evident that the use of a Nominative in the Predicate—as βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ *he is king*—is strictly speaking an adjectival use.

The corresponding distinction in the Pronouns does not need much explanation. The Personal Pronouns are essentially Substantives (being incapable of serving as limiting or descriptive words); the Possessive Pronouns are essentially Adjectives. The others admit of both uses; *e.g.* οὗτος *this one*, and ἀνὴρ οὗτος (in Attic ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος) *this man*.

166.] **Gender of Adjectives.** In a few cases the Gender of the Adjective is independent of the Substantive with which it is construed.

1. When a *person* is described by a word which properly denotes a *thing* (viz. a Neuter, as τέκνον, τέκος, &c., or an abstract Noun, βίη Πριάμοιο, &c.), the concord of Gender is not always observed. Thus we have φίλε τέκνον (but φίλον τέκος, φίλη κεφαλή); again—

Il. 11. 690 ἐλθὼν γάρ ῥ' ἐκάκωσε βίη Ἑρακληείῃ (= Heracles).

Od. 11. 90 ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαιο  
χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχων.

In such cases grammarians speak of a 'construction according to the meaning' (κατὰ σύνεσιν). The term is unobjectionable, provided that we remember that constructions according to the meaning are generally older than those in which meaning is overridden by idiom or grammatical analogy.

2. Where an Adjective refers to more than one Noun, it follows the most prominent: or (if this is at all doubtful) the Masc. is used of *persons*, the Neut. of *things*: e. g.

Il. 2. 136 αἱ δὲ που ἡμέτεραί τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
εἰατ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι

because the wives are chiefly thought of: but—

Il. 18. 514 τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
ῥύατ' ἐφεσταότες, μετὰ δ' ἀνέρες κ.τ.λ.

because the boys and old men are also in the speaker's mind.

Od. 13. 435 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,  
ῥωγαλέα ῥυπόωντα.

The Neut. Plur. is especially used of sheep and cattle: Il. 11. 244 πρῶθ' ἑκατόν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη, αἶγας ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰς; Il. 11. 696 ἐκ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγέλην τε βοῶν καὶ πῶϊ μέγ' οἴων εἴλετο, κρινάμενος τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομῆας (*three hundred head*): cp. also Il. 5. 140, Od. 12. 332.

3. A Noun standing as Predicate may be Neuter, although the Subject is Masc. or Fem.: as οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ. This is a kind of substantival use.

167.] **Gender of Pronouns.** A substantival Pronoun denoting a *person* may retain its proper Gender although the antecedent is a Neuter, or an abstract word; as Il. 22. 87 φίλον θάλος, δν τέκον αὐτή.

Conversely a Neuter Pronoun may be used substantivally of a *thing* which has been denoted by a Masc. or Fem. word:

Il. 2. 873 δς καὶ χρῦσον ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἱεν ἥτε κοῦρη,  
νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

Cp. Il. 11. 238., 18. 460, Od. 12. 74 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition).

On the other hand, a Pronominal Subject sometimes follows the Gender of a Noun standing as Predicate, as αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ *this is the manner*, ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ *as is right*. But the Neuter

is preferred if a distinct object is meant by the Pronoun; as Od. 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τόδε γ' ἐστὶ *what I see is not a club-feast*.

168.] **Implied Predication.** An Adjective (or Substantive in an adjectival use) construed with a Noun in an oblique Case may be so used as to convey a distinct predication; as οὐκέρ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις = *this (that you now speak) is not pleasing to me*.

So after Verbs meaning *to make, cause to be, call, think, &c.*; λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων *Zeus made the people (to be) stones*.

This use is parallel to that of the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162): cp. the forms of sentence λαοὶ ἐγένοντο λίθοι, λαοὺς ἐποίησε λίθους. In the latter the predicative Noun (λίθους) is construed with an oblique Case, instead of with the Subject. A Noun so used is called a **TERTIARY PREDICATE**: cp. § 162, 3.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### USE OF THE NUMBERS.

169.] **Collective Nouns.** The Subject of a Plural Verb may be expressed by means of a Collective Noun; as ὡς φάσαν ἡ πληθὺς *thus they said, the multitude* (cp. Il. 15. 305., 23. 157).

Conversely, a Participle construed with a Singular Nominative and Verb may be Plural; as Il. 18. 604 περιτταθ' ὄμιλος *τερπόμενοι*. So too Il. 16. 281 ἐκίνηθεν δὲ φάλαγγες ἐλπόμενοι.

In these instances, again, the construction is said to be 'according to the meaning' (§ 166). The principle is evidently that an abstract or collective word may be used in 'apposition' to a concrete word. It may be noticed however that the combinations such as ὄμιλος - *τερπόμενοι* are only found when there is some pause between the words; otherwise the Genitive would be used (construed as in Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὄμιλον, &c.).

170.] **Distributive use of the Singular.** The word ἕκαστος is often used in the Sing. with a Plural Verb, as ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος *they went home, each one*, δεδμήμεσθα ἕκαστος *we are each one obedient*. Other words in a clause may follow ἕκαστος in respect of Number: as Il. 2. 775 ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος *the horses each beside his chariot*; Il. 9. 656 οἱ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον σπείσαντες παρὰ νῆας ἴσαν πάλιν. Even the Verb is made Sing. in Il. 16. 264 οἱ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες πρόσσω πᾶς πέτεται καὶ ἀμύνει οἷσι τέκεσσι: but this is a slight boldness of expression.

On the same principle we may explain the Sing. in Od. 4. 300 αἰ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάρου δᾶος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι (= *each with a torch*

in her hands). Il. 13. 872 τετυμμένω κατὰ χεῖρα (*each of the two wounded in the hand*).

Similarly the Dual is used along with the Plural of a group which consists of *pairs*:—

Il. 16. 370 πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τάφρῳ ἐρυσάρματες ὠκέες ἵπποι

ἄξαντ' ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῷ λίπον ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων

where the Dual ἄξαντε (like the Sing. ῥυμῷ) refers to *one* chariot. Probably, too, we should read ἄρμα ἀνάκτων (*i. e. Φανάκτων*).

The Dual is often used in this way in Aristophanes: cp. Av. 622 ἀνατρίνοντες τῷ χεῖρε, and other instances given by Bieber (*De duali numero*, p. 44).

In Il. 5. 487 μὴ πῶς ὥς διφίσι λίνον δλόντε πανάγρου, the Dual δλόντε is explained by Schol. B ὑμεῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. If so, it is a distributive use: 'see that ye be not taken, man and wife in one net.'

In speaking of the characteristics of a group or class it is common to pass from the Plural to the Singular, or *vice versa*; e.g. Od. 4. 691 ἦ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλῆων, ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν κ.τ.λ. *it is the way of kings, (a king) will hate one &c.*

Conversely, Il. 19. 71 ὅς κε φύγησι . . ὑπ' ἔγχεος ἡμετέροιο *whichever one shall have fled before the spear of one of us*; so in describing a kind of helmet, Il. 10. 259 ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν. Cp. also Τρώων ἄλοχος (Il. 2. 355) = *the wife of some Trojan*. The Plural is possible because the preceding Singular is distributive, *i. e.* takes one instance to represent the class intended.

171.] **Plural of Things.** The Plural form is not confined in Greek (or indeed in any language) to the expression of 'plurality' in the strict sense (*i. e.* to denote a group composed of distinct individuals), but is often used (esp. in Homer) of objects which it is more logical to think of in the Singular. Many words, too, are used both in the Sing. and the Plur., with little or no difference of meaning.

Notice especially the uses of the Plural in the case of—

(1) Objects consisting of parts: τόξον and τόξα *bow and arrows*: ὄχος and ὄχεια, ἄρμα and ἄρματα *a chariot*: δῶμα, μέγαρον *a hall or room*, δώματα, μέγαρα *a house*: λέκτρον and λέκτρα *a bed*.

πύλαι *a gate* is only used in the Plur.; θύρη is used as well as θύραι, but only of *the door of a room* (θάλαμος).

(2) Natural objects of undefined extent: ψάμαθος and ψάμαθοι (as we say *sands*), ἅλεις (once ἅλς) *salt*, κονίη and κονίαι *dust*, πυρός and πυροί *wheat*, ἡϊόνες, ῥέεθρον and ῥέεθρα, κύμα (in a collective sense) and κύματα, δάκρυ and δάκρυα, κρέα (seldom κρέας) *meat*, σάρκες (once Sing.) *flesh*.

(3) Parts of the body: νῶτον and νῶτα, στήθος and (more commonly) στήθεα, πρόσωπον and πρόσωπα *the countenance*, φρήν and φρένες.

(4) Abstract words: λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων *forgetting horse-manship*, ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς *trusting to speed of foot*, ἀναλκείησι *δαμέντες overcome by want of prowess*, πολυιδρείησι νόοιο *through cunning of understanding*: so ἀτασθαλῖαι, ἀφραδίαι, ἀγνορίαι, ἀεσιφροσύναι, τεκτοσύναι, μεθημοσύναι, &c.; note also προδοκαὶ *ambush*, προχοαὶ *mouth of a river*, δῶρα *gift* (χρῦσος γὰρ ἐρύκακε, δῶρα θεοῖο).

The Plural in such cases is a kind of imperfect abstraction; the particular manifestations of a quality are thought of as units in a *group* or *mass*,—not yet as forming a single *thing*.

(5) Pronouns and Adjectives; see the examples of adverbial uses, §§ 133, 134; cp. also § 161.

172.] **Neuter Plural.** The construction of the Neut. Plur. with a Singular Verb is the commoner one in Homer, in the proportion of about three to one. When the Plural is used, it will generally be found that the word is really Plural in meaning (*i. e.* that it calls up the notion of distinct units). Thus it is used with—

Nouns denoting agents; as ἔθνεα applied to the men of the Greek army (Il. 2. 91, 464), to birds (Il. 2. 459), to swine (Od. 14. 73); so with φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων (Od. 15. 409).

Distinctly plural parts of the body: πτερὰ, χεῖλεα, οὐθατα, μέλεα: so πέδιλα (of Hermes).

Numerals: δέκα στόματα (Il. 2. 489), οὐατα τέσσαρα (Il. 11. 634), τέσσαρα δέρματα (Od. 4. 437), αἰπόλια ἐνδεκα πάντα (Od. 14. 103); so with πάντα and πολλά (Il. 11. 574., 15. 714., 17. 760., Od. 4. 437, 794., 9. 222., 12. 411), and when the context shows that distinct things are meant: as Il. 5. 656 τῶν μὲν δούρατα (the spears of *two* warriors), 13. 135 ἔγχεα . . ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

A few instances which occur in fixed phrases may represent an earlier syntax; λύντο δὲ γυῖα (but also λύτο γούνατα), ἀμήχανα ἔργα γέροντο, &c. Note especially the lines ending with πέλονται (τά τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται, ὅτε τ' ἤματα μακρὰ πέλονται, φυκτὰ πέλονται, &c.)

The exceptions to the use of the Sing. are fewest with Pronouns and Adjectives: doubtless on account of their want of a distinct Plural meaning (see the end of last section).

173.] **The Dual** is chiefly used (1) of two objects thought of as a distinct pair, and (2) when the Numeral δύο is used.

1. Thus we have the natural pairs χεῖρε, πόδε, πήχεε, τένοντε, ὦμω, μηρῶ, ὅσσε, ὀφθαλμῶ: σταθμῶ *door-posts*; ἵππω *the horses of a chariot*, βόε *a yoke of oxen*, ἀρνε *a pair of lambs* (for sacrifice);

δοῦρε (in Il. 13. 241., 16. 139 of the two spears usually carried, but δυό δοῦρε is more common); ποταμῷ (Il. 5. 77;) of the two rivers of the Troad, and so κρουνώ (Il. 22. 147). So of the two warriors in a chariot (Il. 5. 244, 272, 468), two wrestlers (Il. 23. 707), two dancers (Od. 8. 378), the Sirens (Od. 12. 52, &c.); finally, of the Ἀτρεΐδα and Αἴαντε.

The Numeral is generally added in speaking of two wild animals (θῆρε δύο, λέοντε δύο, &c.): κάπρω (Il. 11. 324) and λέοντε (Il. 16. 756) are hardly exceptions, since the context shows that two are meant. It is not easy to account for αλεῖω (Od. 2. 146), used of two eagles sent as an omen, and γῦπε (Od. 11. 578), of the vultures that devoured Tityos.

The Dual in Il. 8. 185-191 (where Hector calls to *four* horses by name) might be defended, because two is the regular number; but probably v. 185 is spurious. In Il. 23. 413, again,—αἱ κ' ἀποκηδήσαντε φερώμεθα χεῖρον δέθλον—the Dual is used because it is the horses that are chiefly in the driver's mind, although he associates himself with them. In Il. 9. 182-195 the Dual refers to the two envoys, Phoenix being overlooked.

Again, when two agents have been mentioned together, or are represented as acting together in any way, the Dual may be used: as Il. 1. 531 τῷ γ' ὧς βουλευσάντε (of Thetis and Achilles), 16. 823 (of a lion and boar fighting), Od. 3. 128., 13. 372, &c. Similarly, of the meeting of two rivers, Il. 4. 453 ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ (cp. 5. 774).

The Dual Pronouns νῶϊ and σφῶϊ are used with comparative regularity: see Il. 1. 257, 336, 574., 5. 34, 287, 718, &c. This usage may be a matter of traditional courtesy. Hence perhaps the scrupulous use where the First Person Dual is meant; Il. 4. 407 ἀγαγύνθ' ('Diomedes and I'); 8. 109 θεράποντε *our attendants*; 11. 313 τί παθόντε λελάσμεθα κ.τ.λ.; 12. 323 ὦ πέπον εἰ . . φηγόντε; Od. 3. 128 ἵνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε ('Ulysses and I'). Cp. the Second Person, Il. 1. 216 (Athene and Here), 322 (the heralds), 3. 279 (Hades and Persephone?), 7. 279 παῖδε φίλω.

2. Of the use with the Numeral the most significant examples are Od. 8. 35, 48 κούρω δὲ κρινθέντε δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα βήτην: where the Dual is used by a kind of attraction to the word δύο.

The Dual is never obligatory in Homer, since the Plural may always be used instead of it. Hence we often have a Dual Noun or Pronoun with a Plural Verb or Adjective, and *vice versa*.

The Neut. Dual (like the Neut. Plur.) may go with a Sing. Verb: thus we have ὅσσε with all three Numbers.

Certain of the ancient grammarians—Zenodotus among them—supposed that Homer sometimes used the Dual for the Plural. But Aristarchus showed that in all the passages on which this belief was founded the Dual either had its proper force, or was a false reading.

The use of the Dual in Attic is nearly the same as in Homer: whereas in other dialects it appears to have become obsolete. This was one of the reasons that led some grammarians to maintain that Homer was an Athenian.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PREPOSITIONS.

*Introductory.*

174.] **Prepositions** are words expressing some local relation, and capable of being used as prefixes in forming Compound Verbs. The Greek Prepositions are also used in construction with oblique Cases of Nouns and Pronouns.

The Adverbs that are construed with oblique Cases, but do not enter into composition with Verbs, are called *Improper Prepositions*.

The list of Homeric Prepositions is the same (with perhaps one exception, see § 226) as that of later classical Greek. In the use of Prepositions, however, there are some marked differences between the two periods.

There are no 'Inseparable' Prepositions in Greek: see however the note to § 221.

175.] **Adverbial use.** In post-Homeric Greek it is a rule (subject to a few exceptions only) that a Preposition must either (1) enter into Composition or (2) be followed immediately by and 'govern' a Noun or Pronoun in an oblique Case. But in the Homeric language the limitation of the Prepositions to these two uses is still far from being established. A Preposition may not only be separated from the Case-form which it governs (a licence sometimes found in later writers), but may stand as a distinct word without governing any Case. In other words, it may be placed in the sentence with the freedom of an Adverb: *e.g.* as ἐγγύς is used either with or without a Genitive of the point to which something is near, so ἀμφί may mean either *on both sides* (of an object expressed by an oblique Case) or simply *on both sides*; ἐν may mean *in* (taking a Dat.), or simply *inside*; and so of the others, *e.g.*—

γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθών *all the earth smiled round about.*

ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων γίγνεται *beneath arose rattling of teeth.*

These uses, in which the Preposition is treated as an ordinary 'Adverb of place,' may be called in general the *adverbial uses*.

176.] **Tmesis.** The term TMESIS is sometimes applied generally to denote that a Preposition is 'separated' from the Verb which it qualifies (thus including all 'adverbial' uses), but is



more properly restricted to a particular group of these uses, viz. those in which the resulting meaning is the same as the Preposition and Verb have (or might have) in Composition: *e.g.*—

οἱ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίωνος Ἡελίοιο ἥσθιον *who eat up* (κατήσθιον)  
*the oxen of the sun.*

οὗς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην *which I took from* (ἀφειλόμην) *Aeneas.*  
ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθόν *and promised* (ὑπέσχετο) *hire.*

This at least is the sense in which the word *τμήσις* was employed by the Greek grammarians, who looked at the peculiarities of Homer as deviations from the later established usage, and accordingly regarded the independent place of the Preposition as the result of a 'severance' of the Compound Verb. We may retain the term, provided that we understand it to mean no more than the fact that the two elements which formed a single word in later Greek were still separable in the language of Homer.

The distinction between Tmesis (in the strict sense) and other 'adverbial' uses cannot always be drawn with certainty. The question is not so much whether a given Preposition and Verb are actually found in Composition, as whether they coalesce in meaning, so as to form a *new compound notion*; *e.g.* μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν *turning his back*, χεῖρας ἀπὸ ξίφει τμήξας *cutting off his hands by the sword*. The clearest cases are those in which the construction of other words in the sentence is affected by the Preposition; *e.g.* in ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην, ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθόν. On the other hand, the use is simply adverbial in—

περὶ φρένας ἱμερος αἰρεῖ *desire seizes his heart all round* (because the Compound περιαιρέω means *to strip off, to take away from round a thing*).

ὧς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον . . μετὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων *and in the midst the king Agamemnon.*

ὧς Τρῶες πρὸ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι *the Trojans, arrayed some in front, others behind.*

177.] **Ellipse of the Verb.** In certain cases, viz. when the Verb is understood, a Preposition may represent the whole Predicate of a clause:—

οἰωνοὶ δὲ πέρι πλέες ἢ γυναικες *about (him) are more birds of prey than women.*

ἐνθ' ἐνι μὲν φιλότης *therein is love.*

οὐ τοι ἐπι δέος *there is no fear for thee.*

πάρα δ' ἀνὴρ *the man is at hand.*

ἀλλ' ἄνα *but up!*

Where the Preposition takes the place of a Compound (as ἐνι for ἐνεστι, ἐπι for ἐπεστι), Tmesis may be recognised: and certainly in such an instance as—

πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι *others are at my command* (not *are beside me*, but = *παρεῖσι* in its derived sense).

So when a Verb is to be repeated from a preceding clause; as  
 Il. 24. 229-233 ἔνθεν δώδεκα μὲν περικαλλέας ἔξελε πέπλους . .  
 ἐκ δὲ δὺ' αἰθώνας τρίποδας : Il. 3. 267 ὤρνυτο δ' αὐτὶκ' ἔπειτα ἀναξ  
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἂν δ' Ὀδυσσεύς (sc. ὤρνυτο).

178.] **Use with oblique Cases.** Prepositions are frequently used in Greek with the Accusative, the Locative and Instrumental Dative, and the Ablative Genitive; less commonly with the true Genitive; rarely (if at all) with the true Dative. The phrases formed by the combination of a Preposition with a Case-form are equivalent in construction to single Adverbs.

It may be shown (chiefly by comparison with Sanscrit) that the government of Cases by Prepositions belongs to a later stage of the language than the use of Prepositions with Verbs. Originally the Case was always construed directly with the Verb, and the Preposition did no more than qualify the Verbal meaning. *E.g.* in such a sentence as εἰς Τροίην ἦλθε the Acc. Τροίην originally went with ἦλθε. If however the construction Τροίην ἦλθε (that is to say, the Accusative with the simple Verb) ceased to be usual, it is evident that the Preposition would become necessary, and the combination εἰς Τροίην would be soon stereotyped, so as to be equivalent to a single Adverb.

In Homer we find many instances of a transitional character, in which a Case-form which appears to be governed by a Preposition may equally well be construed directly with the Verb,—modified, it may be, in meaning by the Preposition.

Thus we have ἀμφὶ with the Dat. in the recurring form—

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος,

but the Preposition is not necessary for the Case, as we see from its absence in—

ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα,

and again from the transitional form—

ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίται | ὤμοις ἀτσοσσοῦται,

where the Preposition is best taken in the adverbial use—*on each side his mane streams out on his shoulders.* Cp. Il. 17. 523 ἐν δὲ οἱ ἔγχος | νηδύοισι μάλ' ὀξὺ κραδαινόμενον λυε γυῖα, where ἐν is adverbial.

The transition from ἐν in Tmesis to ἐν with the Dat. may be seen in ἐν γαίῃ (= γαίῃ ἐνεπάγῃ) *was fixed in the earth*; cp. οὐδεὶς ἐνισκίμθη, &c.

Again, we seem to have ἀμφὶ governing the Accusative in—

Il. 11. 482 ὥς βα τότ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα . . Τρῶες ἔπον.

But ἀμφὶ must be taken with ἔπον, as in—

Il. 11. 776 σφῶϊ μὲν ἀμφὶ βοῶς ἔπετον κρέα. So in—

ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγε brought under the yoke

the supposition of Tmesis is borne out by the form—

ὑπαγε ζυγὸν ὠκέας ἵππων.

Again, the Ablative Genitive in—

ἦλθ' ἐξ ἀλός came out from the sea

may be explained like τείχεος ἐξελθεῖν, &c.; and—

νηὸς ἀπὸ πρύμνης χαμάδις πέσε

by νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων, and numerous similar forms.

A transitional instance might be found in—

II. 6. 100 *ὅν περ φασὶ θεᾶς ἐξέμμεναι· ἀλλ' ὅδε λίην,*  
where however the rhythm of the verse is rather against writing *θεᾶς ἐξ ἐμμεναι*.

Thus the history of the usage of Prepositions confirms the general principle laid down in a previous chapter (§ 131), that the oblique Cases, with the exception of the (true) Genitive, are primarily construed with Verbs, and that consequently the construction of these Cases with Nouns and (we may now add) Prepositions is always of a derivative kind.

179.] **Use with the Genitive.** Where the Genitive with a Preposition is not Ablatival, it may usually be explained in two ways, between which it is not always easy to choose:—

(1) It may be derived from one of the uses with Verbs discussed in §§ 149–151. *E.g.* the Genitive in—

*ὅς τ' εἰσὼν διὰ δούρος* which goes through the wood  
is probably the Genitive of the space *within which* motion takes place. For *εἰσὼν διὰ δούρος* has the same relation to *πεδίῳ διώκειν* and *πεδίῳ διαπρήσσειν*, that *ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίην* has to *Τροίην ἦλθεν* and *Τροίην εἰσήλθεν*.

(2) It may be of the same kind as the Genitive with a Noun: *e.g.* the construction with *ἀντί* may be the same as with the Adverbs *ἀντα*, *ἀντίον*, *ἀντία*, &c., and the Adjectives *ἀντίος*, *ἐναντίος*, &c., and this is evidently not akin to any of the constructions with Verbs, but falls under the general rule that a Noun or Pronoun qualifying a Noun is put in the Genitive (§ 147).

It is held by Curtius (*Elucidations*, c. 17) that the Genitive with *ἀντί*, *πρό*, *διά*, *ὑπέρ*, *ὑπό*, and other Prepositions, when they do not necessarily imply *motion from*, is of the same kind as the ordinary Genitive with Adjectives and Adverbs. This view is supported by the fact that in Greek the Improper Prepositions nearly all govern the Genitive, whatever their meaning: *e.g.* *ἐγγύς* and *ἐκός*, *ἐντός* and *ἐκτός*, *ἀντα*, *μέχρι*, *ἕνεκα*, &c.; for the explanation of this fact can only be that the construction does not depend upon the local relation involved, but is of the same kind as in *δέμας πυρός*, *χάριν Τρώων*, &c.

On the other hand, it is argued by Delbrück (*Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 134) that such a construction of the Genitive with Prepositions is unknown in Sanscrit, and therefore is not likely to be the original construction, at least in the case of the Prepositions common to Greek and Sanscrit—a list which includes *πρό*, *ὑπό*, and *ὑπέρ*. He would allow the supposition however in the case of *ἀντί* (the Sanscrit *anti* being an Adverb), and perhaps *διά*; regarding these words as having become true Prepositions more recently than the others.

180.] **Accentuation.** The rules for the accentuation of Compound Verbs have been already given in § 88. They proceed on the general principle that (except in the augmented forms) the accent falls if possible on the Preposition; either on the last syllable (as *ἀπό-δος*), or, if that is elided, then on the first (as *ὑπ-αγε*).

In regard to the other uses, and in particular the use with Cases, the general assumption made by the Greek grammarians is that all Prepositions are oxytone. They do not recognise the modern distinction according to which *ἐν*, *εἰς*, and *ἐξ* are unaccented—a distinction which rests entirely on the practice of the manuscripts (Chandler, p. 254).

Dissyllabic Prepositions, however, are liable in certain cases to become barytone. The exact determination of these cases was a matter of much difficulty and controversy with the ancient writers, and unfortunately we cannot now determine how far their *dicta* rest upon actual observation of usage, and how far upon theoretical and fanciful considerations. The chief points of the generally accepted doctrine are:—

(1) The dissyllabic Prepositions, except *ἀμφί*, *ἀντί*, *ἀνά*, and *διά* (except also the dialectical forms *κατά*, *ὑπαί*, *παρά*, *ἀπαί*, *ὑπερ*, *πρότ*), are liable to ‘Anastrophe;’ that is to say, when placed *immediately* after the Verb or the Case-form to which they belong, they throw back the acute on to the first syllable, as *λούσῃ ἀπο* (= *ἀπολούσῃ*), *ἔχεν κατά*, *ῶ ἐπι* (= *ἐφ’ ῶ*), *μάχῃ ἐν*, *Ζεφύρου ὑπο*, &c.

(2) Also (according to some, see Schol. A on Il. 5. 283) if they stand at the end of a verse, or before a full stop.

(3) Also, when they are equivalent to Compound Verbs (§ 177); as *ἔνι*, *ἐπι*, *πάρα* (for *ἔν-εστι*, &c.). So *ἄνα* (for *ἀνάστηθι*); although *ἀνά* according to most authorities was not liable to Anastrophe.

(4) Two Prepositions are barytone in the adverbial use,—

*ἀπο* when it is = *ἀποθεν* at a distance, and

*περί* when it is = *περισσῶς* exceedingly.

To which some added *ὑπο* (as *τρομέει δ’ ὑπο γυῖα*, &c.).

(5) Monosyllabic Prepositions when placed after the governed word take the acute accent (as an equivalent for Anastrophe); but only when they come at the end of the line. Some however accented Od. 3. 137—

*καλεσσαμένω ἀγορὴν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιοῦς.*

The general effect of these rules being that Prepositions when they have the character of independent words retract the accent, we are led at once to the inference that they are properly barytone (as they are in Sanscrit), and that the grave accent which they take in the use before Case-forms only means that they lose their accent altogether. In other words, just as there is an ‘orthotone’ *ἔστι* and an enclitic *ἐστι*, sometimes written *ἐστὶ*, so there is (e.g.) an original orthotone *περί*, and a ‘proclitic’ *περι*, written *περι*, but in reality without accent (except in the case of a following enclitic, as *περί τε*).

1. On this view the accent of Prepositions is originally the same in Greek and

in Sanscrit. Moreover, it will serve to explain one or two minor peculiarities of Greek usage. Thus (1) it is the rule that when the last syllable of a Preposition is elided before a Case-form, the accent is not thrown back. This is intelligible on the ground that the Preposition is in fact without accent; and the same account will apply to the same peculiarity in the case of *ἀλλά* and *τινά*. On the other hand, (2) the accent is retracted in the case of elision before a Verb (as *ὑπαγε*), because the Preposition is then the accented word\*. Again, (3) the general rule of the Aeolic dialect, that all oxytones become barytone, does not extend to Prepositions; doubtless because they are not real oxytones.

The word *ἐν* (Sanscr. *ati*) is a Preposition which happens to have survived (with the original accent) in the Adverbial use only: cp. the use of *πρὸς* = *besides*.

It will occur as an objection that on this view all Prepositions in Tmesis ought to be barytone, not only those which follow the Verb or governed Case. The answer may be that this was in fact the Homeric accentuation, but was forgotten before the time of the grammarians, whose teaching on the subject of accents was entirely derived from the usage of later Greek. Hence, while they knew something of the accent in the case of 'Anastrophe,' they were ignorant of it in the wider group of adverbial uses to which *Anastrophe* belonged. For *Anastrophe* survived in later usage, whereas Tmesis in general is exclusively Homeric.

It is worth observing, however, that some grammarians carried the doctrine of *Anastrophe* further than others. Ptolemaeus Ascalonites wrote *ὥς δ' ἀπο μὲνδν τρηχὺς λίθος* (Il. 5. 308), holding that the insertion of *δέ* did not prevent *Anastrophe*. Some wrote *πᾶρα γὰρ θεοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν* (Il. 3. 440), for the singular reason (founded on the literal sense of Tmesis) that the Compound is *πάρ-εἰσι*. A better ground would be that the Preposition is as emphatic as in *πάρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι* (Il. 1. 174), *πᾶρα δ' ἀνὴρ*, &c. There was also much doubt about the accent of a Preposition placed between a Substantive and an Adjective construed with it; as *Ἐάνθου ἀπο δινέεντος, ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλέεντος*. Apollonius and Herodian adopted the view which recognised *Anastrophe* in every such case: and Tyrannio even wrote *λάος ὑπο μίης*, on the ground that the order in prose would be *ὑπὸ λίθου μίης*.

2. One or two suggestions may be added in reference to the Prepositions which are generally said to be incapable of *Anastrophe*:—

*ἀνά* was thought by some to be capable of *Anastrophe*, and this view is supported by the adverbial use *ἀνα ὕψ*!

*ἀμφί* is probably a real oxytone, since the Adverb *ἀμφίς* is so. The corresponding Sanscrit Preposition *abhi* is oxytone, contrary to the general rule.

The assertion that *ὑπαί, παραί, προί*, &c. are not liable to *Anastrophe* is difficult of interpretation. It may mean no more than that later usage furnished the grammarians with no examples.

\* See Wackernagel in K. Z. xxiii. p. 457 ff. On this view, however, the original accent would be *ἀπο-δος, ἐνι-σπες, πᾶρα-σches*, &c. It may perhaps be preserved in the Indic. *ἐνι-σπες* and Imper. *ἐνι-σπε* (see § 88, where a different explanation of these forms was suggested). The Imperatives in *-s* may be paroxytone because they stand for *ἀποδοθι, ἐνι-σπεθι*, &c.

Since the passage in the text was in type I have found that a similar account of these matters is given by Prof. Benfey in his *Vedica und Linguistica*, pp. 90 ff. He goes so far however as to hold that the Du. and Plur. forms of *εἰμί* and *φῆμι* were all originally barytone (p. 98). But, admitting an original orthotone *εἰμι*, *φῆμι*, &c. in the Sing. (and probably in the 3 Plur.), surely the change of accent in *φῆμι*, Plur. *φάμεν*, is original, and related to the change of quantity; as also in *εἰμι*, Plur. *ίμεις*, *véda*, Plur. *vidmas*, &c. The difficulties found in applying the theory to the Imperative are not conclusive.

3. There are many places in Homer where it is uncertain whether a Preposition is part of a Compound or retains its character as a separate word, either 'adverbial' or governing a *preceding* Noun. Thus we find the readings—

Il. 4. 538 πολλοὶ δὲ περὶ κτείνοντο καὶ ἄλλοι (Wolf).

16. 497 ἐμεῦ περὶ μάρναο χαλκῷ (περὶ Ven. A.).

18. 191 στεύτο γὰρ Ἡφαίστιο παρ' ὀσέμεν ἔντεα καλὰ (so Aristarchus).

1. 269 καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ μέθ' ὀμίλειον (Ar.).

4. 423 Ζεφύρου ὑπο κινήσαντος (Bekker, &c.).

with the variants *περικτείνοντο*, *περιμάρναο*, &c. And the existing texts contain a good many Compounds which we might write *divisim* without loss to the sense; as Il. 18. 7 νηυσὶν ἐπικλονέονται, Od. 8. 14 πόντον ἐπιπλαγχθεῖς, Od. 16. 466 δατυ καταβλώσκοντα.

In reference to such forms it is natural to argue that the tendency of grammarians and copyists unfamiliar with the free adverbial use of the Prepositions, would be always towards forming Compounds; and hence that modern critics ought to lean rather to the side of writing the words separately.

### ἀμφί.

181.] The Preposition ἀμφί means *on both sides*, or (if the notion of two sides is not prominent) *all round*. It is doubtless connected with ἀμφω *both*.

The adverbial use is common; *e.g.* with a Verb understood, Od. 6. 292 ἐν δὲ κρήνῃ νάει, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶν *and around is a meadow*.

It is especially used in reference to the two sides of the body: Il. 5. 310 ἀμφὶ δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε *black night covered his eyes on both sides* (i. e. both eyes); Il. 10. 535 ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει; Il. 18. 414 σπόγγῳ δ' ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόργνυ; Od. 2. 153 παρειᾶς ἀμφὶ τε δειράς; Od. 9. 389 πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας κ.τ.λ.

So Il. 6. 117 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπτε καὶ αὐχένα δέρμα κελαινόν *the shield smote him on the ankles on both sides and on the neck*. Here ἀμφί is generally taken to mean *above and beneath*; wrongly, as the passages quoted above show.

This use of ἀμφί is extended to the *internal* organs, esp. the midriff (φρένες) regarded as the seat of feeling: *e.g.*

Il. 3. 442 οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ᾤδε ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψε (so 14. 294).

6. 355 ἐπεὶ σὲ μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκε.

16. 481 ἐνθ' ἄρα τε φρένες ἔρχεται ἀμφ' ἄδινδον κῆρ (so Od. 19. 516).

Od. 8. 541 μάλα πού μιν ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκει.

So Hesiod, Theog. 554 χῶσατο δὲ φρένας ἀμφί; Hom. h. Apoll. 273, h. Ven. 243; Mimnerm. 1. 7 φρένας ἀμφὶ κακὰί τείρουσι μέριμναι. Hence read—

Il. 1. 103 μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναί πίμπλυντ',  
and similarly in Il. 17. 83, 499, 573.

182.] The Dative with ἀμφί is a natural extension of the ordinary Locative Dative—the Preposition being adverbial, and not always *needed* to govern the Case. Compare (*e.g.*)—

Il. 1. 45 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων (Loc. Dat., § 145, 3).

20. 150 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄρρηκτον νεφέλην ὤμοισιν ἔσαντο.

11. 527 ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχει σάκος *has a shield on both sides on his shoulders, i. e. across his shoulders.*

In a metaphorical sense ἀμφὶ is applied to the object *about* which two parties contend: as Il. 3. 70 ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι. So of a negociation, Il. 13. 382 συνώμεθα ἀμφὶ γάμφ *we shall agree about the marriage.* Here the locatival sense is lost, and the Preposition is indispensable for the syntax. So too Il. 7. 408 ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν *as to the question of the dead*; Il. 16. 647 ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλον μερμηρίζων.

It is a further extension of this use when ἀμφὶ with the Dat. is construed with Verbs meaning *to speak, think, &c.*, as Od. 4. 151 ἀμφ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ μυθεόμην. This last variety (in which the notion of *two sides* disappears) is confined to the Odyssey: cp. 5. 287., 14. 338, 364.

A true Dative may follow ἀμφὶ, but cannot be said to be governed by it; e. g. in Il. 14. 420 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα *his arms rattled about him*, the Dat. is 'ethical,' as in Il. 13. 439 ῥῆξεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα. So in Il. 4. 431 ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμψε, the Dat. is not locatival, but the true Dat. The two kinds of Dat. may be combined, as Il. 18. 205 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε.

The construction of ἀμφὶ with the Dat. is not found in Attic prose. It survives in the poetical style, and in Herodotus.

183.] The Accusative with ἀμφὶ is used when the Verb expresses *motion*, as—

Il. 5. 314 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔδν φιλον υἱὸν ἐχέυατο πηχέε λευκῷ.

Also to express *extent*, diffusion over a space, &c. (ideas naturally conveyed by terms denoting motion):—

Od. 11. 419 ὥς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας κείμεθα *as we lay (scattered) about, &c.*

Accordingly it is especially used in Homer—

(1) of dwellers *about* a place, as Il. 2. 499, 751, &c.

(2) of attendants or followers; as Il. 2. 445 οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα . . θύνον *they bustled about Agamemnon.*

The description *about (a person)* need not be taken to exclude the person who is the centre of the group; e. g. in Il. 4. 294 (Agamemnon found Nestor) οὐκ ἑτάροισι στίλλοντα . . ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πελάγοντα Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε, where Pelagon &c. are included under the word ἑταροί. This is an approach to the later idiom, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πλάτωνα = *Plato and his school.*

It should be observed that the motion expressed by the Verb when ἀμφὶ takes an Acc. is not motion *to a point*, but motion *over a space*. Hence this Acc. is not to be classed with Accusatives of the *terminus ad quem*, but with the Accusatives of Space (§ 138). This remark will be confirmed by similar uses of other Prepositions.

184.] The Genitive with ἀμφί is found in two instances,—

Il. 16. 825 μάχεσθον πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης *fight over a small spring of water.*

Od. 8. 267 ἀεῖδειν ἀμφ' Ἀρεος φιλότῃτος κ.τ.λ.

Another example may perhaps lurk in—

Il. 2. 384 εὖ δέ τις ἔρματος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν κ.τ.λ.

if we read ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν (*having looked over, seen to his chariot*). With this meaning compare Il. 18. 254 ἀμφὶ μάλα φράζεσθε; and for the construction the Attic use of περιόρῳμαι with a Gen. = *to look round after, take thought about* (Thuc. 4. 124): also the Gen. with ἀμφιμάχεσθαι Il. 16. 496., 18. 20., 15. 391.

#### περί.

185.] The Preposition περί (or πέρι, § 180) has in Homer the two meanings *around* and *beyond*.

Both these meanings are common in the adverbial use; the second often yields the derivative meaning *beyond measure, exceedingly*, as—

Il. 16. 186 πέρι μὲν θέλειν ταχύν *exceeding swift to run.*

18. 549 τὸ δὲ πέρι θαῦμα τέτυκτο *which was an exceeding wonder.*

Od. 4. 722 πέρι γάρ μοι ἔδωκε *for he has given to me beyond measure.*

The meaning *beyond* is found in Tmesis, Il. 12. 322 πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντες *escaping this war*: Il. 19. 230 πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λήπωνται *shall remain over from war*: and in Composition, περίεμι *I excel*, περιγίνομαι *I get beyond, surpass*, περίοδα *I know exceeding well* (Il. 13. 728 βουλῇ περιδμεναι ἄλλων *to be knowing in counsel beyond others*; cp. Od. 3. 244., 17. 317). The Gen. in such constructions is ablative (§ 152).

186.] The Dative with περί (as with ἀμφί) is usually Locative; as Il. 1. 303 ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρὶ *will gush over (lit. round upon) the spear*; 2. 416 χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δατῆαι *to tear the chiton about (round on) the breast.*

Hence, when used of an object of contention, it means *over*; as Il. 16. 568 περὶ παιδὶ . . πόνοσ εἴη *the toil (of battle) might be over his son*, cp. Il. 17. 4, 133, Od. 5. 310: and in a derivative sense, Od. 2. 245 μαχήσασθαι περὶ δαυτί *to fight about a feast.*

1. It is a question which meaning is to be given to περὶ in—

Il. 5. 566 περὶ γὰρ δῖε ποιμένι λαῶν (so 9. 433., 11. 566).

10. 240 ἔδδαισεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

17. 242 ὅσσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ πέρι δειδία (or περιδείδια).

and in the Compound (Il. 11. 508 τῷ βα περιδείσαν, 15. 123 περιδείσασα θεοῖσι, 21. 328., 23. 822). Most commentators here take περί = *exceedingly*, and the Dat. of the person as a *Dativus ethicus*: περὶ γὰρ δῖε ποιμένι *for he feared exceedingly for the shepherd*, &c. But it is difficult to find Homeric analogies for such a use



of the Dative, and the meaning *over, on behalf of*, is supported by the Homeric Hymns (h. Merc. 236 *χωόμενον περὶ βουσί*, h. Cer. 77 *ἀχτυμένην περὶ παιδί*), and later writers (Hdt. 3. 35 *περὶ ἐαυτῷ δειμαίνοντα*, Thuc. 1. 60 *δεδιότες περὶ κ.τ.λ.*); also by the use of ἀμφί with the Dat. (§ 182) in nearly the same meaning.

2. Much difficulty has been felt about the use of *περὶ* in a group of phrases of which the following are the chief instances:—

Il. 4. 53 *τὰς διαίρειναι, ὅτ' ἂν τοι ἀπέχθωνται περὶ κῆρι* (cp. 4. 46, &c.).

Od. 6. 158 *κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἐξοχὸν ἄλλων*.

Il. 21. 65 *περὶ δ' ἤθελε θυμῷ* (so 24. 236).

22. 70 *ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ*.

Od. 14. 146 *περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ*.

Il. 16. 157 *τοῖσιν τε περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή*.

Od. 14. 433 *περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἶσιμα ᾗδη*.

In all these places the Dative may be construed as a Locative (although κῆρι without *περὶ* is only found in Il. 9. 117): the only question is whether the Preposition is to be taken in the literal local sense *round, all over*, or in the derivative sense *exceedingly*. In favour of the latter it may be said that the same combinations of Preposition and Verb are found without a word such as κῆρι or θυμῷ, where accordingly *περὶ* must mean *exceedingly*; compare—

Il. 13. 430 *τὴν περὶ κῆρι φίλησε πατὴρ* }

Od. 8. 63 *τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε* }

Od. 14. 433 *περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἶσιμα ᾗδη* }

2. 88 *περὶ κέρδεια ᾔδε* }

Il. 16. 157 *περὶ φρεσὶν ἀλκή* }

Od. 12. 279 *περὶ τοι μένος* }

Od. 5. 36 *περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὧς τιμήσουσι* }

Il. 8. 161 *περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοί*. }

Again, in Il. 4. 46 *τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τίσκετο* the meaning *beyond* is required by the Gen. *τάων*; cp. 4. 257 *περὶ μὲν σε τίω Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων*.

On the other side, it must be considered that the representation of a feeling as something *surrounding* or *covering* the heart, midriff, &c. is common in Homer. Thus we have—

Il. 11. 89 *σίτου τε γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἱμερος αἰρεῖ*.

Od. 9. 362 *ἐπεὶ Κύκλωπα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν οἶνος*.

So of a sound, Il. 10. 139 *περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή* (cp. Od. 17. 261). And more frequently with ἀμφί; cp. Od. 19. 516 *πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ ὀξεῖαι μελεδῶνες ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσι*; and the other passages quoted at the end of § 181. Similarly *περὶ κῆρι, περὶ φρεσὶ*, may have been meant in the literal sense,—the feeling (fear, anger, etc.) being thought of as *filling* or *covering* the heart. On the whole, however, the evidence is against this view;—unless indeed we explain *περὶ κῆρι* as a traditional phrase, used without a distinct sense of its original meaning.

The occasional use of the Dat. with *περὶ* in Attic is probably due to familiarity with Homer.

187.] The Accusative with *περὶ* is used (as with ἀμφί) when *motion* or *extent in space* is expressed: as Il. 1. 448 *ἐκατόμβην ἐστησαν περὶ βωμόν* *placed the hecatomb round the altar*; 2. 750 *περὶ Δωδάνῃν οἴκι' ἔθεντο* *made their dwellings round Dodona*. Generally speaking the Accusative implies *surrounding* in a less exact or complete way than the Dative. It makes us think of

the *space about* an object rather than of its actual circumference. Occasionally, of course, the circumference *is* the space over which motion takes place, or extent is measured: as *Il.* 12. 297 *ῥάψε ῥάβδοισι διηνεκέσιν περὶ κύκλον round in a circle*; *Il.* 18. 274 *ἑστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον to stand along the wall all round it*.

188.] The Genitive with *περὶ* is used in three distinct ways:—

1. With *περὶ* meaning *beyond* (in the figurative sense, = *excelling*) it expresses the object of comparison: *Il.* 1. 287 *περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι to surpass all*, *Od.* 1. 235 *ἄιστον ἐποίησαν περὶ πάντων have made him unseen more than all men*, 4. 231 *ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων*. This use is distinctively Homeric.

2. With *περὶ* = *round, over* (in the local sense) the Gen. is very rare; the instances are—

*Od.* 5. 68 *ἦδ' αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπέλους γλαφυροῦ ἡμερὶς ἡβώωσα*.

130 *τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα περὶ τρόπιος βεβαῶτα*.

The Gen. may be akin to the (partitive) Gen. of place (§ 149): the vine *e.g.* grew *round in or over* (but not *covering*) the cave.

3. With *περὶ* = *over* (the object of a contest), as *Il.* 16. 1 *ὥς οἱ μὲν περὶ νηὸς εὐστέλμοιο μάχοντο*, 12. 142 *ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ νηῶν to defend the ships*; sometimes also in the figurative sense, *about*, as *Il.* 11. 700 *περὶ τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον θέυσεσθαι*, *Od.* 9. 423 *ὥστε περὶ ψυχῆς as when life is at stake*; and of *doubt*, *Il.* 20. 17 *ἦ τι περὶ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν μερμηρίζεις*. The use with Verbs of *anger* and *fear* is closely akin; *Il.* 9. 449 *παλλακίδος πέρι χῶσατο*; 17. 240 *νέκυσ πέρι δειδία* (unless we read *περιχῶσατο, περιδείδια*).

The *weapons* of the contest are said to be fought *over* in *Od.* 8. 225 *ἐρίεσκον περὶ τόξων*; so *Il.* 15. 284 *ὀππότε κούροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων*. And this is also applied to the quarrel itself, *Il.* 16. 476 *συνίτην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο* (cp. 20. 253).

By a not unnatural extension, *περὶ* with the Gen. follows Verbs meaning to *speak, know, &c.*, but only in the *Odyssey*; viz. 1. 135 (= 3. 77) *ἵνα μιν περὶ πατρὸς ἀποικομένοιο ἔροιτο*; 15. 347 *εἴπ' ἄγε μοι περὶ μητρὸς κ.τ.λ.*; 17. 563 *οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κείνου*; also 1. 405., 7. 191., 16. 234., 17. 371., 19. 270. Note that the corresponding use of *ἀμφὶ* with the Dat. is similarly peculiar to the *Odyssey* (§ 182).

The origin of this group of constructions is not quite clear. It may be noted, however, that they answer for the most part to constructions of the Gen. without a Preposition; cp. *ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ νηῶν* and *ἀμύνεσθαι νηῶν*; and again *εἰπεῖν περὶ μητρὸς, οἶδα περὶ κείνου, &c.* with the examples given in § 151, d.

παρά.

189.] The Preposition *παρά* (*παρά*, by Apocope *πάρ*) means *alongside*. It is common in the adverbial use (see § 177),

and also in Tmesis and Composition. Note the derivative meanings—

- (1) *at hand*, hence *at command*; as Il. 9. 43 *πάρ τοι ὁδός the way is open to you*; Od. 9. 125 *οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώπεςσι νέες πάρα*.
- (2) *aside*; as Il. 11. 233 *παρὰ δέ οἱ ἐτράπερ' ἔγχος the spear was turned to his side* (instead of striking him).
- (3) hence figuratively, *παρά μ' ἤπαφε cozened me 'aside,' away from my aim*: and so *παρπεπιθών changing the mind by persuasion*, *παρειπών talking over*, &c.; also, with a different metaphor, *wrongly*.
- (4) *past*, with Verbs of motion, as *ἐρχομαι, ἐλαύνω*, &c.

190.] **With the Dative** *παρά* means *beside, in the company of, near*. It is applied in Homer to both persons and things (whereas in later Greek the Dat. with *παρά* is almost wholly confined to persons); thus we have *παρὰ νηί, παρὰ νηυσί* (very frequently), *παρ' ἄρμασι, παρὰ βωμῷ, παρ ποσί, παρὰ σταθμῷ*, &c.

This Dat. is either Locative or Instrumental: see § 144. It may be used after a Verb of motion (*e.g.* Il. 13. 617), see § 145, 4.

191.] **The Accusative** with *παρά* is commonly used—

- (1) when *motion* ends *beside* or *near* a person or thing: as Il. 3. 406 *ἦσο παρ' αὐτὸν ἰούσα go and sit by him*; Il. 7. 190 *τὸν μὲν παρ πόδ' ἔδν χαμάδις βάλε*.

Hence the use of the Acc. often *implies* motion: as Il. 11. 314 *παρ' ἐμ' ἴστασο place yourself beside me*; Od. 1. 333 *στή ῥα παρὰ σταθμόν came and stood beside the pillar*; Il. 6. 433 *λαὸν δὲ στήσων παρ' ἐρινεόν*.

- (2) of *motion* or *extent alongside* of a thing (*esp. a coast, a river, a wall, &c.*); Il. 1. 34 *βῆ δ' ἀκίων παρὰ θίνα went along the shore*; Od. 9. 46 *πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ἔσφαζον παρὰ θίνα sacrificed many sheep along the shore*; Il. 2. 522 *παρ ποταμὸν ἔναιον dwelt by the side of the river*; Il. 3. 272 *παρ ξίφεος κούλεδν ἄωρτο hung beside the sword-sabbard*.
- (3) of *motion past* a place; as Il. 11. 166, 167 *οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα . . παρ' ἐρινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο they sped past the tomb of Ilos, past the fig-tree*; Il. 6. 42 *παρὰ τρόχον ἐξεκλίσθη rolled out past the wheel*. The derivative meaning *beyond* (= *in excess of*) is only found in Homer in the phrases *παρ δύναμιν* (Il. 13. 787) and *παρὰ μοῖραν* (Od. 14. 509): but *cp. the Adj. παρὰλσιος against fate*.

Note that *παρά* is often found with an Acc. of the place *near* which a weapon has *passed*: *e.g.* Il. 5. 146 *κλιῖδα παρ' ὤμων πλήξε struck the collar-bone near the shoulder*; Il. 16. 312 *οὐτα Θῶατα στέρον γυμνωθέντα παρ' ἀσπίδα passing the shield*.

Comparing these different uses we see that the same Acc. may imply motion, either *ending near* an object or *going past* it, as the context may require. In the latter case the Acc. is one of *space*: just as *περί* takes an Acc. of the *space round* which action takes place.

192.] With the Genitive *παρά* properly means *sideways* or *aside from*. As with the Dative, it is used of *things* as well as *persons* (whereas in later Greek it is practically restricted to *persons*). On the other hand, it is confined in Homer to the local sense; thus it is found with Verbs meaning to *go, bring, take, &c.* not (as afterwards) with *ἀκούω, μανθάνω, οἶδα*, or the like. An apparent exception is—

Il. 11. 794 εἰ δέ τινα φρεσὶν ἦσι θεοπροπίην ἀλείπειν,  
καὶ τινὰ οἱ παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ,

where however the notion of *bringing* a message is sufficiently prominent to explain the use. So Il. 11. 603 φθεγγάμενος παρὰ νηὸς *sending his voice from the ship*.

The original meaning *sideways* or *at the side from* is visible in some of the uses with a Gen. denoting a *thing*: as Il. 4. 468 παρ' ἀσπίδος ἐφεσάνθη *appeared beyond (outside the shelter of) the shield*: so probably Il. 4. 500 υἱὸν Πριάμοιο νόθον βάλε . . παρ' ἵππων ὤκειάν *struck him (aiming) past the chariot*. So too a sword is drawn παρὰ μηροῦ *sideways from the thigh*. The same meaning lies at the root of the frequent use of *παρά* in reference to the act of passing from one person to another (as in *παράδιδωμι* and *παράδεχομαι*), hence of gifts, messages, &c.

It is usual to regard *παρά* with the Gen. as meaning *from the side of, from beside, de chez*. But this is contrary to the nature of a prepositional phrase. The Case-ending and the Stem must form a single notion, which the Preposition then modifies; hence (e. g.) παρὰ μηροῦ means *beside from-the-thigh*, not *from beside-the-thigh*. This is especially clear where the Preposition is joined to a Verb; e. g. Od. 19. 187 παραπλάγασα Μαλειῶν *driving-aside from-Maleae*: and in—

Il. 4. 97 τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο  
the rhythm connects *παρά* with *φέροιο* rather than with *τοῦ*—*thou wilt bring-aside (=transfer) from-him*. So with other Prepositions: ἀπὸ Τροίης *off from-Troy*, not *from off-Troy*: κατ' οὐρανοῦ *down from-heaven*, not *from under-heaven*. As to ὑπὸ with the Gen., = *from under*, see § 204.

#### μετά.

193.] The Preposition *μετά* in the adverbial use means *mid-way, in the middle*; e. g. with a Verb understood, Il. 2. 446 μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ. *and among them &c.* Hence *alternately*, as Od. 15. 460 χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο *strung with electrum between (the gold)*; so *in succession, afterwards*, as Od. 21. 231 πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὕμμες *I first and you in turn*; Od. 15. 400 μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ = *a man has his turn of being pleased even in the course of his sufferings*.

The notion of *alternation* appears in Compounds with *μετά*, as *μεταβάλλω, μεταστρέφω*: in Tmesis, Od. 12. 312 μετὰ δ' ἄστρα

βέβηκε *the stars have changed their place*. So μεταπαυόμενοι (Il. 17. 373) means *with turns or intervals of rest*.

194.] With the Dative μετά means *between* or (less exactly) *among*. The meaning *between* is found in phrases such as μετὰ χειρσί, μετὰ ποσσί, μετὰ φρεσί (on the double character of the φρένες cp. § 181); also, of two *parties*, μετ' ἀμφοτέρωσι.

The use in reference to several objects (*among*) is mostly restricted to *persons*, since it conveys the idea of *association* of units forming a group, &c. (whereas ἐν and σύν are more *local*). Hence μετ' ἀστράσι (Il. 22. 28, 317) is said of a star *among other stars* (with a touch of personification): and in Il. 21. 122 κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσι there is perhaps a sarcastic force—*lie there with the fish for company*. Cp. also the phrase Od. 5. 224 μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω *let this be as one among them*.

The expression in Il. 15. 118 μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κονίησι is equivalent to a Collective Noun, nearly = 'the wounded and the fallen.' So Il. 21. 503 μετὰ στροφάλλῃσι κονίησι, a somewhat bolder phrase of the same kind.

The construction of μετά with the Dat. is in the main Homeric. It is occasionally imitated in later poetry.

195.] With the Accusative μετά has the two meanings *among* and *after*.

The meaning *among* is found after Verbs of motion with Plurals, and also with Collective Nouns, as μεθ' ὁμήγυριν, μεθ' ὄμιλον; so μετὰ δεῖπνον *to (join the company at) a feast*, μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομόν ἵππων = *to the pasture ground where other horses are*.

It occurs without a Verb of motion in Il. 2. 143 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν *to all among the multitude*; Il. 9. 54 μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλεν ἄριστος (so Od. 16. 419). And with a Singular in Il. 18. 552 δράγματα μετ' ὄγμον πίπτον *the handfuls of corn fell in the middle of the furrow (between the ridges)*.

Of the other meaning we may distinguish the varieties—

- (1) *after, following*; Il. 13. 513 ἐπαῖξαι μεθ' ἔδν βέλος *following his weapon*, Od. 2. 406 μετ' ἰχθὺα βαίνει θεοῖο.
- (2) *after, in order to find* (with a Verb of motion), as μετ' ἐμ' ἦλυθες *has come in search of me*, Od. 1. 184 ἐς Τεμέσσην μετὰ χαλκόν.
- (3) *in succession to, next to*; τὸν δὲ μετὰ κ.τ.λ. *and after him* &c.; and in the derived sense of time, Il. 8. 289 πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμέ *to thee after myself*; of rank, Il. 7. 228 οἳ . . . μετέασσι καὶ μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα *even (in the second rank) after Achilles*.

196.] With the Genitive μετά occurs in five places (with a Plural Noun), in the meaning *among* or *with*—

Il. 13. 700 μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο.

- Il. 21. 458 οὐδὲ μεθ' ἡμέων πειρᾷ κ.τ.λ.  
 24. 400 τῶν μέτα παλλόμενος κλήρῳ λάχων.  
 Od. 10. 320 μετ' ἄλλων λέξο ἑταίρων.  
 16. 140 μετὰ δμῶων τ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ πῖνε κ.τ.λ.

Of these instances the first is in a passage probably inserted afterwards to glorify the Athenians; the second is in the θεῶν μάχη, and therefore doubtful; in the third we should perhaps write μεταπαλλόμενος and construe *of them casting lots in turn I was chosen*. But the last two indicate that the use had crept into colloquial language as early as the *Odyssey*, taking the place of σύν or ἔμμε with the Dative. See § 221.

## ἐπί.

197.] The Preposition ἐπί means *over, upon*; sometimes *after* (as we speak of following *upon*); *with, at* (i. e. close *upon*); *in addition, besides*, esp. of an addition made to *correspond with* or *complete* something else; also, *attached to*, as an inseparable incident or condition of a person or thing; and conversely, *on the condition, in the circumstances, &c.*

Examples of these meanings in the adverbial use are:—

- Il. 1. 462 ἐπὶ δ' αἶθοπα οἶνον λείβε poured wine over (the meat).  
 13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα in front—behind.  
 Od. 1. 273 θεοὶ δ' ἐπὶ μάρτυροι ἔστων the gods be witnesses thereto.  
 5. 443 ἐπὶ σκέπας ἦν ἀνέμοιο there was thereto (the place was furnished with) a shelter from the wind.  
 Il. 18. 529 κτείνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας killed the shepherds with the sheep.  
 1. 233 ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι I will swear in confirmation.  
 With a Verb understood, ἐπί= *is present, is in the case*, as Od. 2. 58 οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνὴρ there is no man here (for the purpose); Il. 1. 515 οὐ τοι ἐπὶ δέος there is no fear with or for you (as part of your circumstances); Il. 21. 110 ἐπὶ τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος death is my lot too (cp. 6. 357 οἶσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον).

It is very much used in Composition. Note the meaning *over* in ἐπι-πλέω to sail over, also ἐπι-οίχομαι to go over, review, ἐπι-πώλομαι, ἐπι-αλάομαι; *besides*, in ἐπι-δίδωμι, &c.; *to* (of bringing aid, joining, &c.) in ἐπι-αρήγω, ἐπι-αλέξω, ἐπι-απαρίσκω, ἐπι-αλλάσσω, &c.; *for*, in ἐπι-κλώθω to spin for (so as to attach to); hence of assent, ἐπι-νεύω, ἐπι-τλήναι, ἐπι-είλω (with a general affirmative meaning, *on* as opposed to *off*, *for* as opposed to *against*).

198.] With the Dative ἐπί has the same group of meanings; note especially—

- (1) ἐπὶ νηυσὶ by the ships, ἐπ' ὄεσσι with the sheep (of a shepherd), ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι with (in charge of) the possessions; Il. 4. 235 ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν ἔσσει' ἄρωγός will be a helper with (on the side of) falsehood (or false men, reading ψευδέσσι).

- (2) Il. 4. 258 ἀλλοίῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ *in* (engaged upon) *other work*, so ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ *with a work unfinished*: so Il. 4. 178 ἐπὶ πᾶσι *in all cases dealt with*.
- (3) Od. 17. 454 οὐκ ἄρα σὸς γ' ἐπὶ εἰδεῖ καὶ φρένες ἦσαν *with form thou hast not understanding too*; Il. 13. 485 τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ *with this spirit (too)*.
- (4) Od. 11. 548 τοιῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ *with such a prize* (when such a thing is prize); μισθῷ ἐπὶ ῥητῷ *for fixed hire* (given the hire, hence *in view* of it).
- (5) ἐπ' ἡματι *for the day*, i. e. *as the day's work, in a single day*.

Note also that ἐπί meaning *upon* very often takes the Dat. after Verbs of motion, as κατέχευεν ἐπ' οὔδῃ *poured on to the ground*: hence *against*, as ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν *lόντες*, μάρνασθαι ἐπ' ἀνδράσι, &c.

199.] With the Accusative ἐπί implies (1) motion directed to a place, seldom (2) to a person; or (3) motion or (4) diffusion, extent, &c. *over* a space.

1. After Verbs of motion the Acc. does not (like the Dat.) distinctly express that the motion *terminates on* the place: e. g. ἐπὶ χθόνα is merely *to or towards the ground*, but ἐπὶ χθονὶ implies *alighting on it*. Cp. Il. 18. 565 ἀταρπιτὸς ἦεν ἐπ' αὐτήν *there was a path leading to it*; Il. 2. 218 ἐπὶ στῆθος συνοχωκότε *bent in over the chest*.

Hence the phrases expressing *attitude*, as ἐπὶ στόμα, ἐπὶ γούνα, &c. Two forms, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ and ἐπ' ἀριστερά, are used even when motion is not expressed; as Il. 5. 355 εὔρεν ἔπειτα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θοῦρον Ἄρηα ἤμενον. Note however that ἐπ' ἀριστεροῖς and ἐπ' ἀριστερῶν are metrically impossible.

2. The use with *persons* in the meaning *towards, in quest of*, is rare, and almost confined to the Iliad: as 2. 18 βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν: also 5. 590., 10. 18, 54, 85, 150., 11. 343, 805., 12. 342., 13. 91, 459., 14. 24., 16. 535., 21. 348, Od. 5. 149.

3. The meaning *over*, with Verbs of motion, is very common; ἐπὶ πόντον (ἰών, πλέων, φεύγων, &c.), ἐπὶ γαίαν, ἐπὶ χθόνα, ἐπὶ κύματα, &c. Also with Verbs of *looking*, as Il. 1. 350 ὁρώων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον.

Hence such phrases as ἐπὶ στίχας, of troops &c. moving *in ranks*, i. e. *over or along* certain lines: as Il. 3. 113 ἱπποὺς ἔρυσαν ἐπὶ στίχας: and so Od. 5. 245 ἐπὶ στάθμῃ ἴθιεν *straightened along* (hence *by*) *the rule*.

So with Plural Nouns, Il. 14. 381 οἰχόμενοι ἐπὶ πάντας *going over them all*, Od. 15. 492 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἅστε' ἀλώμενος; and of a distribution, Od. 16. 385 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας i. e. *equally, so as to go round*.

4. The instances in which *extent* (without *motion*) is implied are chiefly found in the *Odyssey*. Examples from the *Iliad* are: 9. 506 φθάσει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν *she is beforehand all the world over* (so 23. 742): 10. 213 κλέος εἴη πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, 24. 202, 535. It will be seen that they are from books 9, 10, 24.

Notice also the use with Neuters expressing *quantity*; as Il. 5. 772 τόσσον ἐπὶ θρώσκουσι *to such a distance they bound*; also ἐπὶ πολλόν *a long way*, ἐπὶ ἴσα *to an equal extent*; and esp. the common phrase ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ, see Il. 2. 616, &c.

5. Of *time*: Il. 2. 299 μέλαιρ' ἐπὶ χρόνον *wait for* (lit. *over*) *a time*; Od. 7. 288 εὐδον παννύχιος καὶ ἐπ' ἥῳ καὶ μέσον ἡμᾶρ *slept all night and on through morning and midday*.

200.] The Genitive with ἐπὶ is used in nearly the same sense as the Dative, but usually with less definitely local force; in particular—

- (1) with words expressing the great divisions of space, esp. when a contrast is involved (land and sea, &c.); as ἐπὶ χέρσον, ἐπ' ἡπείρου, ἐπ' ἀγροῦ; Od. 12. 27 ἡ ἀλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε (cp. Il. 13. 565). This is evidently a Gen. of place, § 149. For the difference of Gen. and Dat. cp. Il. 1. 485 ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἔρυσσαν ὕψου ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις.
- (2) where the local relation is a familiar one; as ἐπὶ νηός, ἐπ' ἀπήνης, ἐφ' ἱππων, ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἐπ' οὐδοῦ, ἐπὶ πύργου, ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, ἐπὶ μελῆς (ἐρεισθείς). Thus ἐπὶ νηυσὶ means *on or beside ships*, ἐπὶ νηῶν *on board ships*.
- (3) with Verbs of motion, *upon* (of the *terminus ad quem*), as Il. 3. 293 κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονός; so *bearing down on*, as Il. 3. 6 πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων: Il. 5. 700 προτρέποντο μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν: Od. 3. 171 νεοίμεθα νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης *taking the course by the island Psyria*. So perhaps Il. 7. 195 (εὐχέσθε) σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμέων (*keeping the words*) *to yourselves*.
- (4) of *time*; ἐπ' εἰρήνης (Il. 2. 797, &c.); ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων (Il. 5. 637, &c.) Cp. the Gen. of Time, § 150.

In later prose the Gen. is very common, and the uses become indistinguishable from those of the Dat.

#### ὙΠΟ.

201.] The Preposition ὑπό (also ὑπαί) usually means *beneath*, as in Il. 2. 95 ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα *the earth groaned beneath (their tread)*. The original sense, however, seems to have been *upwards*, as in the Superlative ὑπ-ατος *uppermost* (cp. ὕψι *aloft*, ὑπ-τιος *facing upwards*). On this view we can understand why ὑπό is not applied (like κατά) to express *downward* motion. Hence, too, it is especially used of *supporting* a thing, as Il. 1.



486 ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν: and on the same principle it expresses resistance to a motion (whereas κατὰ implies *yielding*, going *with the stream* &c.); as Il. 5. 505 ὑπὸ δ' ἔστρεφον ἡνιοχῆς *the drivers wheeled them up*, i. e. *to face* (the Trojans): and so ὑπ-αντίστας *meeting face to face*, ὑπο-μένω *to stand against* (as we say, *up to*); and with the derived notion of *answering*, ὑπ-αἰδῶ *to sing in correspondence*, ὑπο-κρίνομαι (= Att. ἀποκρίνομαι), ὑπο-βάλλω *to take up* (a speaker), ὑπ-ακούω = *to show that one hears* (by answering or obeying).

So too the Compounds ὑφ-ορῶ, ὑπ-όψιος, ὑπό-βρα, &c. do not express looking *down*, but looking *upwards from under*; even in Il. 3. 217 στάσκεν ὑπὰ δὲ Ἶδσκε κατὰ χθονὸς δμῶματα πῆξας it is the *face* that is bent downwards: cp. Il. 19. 17.

From the notion of being *immediately under* is derived that of being moved *by*, i. e. of *agency* or *cause*. The transition may be seen in ὑπο-εἰκω *to give way (before)*, ὑπο-τρέω &c.; so Il. 16. 333 ὑπεθερμάνθη *was warmed by (the blood)*.

202.] With the Dative ὑπό is very common in the simple local meaning, *under*. It is sometimes found with Verbs of motion, as Od. 4. 297 δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι; and even when motion *from* is intended, in Il. 18. 244 ἔλυσαν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὤκείας ἱππους. In this case however we have to consider that ἄρμάτων is metrically impossible.

The derived sense *under the charge* or *power* is found in such uses as Il. 5. 231 ὑφ' ἡνιόχῳ (of horses), 6. 139 Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε, 6. 171 θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ: also, with the notion of an effect produced (where the Gen. would therefore be rather more natural), ὑπὸ χερσὶ (δαμῆναι, θανέειν, &c.), ὑπὸ δουρὶ (τυπεῖς, &c.); Il. 13. 667 νούσῳ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι, Od. 4. 295 ὕπνῳ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα: and often of *persons*, as Il. 5. 93 ὑπὸ Τυδείδῃ πυκινὰ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες.

203.] The Accusative is used with ὑπό (1) of motion *to a point under*, e. g.—

Il. 2. 216 ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε *came under (the walls of) Troy*.

17. 309 τὸν βάλ' ὑπὸ κληῖδα μέσσην (so often with Verbs of *striking*, &c.).

Also (2) of motion *passing under*, and hence of *extent under*: Od. 15. 349 εἴ που ἔτι ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο i. e. *anywhere that the sun shines* (cp. ὑπ' ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε—an equivalent phrase).

Il. 2. 603 οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος.

3. 371 ἀγχε δέ μιν πολύκεστος ἱμᾶς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν (i. e. *passing under the throat*).

In one or two places it is applied to *time*: Il. 16. 202 πάνθ' ὑπὸ μνησθμόν *all the time that my anger lasted*; so perhaps Il. 22. 102

νύχθ' ὑπο τήνδ' ὀλοήν (but night is often regarded as a *space* of darkness).

204.] The Genitive with ὑπό is found in two or three distinct uses:—

- (1) with the force of *separation from*: as Il. 17. 235 νεκρὸν ὑπ' Αἴαντος ἐρύειν *from under Ajax*; Od. 9. 463 ὑπ' ἀρνειοῦ λυόμεν: so Il. 19. 17 ὅσσε δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὥς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάανθεν.

In this use the Gen. stands for an Ablative, cp. § 152.

Note however that originally ὑπό with an Abl. probably meant *upwards from*: see § 192.

- (2) of *place under*, with *contact* (especially of a *surface*); as—

Il. 8. 14 ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον.

Od. 5. 346 τὸδε κρήδεμνον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τανύσσαι.

Il. 1. 501 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθρεῶνος ἐλοῦσα *taking hold of him under the chin*.

4. 106 ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας.

16. 375 ὕψι δ' ἄελλα σκίδναθ' ὑπὸ νεφέων, i.e. *seeming to reach the clouds* (cp. 15. 625., 23. 874).

These uses of the Gen. are evidently parallel to some of those discussed in § 149 and § 151; compare (e.g.) ὑπὸ νεφέων with the Gen. of *space within* which (πεδίοιο δάκειν, &c.), and ὑπ' ἀνθρεῶνος ἐλοῦσα with κόμης ἔλε (§ 151 a) *took by the hair*. They are doubtless to be regarded (like the Gen. with ἐπὶ, § 200) as varieties or developments of the Genitive of Place.

As with the Dative, the notion *under* passes into—

- (3) the metaphorical (or half metaphorical) meaning *under the influence of*, *by the power of*; as Il. 3. 61 ὅς τ' εἰσιν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ' ἀνέρος *under the man's hand*; Od. 19. 114 ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ *under his rule*; and many similar uses.

Cases may be noted in which the agency intended is *indirect* (where later writers would rather use διὰ with an Acc.):—

Il. 16. 590 ἦν βὰ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀφ' ἧς πειρώμενος ἦ ἐν ἀέθλῳ,  
ἦ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δῆτων ὑπο θυμοραϊστέων,

where it is=*under the stress of an enemy* (so 18. 220);

Il. 23. 86 εὐτέ με . . ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερόνδ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς  
*by reason of a homicide (committed by me)*.

As a sound is said to be *over* or *about* (περὶ, ἀμφί) the person hearing, so he is *under* the sound: hence (e.g.) with a half metaphorical meaning Il. 15. 275 τῶν δέ θ' ὑπὸ λαχῆς ἐφάνη λῖς. So of other accompaniments, as Il. 18. 492 δαίδων ὑπο λαμπομενῶν *in the light of blazing torches*.

It is not quite clear whether the Gen. with ὑπό expressing a *cause* or *agent* is to be regarded as Ablative or not. It is natural that the effect should be thought

as proceeding *from* the agent: but on the other hand we have seen that a locative Dat. with *ὑπό* may express the same notion. Probably this use of the Gen. with *ὑπό* (which has no parallel in Latin) was developed when the Genitive and Ablative had ceased to be distinct.

πρὸς.

205.] The Preposition *πρὸς* (*πρός, ποτί*) expresses attitude or direction *towards* an object. It is found in the adverbial use; Od. 5. 255 *πρὸς δ' ἄρα πηδάλιον ποιήσατο* *he made a rudder to be put to (the raft)*; hence commonly *in addition, besides*—a use which remained in later Greek.

It is a question whether *πρὸς* and *ποτί* are originally the same word. The present text of Homer does not indicate any difference of usage.

206.] With the Dative *πρὸς* means *resting on, against, beside* a thing: as Il. 4. 112 *ποτὶ γαλῆ ἀγκλίνας* *resting (the bow) against the ground*: Od. 5. 329 *πρὸς ἀλλήλοισιν ἔχονται* *hold on to one another*. With Verbs of motion it implies that the motion ends *on* or *beside* the object; Od. 9. 459 *θεινομένου πρὸς οὐδεῖ*.

The later meaning *besides, in addition*, is only found in Od. 10. 68 *ἄσάν μ' ἔταροι τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τε ὕπνος*.

207.] With the Accusative *πρὸς* is very common, meaning *towards*: as *πρὸς πόλιν* *towards the city* (not necessarily reaching it), Il. 8. 364 *κλαέσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν* *cried out to heaven*; hence *to, on to* (mostly with Verbs of motion), as Od. 4. 42 *ἐκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια* *leaned against the walls: against* (persons), as *πρὸς δαίμονα* *in opposition to a god*; also *addressing* (persons), with Verbs of speaking, &c.; in one place of time, Od. 17. 191 *ποτὶ ἔσπερα* *towards evening*.

Note that the literal local sense appears in all the Homeric uses of *πρὸς* with the Acc.: the metaphorical uses, viz. *in respect of, for the purpose of, in proportion to, according to, &c.*, are later.

208.] With the Genitive *πρὸς* expresses *direction* without the idea of motion *towards* or rest *on* the object: as Od. 13. 110 *αἱ μὲν πρὸς βορέαο . . αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς νότον* *i.e. not at or facing the north and south, but more generally, in the direction fixed by north and south*; Il. 10. 428-430 *πρὸς μὲν ἄλός . . πρὸς Θύμβρης*; Il. 22. 198 *ποτὶ πτόλιος* *in the direction of Troy*; Od. 8. 29 *ἥ ἐ πρὸς ἡέλων ἢ ἐσπερίων ἀνθρώπων* (= *from east or west*).

Among derived senses we may distinguish—

- (1) *at the hand of, from* (persons), as Il. 1. 160 *τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι πρὸς Τρώων*, Il. 831 *τά σε πρὸς φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι*.
- (2) *on the part of, by the will of*, as Il. 1. 239 *οἳ τε θέμιστας*

πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύσται *who uphold judgments on behalf of Zeus*;  
Il. 6. 456 πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοις *at another's bidding*.

- (3) *before, by* (in oaths and entreaties); as Il. 13. 324 πρὸς πατρός γυνάξομαι *I entreat in the name of thy father*. The Preposition here implies that the god or person sworn by is made a party to the act; cp. Od. 11. 66 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπιθεν γυνάξομαι οὐ παρεόντων, πρὸς τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός κτλ. *on the part of the absent ones I entreat &c.*

It will be seen that *πρὸς* with a Gen. is seldom used in the strictly local sense except when there is a *contrast between two directions*. Hence the use approaches closely to that of the Gen. of Place given in § 149 (2); compare (e.g.) πρὸς βορρῆα — πρὸς νότον with Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ἰπέρλονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. The Case is accordingly 'quasi-partitive' (i. e. true) Genitive, and has no ablative character.

#### ἀνά.

209.] The Preposition ἀνά (ἀν) means *up, upwards, up through*. It is rarely used as a pure Adverb (the form ἀνω being preferred) except in the elliptical ἀνα *up!* But it has a derivative adverbial sense in Il. 18. 562 μέλανε δ' ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν *there were dark grapes throughout*. Tmesis may be seen in Il. 2. 278 ἀνὰ δ' ὁ πτολ(πορ)θος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔστη, and in ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχετο (ἀνέσχετο), &c. In Tmesis and Composition it sometimes expresses *reverse action*, as ἀνα-λύω. So ἀνα-βάλλω *to put off*.

ἀνά is seldom used with the Dative; the meaning is *up on* (a height of some kind), as Il. 1. 15 χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ *raised on a golden staff*; 15. 152 ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ: so 8. 441., 14. 352., 18. 177., Od. 11. 128., 23. 275., 24. 8. This use is confined to Homer.

With the Genitive it is only used in three places in the Odyssey (2. 416., 9. 177., 15. 284), and only of going on board a ship (ἀνὰ νηὸς βαίνω). The meaning *up from* is only found in Composition: ἀνέδν πολίῃς ἀλός, &c.

210.] With the Accusative ἀνά means *up along, up through*, of motion or extent: ἀνὰ ἄστυ, ἀμ πεδίου, ἀνὰ δώματα, ἀν' ὁδόν, ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, &c.; Il. 5. 74 ἀν' ὄδοντας ὑπὸ γλῶσσαν τάμε χαλκός *the spear cut its way up through the teeth and under the tongue*; so ἀνὰ στόμα, used literally (Il. 16. 349., 22. 452, &c.), and also of words uttered, Il. 2. 250 βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων *having the kings passing through your mouth* (i. e. talking freely of them); similarly ἀνὰ θυμόν of thoughts rising in the mind. Note also the application to mixing, as Od. 4. 41 παρ δ' ἔβαλον ζειάς, ἀνὰ δὲ κρή λευκὸν ἔμιξαν; cp. Od. 9. 209 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition). This Accusative is evidently one of Space (§ 138).

The use with collective Nouns, as ἀν' ὄμιλον *through the press*, μάχην ἀνὰ, ἀμ φόνον ἀν νείκεα, &c. seems to be peculiar to the Iliad.

The use in Il. 14. 80 ἀνὰ νόκτα may be explained either of *time* or of *space*: cp. ὑπὸ νόκτα (§ 203) διὰ νόκτα (§ 215).

The meaning *up on, up to* (of motion) may be traced in Il. 10. 466 θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην; Od. 22. 176 κίον' ἀν' ὑψηλὴν ἐρύσαι *draw (the cord) up to a high pillar*; perhaps in the phrase ἀνὰ θ' ἄρματα ποικίλ' ἐβαινον (Od. 3. 492, &c.).

## κατά.

211.] The Preposition **κατά** (by Apocope κάδ, &c.) means *down*, and is parallel in most uses to ἀνὰ. It is never purely adverbial (κάτω being used instead, cp. ἄνω), but is common in Tmesis, as Il. 1. 436 κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔδησαν, 19. 334 κατὰ πάντων τεθνάμεν, &c., and in Composition. Besides the primary sense (seen in κατ-άγω *to bring down*, κατα-νεύω *to nod downwards*, i.e. *in assent*, &c.) it often has the meaning *all over*, as κατα-ευνύω *to clothe*, καταχέω *to pour over*; hence *completely*, as κατὰ πάντα φαγεῖν *to eat all up*, κατα-κτείνω *to kill outright*; also *in the place, as before*, as καταλείπω *to leave where it was*, &c.

κατά is not used with the **Dative**. If such a use ever existed it was superseded by ὑπό (just as ἀνὰ with the Dat. gave way to ἐπί). The possibility of the combination may be seen from the phrases κατ' αὐτόθι, κατ' αὐθι.

212.] With the **Accusative** κατά means *down along, down through*, as κατὰ ῥόον *down stream*; cp. Il. 16. 349 ἀνὰ στόμα καὶ κατὰ ῥίνας (of blood). But it is very often used (like ἀνὰ) of motion that is not upward or downward, except from some arbitrary point of view; as καθ' ὁδόν *along the way*, κατὰ πόλιν *through the city*, &c.: again, κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν *in mind and spirit*.

Other varieties of use are:—

- (1) with collective Nouns (chiefly in the Iliad), as κατὰ στρατόν *through the camp*, πόλεμον κάτα, κατὰ κλόνον, &c.
- (2) with Plurals (less common), as κατ' αὐτοὺς *going among them*, κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλῃσθαι.
- (3) of the character or general description of an action, as κατὰ πρῆξιν *on a piece of business*, κατὰ χρέος, κατὰ ληΐδα (all in the Odyssey).
- (4) to express place; esp. of wounds, e.g. κατ' ὤμον *about (somewhere on) the shoulder*. Cp. Il. 1. 484 ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατόν *arrived opposite (within the space adjoining) the camp* (so Od. 5. 441).
- (5) to express *agreement* (from the notion of *falling in with*), in the phrases κατὰ θυμόν, κατὰ κόσμον, κατὰ μοῖραν, κατ' αἶσαν.

- (6) distributively: as Il. 2. 99 ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἑδρας *in their several seats*; and so, in 2. 362 κατὰ φύλα κατὰ φρήτρας.  
 (7) κατὰ σφέας (μάχεσθαι) *by themselves* (to the extent constituted by themselves): so Il. 1. 271 κατ' ἑμ' αὐτόν.

213.] With the Genitive κατὰ has two chief meanings:

- (1) *down from*; as κατ' οὐρανοῦ *down from heaven*, καθ' ἵππων ἔλτο *leaped from the chariot*. This Genitive is clearly Ablative in origin.  
 (2) *down on* (in, over, &c.): as Il. 3. 217 κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας *fixing his eyes on the ground*; κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλὺς *a mist was shed over his eyes*; κατὰ γαίης *down in the earth*.

Comparing the similar uses of ἐπὶ (§ 200), ὑπὸ (§ 204, 2), and πρὸς (§ 208), we can hardly doubt that the Genitive in this latter group is originally akin to the Genitives of Place (§ 149).

#### ΔΙΑ.

214.] The Preposition διὰ seems to mean properly *apart, in twain*. It is not used freely as an Adverb; but the original sense appears in the combinations διαπρό, διαμπερές, and in Tmesis and Composition, as δια-στῆναι *to stand apart*, δια-ράμνω *to cut asunder*; διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο *divided the possession*. From the notion of going *through* it means *thoroughly*, as in δια-πέρθω *to sack utterly*.

In several Compounds, as δια-ράμνω, δι-αιρέω, δια-δάπτω, the notion of division is given by the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. δια-ράμνω *to separate by cutting*, &c.

215.] The Accusative with διὰ is often used to denote the *space through which* motion takes place: as—

Il. 1. 600 διὰ δώματα ποικνύοντα *bustling through the palace* (so διὰ σπέος, διὰ βήσσης, διὰ ῥωπήια, &c.).

14. 91 μῦθον δν οὐ κεν ἀνὴρ γε διὰ στόμα πάμπαν ἀγοίτο (= *with which a man would not sully his mouth*: cp. ἀνὰ στόμα, § 210).

Od. 9. 400 ῥέκεον ἐν σπήεσσι δι' ἄκριας *dwelt in caves about (scattered through) the headlands*.

So Il. 2. 40 διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμῖνας *lasting through hard fights*: and διὰ νύκτα (chiefly in the Odyssey, and books 10 and 24 of the Iliad).

This use is distinctively Homeric. Sometimes also διὰ with the Acc. is used in Homer to express *cause* or *agency*; as Il. 1. 73 ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην (Calchas led the army) *by virtue of his soothsaying*; Od. 8. 520 διὰ μεγάλθυμον Ἀθήνην (to conquer) *by the help of*

*Athene*; so Il. 10. 497., 15. 41, 71., Od. 8. 82., 11. 276, 282, 437., 13. 121., 19. 154, 523. These places do not show the later distinction between *by means of* and *by reason of*.

216.] The Genitive with διὰ implies passing *through* something in order to get *beyond* it; esp. getting through an *obstacle*: as—

Il. 4. 135 διὰ μὲν ἄρ ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο.

So of a gate, Il. 3. 263 διὰ Σκαιοῶν ἔχον ἱππους: and of lower and upper air, &c. δι' ἥερος αἰθέρ' ἔκανε, δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἔκε, πεδίουδε διὰ νεφέων. Again διὰ προμάχων, δι' ὀμίλου &c. of making way through the press.

The Acc. is used where we expect this Gen. in Il. 7. 247 ἐξ δὲ διὰ πύχας ἦλθε *went through six folds*: but this may be partly due to the metrical impossibility of πυχῶν. Conversely, in Il. 10. 185 ὅς τε καθ' ἑλὴν ἐρχεται δι' ὄρεσφι the Acc. would be right, and ὄρεσφι is probably a false archaism: cp. § 158.

#### ὑπέρ.

217.] The Preposition ὑπέρ (or ὑπείρ) means *higher*, hence *over*, *beyond*. It is not found in the adverbial use, or in Tmesis, or with a Dative.

In Composition ὑπέρ expresses going *across* or *beyond*, hence *excess*, violation of limits, &c.

218.] With the Accusative ὑπέρ is used—

- (1) of motion or extent *over* a space, as Il. 23. 227 ὑπείρ ἄλα κίθναται ἡώς. This use is not common; Il. 12. 289., 24. 13, Od. 3. 68., 4. 172., 9. 254, 260.
- (2) of motion *passing over* an object: as Il. 5. 16 ὑπὲρ ὤμων ἀριστερόν ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή; Od. 7. 135 ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο.
- (3) metaphorically, *in excess of*, *in violation of*: ὑπὲρ αἴσαν, ὑπὲρ μοῖραν, ὑπὲρ ὅρκια: also, somewhat differently, Il. 17. 327 ὑπὲρ θεόν *in spite of God*.

219.] With the Genitive ὑπέρ is used both of position and of motion *over* an object, esp. at some distance from it; as στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς; Il. 15. 382 νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων (of a wave coming) *over the sides of a ship*: Il. 23. 327 ὅσον τ' ὄργυ' ὑπὲρ αἴης *a fathom's length above ground*.

Metaphorically it means *over* so as to protect, hence *in defence of*, *on behalf of*; as Il. 7. 449 τεῖχος ἐτειχίσσαντο νεῶν ὑπὲρ; Il. 1. 444 ἐκατόμβην ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν. So Il. 6. 524 ὅθ' ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἰσχε' ἀκούω *when I listen to reproaches on your account* (of which I bear the brunt).

In respect of form ὑπέρ (for ὑπέρι, Sanscr. *upāri*) is a Comparative of ὑπό; cp.

the Superlative *ὑπατος*, and the Lat. *superus, summus*. Hence the Gen. is probably Ablative, like the Gen. with words of comparison; see § 152.

### ἐνί.

220.] The Preposition *ἐνί* (also *εἰνί, εἰν, ἐν*) means *within, in*; it is used adverbially (as Il. 5. 740 *ἐν δ' ἔρις, ἐν δ' ἀλκή* &c.), in Tmesis (as *ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ*), and with a (locative) Dative.

Notice, as departures from the strict local sense, the uses—

- (1) with Plurals denoting persons (= *μετά among*), as *ἐν ὑμῖν* (Il. 9. 121, 528., 10. 445), *ἐν πᾶσι* (Od. 2. 194., 16. 378), *ἐν σφίσι* (Il. 23. 703).
- (2) with abstract words (rare in the Iliad); *ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι* (Il. 10. 245, 279), *ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι* (Il. 23. 671), *ἐν ἀλγεσιν* (Il. 24. 568); *θαλίῃ ἔνι* (Il. 9. 143, 285), *ἐν νηπιέῃ* (Il. 9. 491); *ἐν φιλότῃ*; *ἐν μοίρῃ aright* (Il. 19. 186), *αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ* (Il. 22. 61), *ἐν Καρὸς αἴσῃ* (Il. 9. 378); *ἐν δὲ ἱῇ τιμῇ* (Il. 9. 319).

These two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad to books 9, 10, 23, 24.

### σύν.

221.] The Preposition *σύν* (or *ξύν*) means *in company, with*. It is not used as a pure Adverb, but is found in Tmesis, as Il. 1. 579 *σύν δ' ἡμῖν δαῖτα ταραξή and disturb (συνταράσσω) our feast*. It is used with an Instrumental Dative (§ 144).

To express *equally with, or at the same time as*, Homer uses *ἄμα* with a Dat.; while *σύν* commonly means *attended by, with the help of, &c.* Hence *σύν ἔντεσι with armour on*, *σύν νηυσὶ in ships*, *σύν ὄρκῳ on oath*, *σύν Ἀθῆνῃ aided by Athene*: so Il. 4. 161 *σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν they pay with a great price*.

The use of *σύν* with the Dative has been recently shown by Tycho Mommsen to be confined, generally speaking, to poetry. The Attic prose writers (with the singular exception of Xenophon) use *μετά*; while the practice of the poets varies, from Homer, who hardly ever uses *μετά* with the Gen., down to Euripides, who uses it about half as often as *σύν*. It is evident that in post-Homeric times *μετά* with the Gen. became established in the ordinary colloquial language, while *σύν* with the Dat. was retained as a piece of poetical style, chiefly through the influence of Homer, but gradually gave way to living usage. Thus *σύν* became an 'Inseparable Preposition' (like *dis-* and *ambi-* in Latin). See T. Mommsen's dissertation *Metá, σύν und ἄμα bei den Epikern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1874).

### εἰς.

222.] The Preposition *εἰς* (or *ἔς*) expresses motion *to or into*. It is not used adverbially (the Adverb being *εἴσω*), and seldom in Tmesis.

The motion is sometimes *implied*: as Il. 15. 275 *ἐφάνη λῆς ἡγέμενος εἰς ὁδόν*: 16. 574 *ἔς Πηλῆ' ἰκέτευσε (came as suppliant)*.



Of *time*; ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα *to sun-set*; so ἐς τί *how long?* εἰς ὃ *until*: Od. 14. 384 ἐς θέρος ἢ ἐς ὀπώρην *as late as summer or autumn*.

Metaphorical uses: Il. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἐς γε μίαν βουλευόμεν *if we take counsel to one purpose*; Il. 9. 102 εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν *to speak to good effect* (so Il. 789., 23. 305).

## ἐξ.

223.] The Preposition ἐξ (or ἐκ) usually expresses motion *out from* an object. It is not used purely adverbially, but there are many examples of Tmesis: as ἐξ ἔρον ξυτο, ἐκ δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος πλήγη φρένας *his charioteer lost* (lit. *was struck out of*) *his wits*.

With the idea of motion *implied*:—

Il. 13. 301 ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μέτα θωρήσσεσθον *armed themselves to come from Thrace after the Ephyri*.

14. 129 ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐχώμεθα δηϊοτήτος ἐκ βελέων *hold back from fighting (going) out of range*: cp. 16. 122, 678., 18. 152.

And with an abstract word, Il. 10. 107 ἐκ χόλου ἀργαλείου μεταστρέψη φίλον ἦτορ.

So of *direction*: Il. 14. 153 Ἥρη δ' εἰσεῖδε . . στᾶσ' ἐξ Οὐλύμποιω *standing (looking) from Olympus*; Od. 21. 420 (drew the bow) αὐτόθεν ἐκ δίφροιο καθήμενος *from the chair as he sat*; Il. 19. 375 ὅτ' ἂν ἐκ πόντοιο σέλας ναύτησι φανήη *when a meteor appears to sailors at sea* (seeing it from the sea): of *choosing* out of, Il. 15. 680 ἐκ πολέων πύρρας συναίρεται ἵππους, and similarly, Il. 18. 431 ὅσσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκε *to me* (taken from, hence) *more than all*.

ἐξ is also used of an *agent* as the *source* of action; as Il. 5. 384 τλήμεν . . ἐξ ἀνδρῶν *have endured at the hands of men*; cp. Il. 22. 280., Od. 7. 70., 9. 512. The meaning in consequence of (a thing) occurs in Il. 9. 566 ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, and in the Odyssey (3. 135., 5. 468, &c.).

Of *time*: ἐκ τοῖο *from that time*, ἐξ ἀρχῆς *from the first* (Od. 1. 188, &c.), ἐκ νεότητος (Il. 14. 86).

Note also: Il. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων *calling them by the father's name according to family*; Il. 9. 343 (486) ἐκ θυμοῦ *from the heart, heartily* (but Il. 23. 595 ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν *to fall away from a person's favour*).

## ἀπό.

224.] The Preposition ἀπό means *off, away, at a distance from*. It is not used adverbially, but is common in Tmesis; as Il. 8. 108 οὓς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην *which I took from Æneas*. In Composition it generally gives the Verb the notion of *separating*;

e. g. ἀπο-κόπτω is not to *hew at a distance*, but to *separate by hewing*: so ἀποδύω, ἀποβάλλω, ἀπολούω, ἀπορρήγνυμι, ἀποκαπύω, and several others—all used in Tmesis. Hence we must explain Il. 19. 254 ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος *cutting hair as an ἀπαρχή*, or first offering; cp. Od. 3. 446., 14. 422.

Sometimes it has the force of *restoration* or *return*, as in ἀπο-δίδωμι, ἀπο-νοστέω (cp. ἀψ backwards). So ἀπο-εἰπεῖν means either to *speak out* or to *forbid, refuse*.

With the Genitive ἀπὸ generally expresses motion *away from*, not implying previous place within the object (whereas ἐκ means *proceeding from*). It is also used of position, as Il. 8. 16 οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης *as far as heaven is from earth*; Od. 1. 49 φίλων ἀπο πῆματα πάσχει *suffers woes far from his friends*; metaphorically, Il. 1. 562 ἀπὸ θυμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἔσσει *you will be the more out of favour with me*; ἀπὸ δόξης *away from expectation*. The Gen. is clearly Ablatival.

#### πρό.

225.] The Preposition πρό means *forward, in front*. It is seldom used as an Adverb; Il. 13. 799 πρό μὲν τ' ἄλλ', κτλ.; Il. 16. 188 ἐξάγαγε πρό φώσδε *brought forth to the light*: and of time, Il. 1. 70 πρό τ' ἐόντα *the past*. In one or two other instances we may recognise either the free adverbial use or Tmesis: Il. 1. 195 πρό γὰρ ἦκε, I. 442 πρό μ' ἐπεμψε, Od. 1. 37 πρό οἱ εἶπομεν.

Traces of a use of πρό with the Locative may be seen in the phrases οὐρανὸν πρό *in the face of heaven*, Ἰλίοθι πρό *in front of Troy*, and (perhaps in the temporal sense) ἠῶθι πρό *before dawn*. In these cases the meaning is *to the front in*, hence *immediately before*.

With a Genitive, on the other hand, πρό means *in front with respect to, in advance of*; hence, in a more or less metaphorical sense, *in defence of*, as Il. 8. 57 πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρό γυναικῶν. The Case is here the Ablatival Gen. (as with ὑπέρ and words of comparison).

But in Il. 4. 382 πρό ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο the Gen. is partitive, *got forward on the way*; and so perhaps Il. 16. 667 πρό φόβοιο *forward in the flight*, i. e. *having betaken themselves to flight* (so Düntzer a. l.).

The temporal sense is rare in Homer; Od. 15. 524., 17. 476 πρό γάμοιο *before marriage*; Il. 10. 224 καὶ τε πρό ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησε *one thinks of a thing before another*.

#### ἀντί.

226.] The word ἀντί can hardly be shown to be a true Preposition in Homer. The only Compound appears to be ἀντι-φέρεισθαι

to oppose (Il. 1. 589., 5. 701., 22. 482., Od. 16. 238): for the Verbs ἀντιβολέω *to meet* and ἀντιτορέω *to pierce* are probably derived from the Nouns ἀντί-βολος, ἀντί-τορος: also in Il. 8. 163 we should read γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο, not ἀντετέτυξο (cp. Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται), and for ἀντί-σχεσθε *hold up against* (Od. 22. 74) ἀντ' ἴσχεσθε (*i. e.* ἀντα ἴσχεσθε, cp. Od. 1. 334 ἀντα παρειῶν σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα).

ἀντί also resembles the Improper Prepositions (esp. the Adverbs ἀντα, ἀντίον, &c.) in being used with the Gen., but not with the Dat. or Acc. It means *in place of*, hence *in the character of*, equivalent to: as Il. 21. 75 ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἱκέταο.

### Double Prepositions.

227.] It is characteristic of Homer to form a species of compound by combining two Prepositions. We have—

ἀμφὶ περί, like our *round about*: also περί τ' ἀμφὶ τε *round and about*: used adverbially, as Il. 22. 10 ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περί μεγάλ' ἰαχον; in Composition, ἀμφιπεριστρώφα (Il. 8. 348), &c.

παρὲξ *out besides, out along, out past*: adverbial in Od. 14. 168 ἄλλα παρὲξ μεμνώμεθα: with the Acc., παρὲξ ἄλα *alongside the sea*, παρὲξ τὴν νῆσον *past the island*; παρὲκ νόου *beyond* (= *contrary to*) *reason*: with the Gen., παρὲξ ὁδοῦ *aside from the way*.

ὑπὲξ, with a Gen. *away from under*, as Il. 13. 89 φεύξεσθαι ὑπὲκ κακοῦ.

διέξ, with a Gen. *right through*, as διέκ προθύρου, διέκ μεγάροιο. ἀποπρό *quite away*, used adverbially and with a Gen.

διαπρό *right through*, adverbially and with a Gen.

περιπρό *round about*; Il. 11. 180 περιπρό γὰρ ἔγχεϊ θῦε.

In all these instances the meaning and construction are mainly determined by the first of the two Prepositions (so that *e. g.* παρὲξ is used nearly as παρά, διέξ and διαπρό as διά, &c.). The second does little more than add some emphasis.

The treble Preposition ὑπεκπρό is found in Composition: ὑπεκπροθέω, ὑπεκπροπέω, &c. The sense is represented by dividing the words ὑπεκ-προθέω, &c.

A curious variety is found in the Compound προ-προκυλινδόμενος *rolling forward before*, where a second πρό is added to give emphasis to the first.

### Improper Prepositions.

228.] The term 'Improper Preposition' may be applied to any Adverb used to govern a Case. The following are some of the most important words of the kind:—

Used with a Genitive: ἄγχι *near, close to*, ἐγγύθι, ἐγγύς *near*, ἀντα, ἀντίον, &c. *facing*, πρόσθε(ν) *before*, πάροιθε(ν) *in front of*, ὀπισθε(ν) *behind*, μεσσηγύς *between*, ἐντός, ἐντοσθε, ἐνδοθεν *within*,

ἔξω *out*, ἐκτός, ἐκτοθι, ἐκτοσθε(ν) *outside*, ἐνερθε *beneath*, ἀνευ, ἀνευθε(ν) *apart from, without*, ἄτερ *without*, νόσφι *away from*, ἐκάς, ἐκάτερθε(ν) *apart from*, μέσφα *until*, πέρην *beyond*, πάλιν *back from*, ἀντικρὺ *straight to*, ἰθὺς *straight towards*, τῆλε, τηλόθι *far off*, ὑπαιθα *under*, εἵνεκα (ἐνεκα) *on account of*, ἔκῃτι *by the favour of*. The Gen. with some of these words may be Ablatival (§ 152). In general, however, it appears to be used with little or no reference to the meaning of the governing Adverb, and merely in order to connect the two words. Hence these constructions are best brought under the general rule that a Noun governs the Genitive (§ 147).

With a Dative: ἀμα *together with*, μύδα *in company with*, ὁμῶς *in like manner*.

ἀμφί takes a Gen. in the meaning *aside from* (Il. 8. 444., 23. 393, Od. 14. 352). It is also found with the Acc. in the same sense as ἀμφί, in the phrase θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφὶ ἐόντες (see also Il. 11. 633, 747, Od. 6. 266); and once with a Dat., viz. in Il. 5. 723 σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς.

εἴσω generally takes an Accusative, as Ἴλιον εἴσω *to Ilium*: but a Gen. in Od. 8. 290 ὁ δ' εἴσω δώματος ἦει *went inside the house* (not merely *to the house*).

The word ὥς is used to govern an Accusative in one place in Homer, viz. Od. 17. 218 ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον *God ever brings like to like*. There is no evidence that ὥς was used in Composition: hence it cannot be counted as a proper Preposition.

Note the frequency of Compounds formed by one of these words following a Preposition: ἐν-αυτα, εἰς-αυτα, ἀν-αυτα, κάτ-αυτα, πάρ-αυτα, ἐν-αντίον, κατ-ἐν-αντίον; ἔμ-προσθεν, προ-πάρῃθε, μετ-όπισθεν, ἀπ-ἀνευθεν, ἀπ-ἀτερθεν, ἀπό-νοσφι, ὑπ-ἐνερθε, κατ-αντικρὺ. Cp. ἀν-διχσ, δι-αμπερίς, κατ-αντόθι, &c. These are not true Compounds (σύνθετα), but are formed by παράθεσις, or mere juxta-position: i. e. they do not consist of two members, of which the first is wholly employed in limiting or qualifying the second, but of two adverbial words qualifying the same Verb. Thus they are essentially akin to the combinations formed by a Preposition and its Case: see § 178.

### *Homeric and Attic uses of Prepositions.*

229.] The development of the language between the Homeric and the Attic period is especially shown in the uses of Prepositions. It may be convenient here to bring together some of the chief points.

1. Most of the Prepositions,—but esp. ἀμφί, περί, παρά, ἐπί, ὑπό, πρὸς, ἐνί—are used in Homer adverbially (i. e. as distinct words). Afterwards they become mere unaccented words or prefixes.

2. A variety of the same process shows itself in the disuse of

Tmesis. Besides the Prepositions already mentioned, this applies to *μετά, ἀνά, κατά, διὰ, ἐκ, ἀπὸ, εἰς*.

In these processes of development we have seen that the loss of independent meaning is accompanied by a change (which is in all probability simply a *loss*) of accent.

3. The construction with the Dative (which is mostly locative) is the one in which the Preposition retains most nearly its own 'adverbial' meaning—so much so that it is often doubtful whether the Preposition can be said to 'govern' the Case at all. Accordingly we find that this construction is comparatively rare in Attic. It is virtually lost (except as a poetical survival) with *ἀμφί, περί, μετά, ἀνά, and σύν*.

4. On the other hand the Genitive is more frequent in Attic, and not confined (as it generally is in Homer) to uses in which it has either an ablative or a quasi-partitive sense. Thus it is used with *ἀμφί, περί, and μετά*: also with *διὰ* of motion *through*. In such uses as these the Case ceases to have a distinct meaning: it merely serves (as with the Improper Prepositions) to show that the Noun is governed by the Preposition.

5. The development of meaning is chiefly seen in the extension from the literal sense of *place* to various derivative or metaphorical senses. Some of these senses are beginning to be used in the Homeric language: *e.g.* *ἀμφί* with the Dat.=*about, concerning*; *περί* with the Gen. (probably also the Dat.) in the same meaning; *παρά* with the Acc.=*in excess of, in violation of*; *μετά* with the Acc.=*after*; *ἐπί* with the Acc.=*towards* (a person): *διὰ* with the Acc.=*owing to*; *ἐκ*=*in consequence of*. Others may safely be counted as post-Homeric; note in particular—

*περί* with the Acc.=*about, nearly* (of time and number); also=*concerning, in relation to*:

*παρά* with the Dat.=*in the opinion of*; with the Acc.=*during the continuance of*; also *compared with*:

*κατά* with the Acc.=*answering to*; also *during the time of*: with the Gen.=*about, against*:

*ἐπί* with the Dat.=*in the power of*:

with many phrases such as *δι' ὀργῆς, ἀνὰ κράτος, πρὸς βίαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανούς, &c.*

6. There are slight but perceptible differences between the usage of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey* (§ 182, 188, 196, 199, 215). Some uses, again, are peculiar to one or two books of the *Iliad*, esp. 9, 10, 23, 24: see §§ 199 (4), 220, 223 (*fin.*).

## CHAPTER X.

## THE VERBAL NOUNS.

*Introductory.*

230.] The preceding chapters deal with the Simple Sentence : that is to say, the Sentence which consists of a single Verb, and the subordinate or qualifying words (Case-forms, Adverbs, Prepositions) construed with it (§ 131). We have now to consider how this type is enlarged by means of the Verbal Nouns.

The Infinitive and Participle, as has been explained (§ 84), are in fact Nouns : the Infinitive is an abstract Noun denoting the action of the Verb, the Participle a concrete Noun expressing that action as an attribute. They are termed 'Verbal' because they suggest or *imply* a predication, such as a finite Verb expresses (e.g. *ἐρχεται ἄγων αὐτοῦς* implies the assertion *ἄγει αὐτοῦς*), and because the words which depend upon or qualify them are construed with them as with Verbs (*ἄγων αὐτοῦς*, not *ἄγων αὐτῶν* *bringer of them*). Thus they have the character of subordinate Verbs, 'governed' by the finite Verb of the sentence, and serving at the same time as centres of dependent Clauses.

The distinction between Infinitives and other abstract Substantives, and again between Participles and other primitive Adjectives, was probably not always so clearly drawn as it is in Greek. The Infinitives of the oldest Sanscrit hardly form a distinct group of words; they are abstract Nouns of various formation, used in several different Cases, and would hardly have been classed apart from other Case-forms if they had not been recognised as the precursors of the later more developed Infinitive. The Participles, too, are variously formed in Sanscrit, and moreover they are not the only Nouns with which the construction is 'adverbial' instead of being 'adnominal.'

The peculiarity of the Verbal Nouns in point of meaning may be said to consist in the *temporary* and *accidental* character of the actions or attributes which they express. Thus *πράττειν* and *πράξις* suggest a *particular* doing, momentary or progressive, at or during a time fixed by the context; whereas *πράξις* means *doing*, irrespective of time; *πράττω* *one who does*, generally or permanently, a *doer*; and so in other cases. It may be added that the distinction is especially important for Homer. In the later language there are uses of the Infinitive and Participle in which they lose the Verbal element, and have the character of ordinary Nouns; e.g. *τὸ πρᾶττειν* is nearly equivalent to *πράξις*, *οἱ πρᾶττοντες* to *πράκτορες*, &c.

*The Infinitive.*

231.] **Form and original meaning.** In form the Greek Infinitive is the Dative of an abstract Verbal Noun (*nomen actionis*):

hence it properly expresses an action *to* which that of the governing Verb is *directed*—viz. a purpose, effect, bearing, &c. of the main action. Thus δόμεν-αι *to give*, being the Dative of a Stem δο-μεν- *giving*, means ‘*to or for giving*,’ hence *in order to give*, *so as to give*, &c.

This meaning evidently accounts for the common constructions of the Infinitive with Verbs expressing *wish*, *command*, *power*, *expectation*, *beginning*, and the like: as ἐθέλω δόμεναι lit. *I am willing for giving*, δύναμαι ιδέειν *I have power for seeing*, &c. In Homer it may be said to be the usual meaning of the Infinitive. It is found in a great many simple phrases, such as ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι *urged together to fight* (so that they fought), δὸς ἄγειν *give for leading away* (to be led away), οἶδε νοῆσαι *knows* (has sense) *to perceive*, βῆ δ’ ἰέναι *stepped to go* (=took his way, cp. γούνατ’ ἐνώμα φευγέμεναι); προέηκε πυθέσθαι, πέμπε νέεσθαι, ὥρτο πέτεσθαι, ἀνεμοὶ ἴκων ἀήμεναι, &c. Cp. also—

Il. 1. 22 ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί, αἰδεῖσθαι κτλ. *the Greeks uttered approving cries for* (to the effect of) *respecting*, &c.; so 2. 290 ὀδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

2. 107 Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν *left* (the sceptre) *to Agamemnon to bear, therewith to rule over*, &c.

Od. 4. 634 ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὼ γίγνεται αὐτῆς Ἥλιδ’ ἐς εὐρύχορον διαβήμεναι *I have need of it for crossing over to Elis*.

The notion of *purpose* often passes into that of *adaptation*, *possibility*, *necessity*, &c.; e.g.—

Il. 6. 227 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες . . κτείνειν *there are many Trojans for me to kill* (whom I may kill); cp. 9. 688 εἰσι καὶ οἶδε τάδ’ εἰπέμεν *these too are here to tell this*, II. 342 ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν *were near for escaping*, *to escape with*.

13. 98 εἰδεται ἡμᾶρ ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι *the day is come for being subdued* (when we must be subdued) *by the Trojans*; cp. Od. 2. 284.

Again, from the notion of *direction* or *effect* the Infinitive shades off into that of *reference*, *sphere of action*, &c.; as Il. 5. 601 οἶον δὴ θαυμάζομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον αἰχμητὴν τ’ ἔμεναι κτλ. *for being a warrior*; ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι *was best for* (i.e. in) *fighting*, εὐχεται εἶναι *boasts for* (of) *being*.

In the passages quoted the Infinitive is so far an *abstract Noun* that the action which it denotes is not predicated of an *agent*. The agent, if there is one in the speaker’s mind, is not given by the form of the sentence; e.g. ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν (*were near for escaping*) might mean *were near so as to escape* or (as the context of Il. 11. 342 requires) *were near so that he could escape*; δύναι ἐπειγόμενος would usually mean *eager to set*, but in Od. 13. 30 it means *eager for* (the sun’s) *setting*. Hence the apparently harsh change of subject in such a case as—

Od. 2. 226 καὶ οἱ ἰὼν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐπείτρεπεν ὄλον ἀπαντα  
 πείθεσθαι τε γέροντι καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσειν  
*to the intent that it should obey the old man and he should guard all surely (lit. for obeying—for guarding).* And so in Il. 9. 230 ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι  
 νῆας, where νῆας is first Object, then Subject. The harshness disappears when we  
 understand that the abstract use is the prevailing one in Homer.

It may also be noticed here that—

(1) With Verbs of privative meaning, the Infinitive may be used as with the corresponding affirmative words: as ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι *shudders as to (from) meeting*; Od. 9. 468 ἀνὰ δ' ὀφρύσι νεῦον ἐκάστω κλαίειν *I nodded backwards to each for weeping (=for-bidding him to weep).* But the proper use also appears, as in Il. 22. 5 αὐτοῦ μῆναι ἐπέδησε *fettered so that he remained.* Here the context must determine the meaning.

(2) With φρονέω, ὄτω, &c. the Infinitive may express the effect or conclusion: *I think to the effect—, hence I think fit*; as Il. 9. 608 φρονέω δὲ τετιμῆσθαι *I claim to be honoured*; 13. 263 οὐ γὰρ ὄτω . . πολέμειν *I have no mind to &c.* So εἰπεῖν *to speak to the intent that, to bid*, as Od. 3. 427 εἴπατε δ' εἴσω δμῳῆσιν . . πένεσθαι.

In this use, as was observed by Mr. Riddell (Dig. § 83), the 'dictative force'—the notion of thinking right, advising, &c.—comes through the Infinitive to the governing Verb, not vice versa. The same remark holds of the use with ἔστι *it is possible.*

232.] **Infinitive with Nouns, &c.** It will be useful to bring together instances in which the Infinitive depends upon some qualifying word—Preposition, Adverb, Adjective, &c.—construed with the Verb:—

Il. 1. 258 οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλῇν Δαναῶν περὶ δ' ἔσπε μάχεσθαι *excel in fighting.*

1. 589 ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι *is hard to set oneself against*; cp. 20. 131.

4. 510 ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί λίθος χρῶς οὐδὲ σίδηρος χαλκὸν ἀνασχέσθαι *since their flesh is not stone or iron for withstanding (so as to be able to withstand) bronze.*

8. 223 ἥ ῥ' ἐν μεσσάτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσσε *for shouting (=so that one could shout) both ways.*

13. 775 ἐπεὶ τοι θυμὸς ἀναίτιον αἰτιάσθαι *since your mind is for blaming (is such that you must blame) the innocent.*

Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμὶ *I am not of an age to remain.*

17. 347 αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχηρμένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρῆναι *shame is not good to be at the side of a needy man (is not a good 'backer' for &c.).*

21. 195 ποῖοί κ' εἴτ' Ὀδυσῆι ἀμυνέμεν εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι; *i.e. how would you behave in regard to fighting for Ulysses?*



Od. 2. 60 ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι τοιοῖ ἀμυνέμεν may be either *we are not like him, so as to defend*, or simply *we are not fit to defend*. The construction of the Inf. is the same in either case: the difference is whether τοιοῖ means 'of the kind' with reference to οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκε or to the Inf. ἀμυνέμεν. The latter may be defended by Od. 17. 20 (quoted above).

This construction is extended to some Nouns that are not used as predicates; as *θελεῖν ταχύς swift to run*, *θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι a wonder to behold* (cp. the use of the Accusative with Adjectives, § 131 *fin.*).

233.] **Impersonal Verbs.** The Infinitive is used with ἔστι *there is* (means, room, occasion, &c.), *ἔοικε it is fit*, *πέπρωται it is determined*, *εἶμαρτο it was fated*. For ἔστι cp.—

Il. 14. 313 κέῖσε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ὕστερον ὀρμηθῆναι.

Od. 15. 392 αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὐδεῖν,  
ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν *there is (enough) for sleeping and for listening*.

It is very common with a negative: οὐκ ἔστι, οὐ πως ἔστι, &c. meaning *there is no way, it may not be that &c.*

The Impersonal use is also found in phrases of the two kinds noticed in § 162, 4; viz.—

(a) With a Neuter Adjective; as ἀργαλέον δέ μοι ἔστι θέσθαι κτλ. *it is difficult for me to make &c.*; μόριμον δέ οἱ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι *it is fated for him to escape*; so with αἰσχροῦν, νεμεσσητόν, αἰσμιον, ἄρκιον, βέλτερον, and the like.

(b) With an abstract Noun: as—

Il. 14. 80 οὐ γάρ τις νέμεσις φυγέειν κακόν *there is no wrong in escaping ill*.

Od. 5. 345 ὅθι τοι μοῖρ' ἔστιν ἀλύξαι *it is thy fate to &c.*

Il. 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρῃ εὐδεῖν *there is a time for &c.*

So with αἶσα, μόρος, θέμις, χρεώ, ἀνάγκη, αἰδώς, δέος, ἐλπωρή, &c. followed by an Infinitive to express what the *fate, need, shame, &c.* brings about, or in what it consists.

These examples throw light on two much-debated passages:

Il. 2. 291 ἧ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἔστιν ἀνιθνήντα νέεσθαι

*verily there is toil for a man to return in vexation*, i.e. 'I admit that the toil is enough to provoke any one to return.' Thus understood, the expression is a slightly bold use of the form of sentence that we have in ὥρῃ ἔστιν εὐδεῖν, μοῖρα ἔστιν ἀλύξαι, θυμός ἔστιν ἀναίτιον αἰτιάσθαι, &c. The other interpretation, 'it is toil to return vexed,' though apparently easier, is not really more Homeric; and it certainly does not fit the context so well.

Il. 7. 238 οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, οἶδ' ἐν' ἀριστερᾷ νωμῆσαι βῶν  
ἀζαλέην, τό μοι ἔστι ταλαύρινον πολεμίζειν

*I know how to turn my shield of seasoned ox-hide to the right and to the left, wherefore I have that wherewith to war in stout-shielded fashion* (= I have a good

claim to the title of *ταλαύρινος πολέμοσθης*, elsewhere an epithet of *Ares*). Here *ἔστι* is used as in *ἔστιν εὖδειν*, &c.

234.] **Infinitive as apparent Subject, &c.** In the Impersonal uses the Infinitive appears to stand as Subject to the Verb; *ἀργαλέον ἔστι θέσθαι* = *to make is hard*: *οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένον* *to be a king is not a bad thing*. This construction however is not consistent with the original character either of the Impersonal Verbs (§ 161), or of the Infinitive. It is plain, too, that *ἔστιν εὖδειν* can never have meant 'sleeping is,' but 'there is (room &c.) for sleeping': and so *ἀργαλέον ἔστι θέσθαι* is originally, and in Homer, *it (the case, state of things, &c.) is hard as to making*.

It is only in later Greek that we have the form *ἀργαλέον ἔστι τὸ θέσθαι*, in which *θέσθαι* is an indeclinable Neuter Noun. The process by which the Infinitive, from being a word of *limitation*, comes to be in sense the Subject of the principal Clause, admits of being illustrated from sentences of various forms:—

(1) With a personal Subject; e.g. in—

Il. 5. 750 *τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπὸς τε ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἥδ' ἐπιθεῖναι*:

the meaning 'to them is entrusted the opening and shutting of the thick cloud of heaven,' is expressed by saying 'to them heaven is entrusted for opening and shutting the cloud.'

Il. 1. 107 *αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ' ἔστι φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι*.

4. 345 *ἔνθα φίλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἔδμεναι*.

The meaning (aimed at rather than expressed) is, *you love to prophesy evils (to eat roast flesh, &c.)*.

(2) The Impersonal form (*ἀργαλέον ἔστι*) only differs from the other in the vagueness of the Subject, which makes it easier for the Infinitive to become the Subject in sense, while it is grammatically a word limiting the vague unexpressed Subject.

It follows from what has been said that the form *ἀργαλέος ἔστιν ἀντιφέρεισθαι* is quite as natural and primitive as the Impersonal form, and is not to be derived from it 'by Attraction.'

The use of a Neuter Pronoun as Subject (e.g. *τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν* *the thing is good, to listen*) may be regarded as a link between the personal and impersonal forms of expression: cp. § 161 note.

Similarly (3) an Infinitive following the *Object* of a Verb may become the logical Object; as—

Il. 4. 247 *ἦ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν*; *do ye wait for the Trojans for their coming on?* i.e. 'for the coming on of the Trojans.'

14. 342 *Ἥρη, μήτε θεῶν τό γε δεῖδιθι μήτε τιw' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεσθαι* *do not fear any one of gods or of men for their being about to see*, i.e. 'that any one will see': cp. Od. 22. 39.

A further development of this use leads, as we shall see, to the 'Accusative with the Infinitive.'

As a parallel to the Infinitive used with Impersonal Verbs it may be shown (4) that the Infinitive sometimes takes the place of a vague unexpressed *Object*. Thus *οἷδε νοῆσαι* means *knows (enough) to perceive*: the full construction being such as we have in Il. 2. 213 *ὅς δ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἀκοσμά τε πολλά τε ᾗδῃ . . ἐριζέμεναι* *who knew (had a store of) words wherewith to wrangle*. So too *δίδωμι* with an Infinitive is originally construed as Od. 8. 44 *τῷ γάρ βα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν δοιδὴν τέρπειν*: Il. 11. 20 *τόν ποτ' οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξυνήϊον εἶναι*; thence it comes to mean 'to give (such a state of things) that some event shall happen,' i. e. *to grant the happening*; as *ὁδὸς τίσασθαι* *grant that I may punish*. In such a passage as Il. 3. 322 *τόν δὲ ἀποφθίμενον δύναι κτλ.* we may take *τόν* with *δός* or as an Acc. with the Inf. *δύναι*.

A Neuter Pronoun, too, may serve as a vague Object, explained by an Infinitive; e. g. Il. 5. 665-6 *τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεφράσατ' . . ἐξερύσαι*.

The Infinitive may also (5) be equivalent in sense to the Genitive depending on a Noun; as—

Il. 7. 409 *οὐ γὰρ τις φειδῶ νεκύων κατατεθνηῶτων*

*γίγνεται* *ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι* *πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὄμα*

i. e. 'there is no grudging about the appeasing of the dead.' Hence is developed an idiomatic use of the Genitive parallel to the *Accusativus de quo*: see Shilleto on Thuc. 1. 61, 1.

235.] **With Relatives.** It is remarkable that the use of the Infinitive with *ὥς*, *ὥστε*, *οἷος*, *ὅσος*, &c. is rare in Homer. The familiar construction of *ὥστε* only occurs twice: Il. 9. 42 *ἐπέσονται ὥστε νέεσθαι* *is eager to return*, and Od. 17. 20 *οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλικὸς εἰμί, ὥστ' ἐπιτελαμένῳ . . πιθέσθαι*. The other instances are: Od. 21. 173 *τοῖον—οἷόν τε ἔμεναι* *such a one as to be*; Od. 5. 484 *ὅσον τε . . ἔρυσθαι* *so far as to shelter*; Od. 19. 160 *ἀνὴρ οἷός τε μάλιστα οἶκον κήδεσθαι*, 21. 117 *οἷός τ' . . ἀνελέσθαι*.

236.] **With πρὶν and πάρος.** This use is common in Homer: as Il. 1. 98 *πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι* *before they give back to her father &c.*; 11. 573 *πάρος χροῖα λευκὸν ἐπαυρεῖν* *before touching the white flesh*.

The origin of this singularly isolated construction must evidently be sought in the period when the Infinitive was an abstract Noun; so that (e. g.) *πρὶν δόμεναι* meant *before the giving*. The difficulty is that a word like *πρὶν* would be construed with the Ablative, not the Dative: as in fact we find Ablatives used as Infinitives in Sanscrit with *pura* 'before' (Whitney, § 983). It may be conjectured that the Dative Infinitive in Greek was substituted in this construction for an Ablative. Such a substitution might take place when the character of the Infinitive as a Case-form had become obscured.

237.] **Accusative with the Infinitive.** Along with the use of the Infinitive as an abstract Noun, we find in Homer the

later use by which it is in sense the Verb of a dependent Clause, the Subject of the Clause being in the Accusative.

In the examples of the Acc. with the Infinitive we may distinguish the following varieties or stages of the idiom:—

1. The Acc. has a grammatical construction with the governing Verb: *e.g.*—

Il. i. 313 λαούς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγε *Agamemnon ordered the people to purify themselves* (=that they should purify).

5. 601 οἷον δὲ θαυμάζομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον αἰχμητὴν τ' ἔμμεναι κτλ. (*for being a warrior, how he was a warrior*).

This might be called the *natural* Acc. with the Infinitive.

2. The Acc. has not a sufficient construction with the Verb alone, but may be used if it is accompanied by an Infinitive of the *thing* or *fact*: *e.g.*—

βούλομαι ἐγὼ λαὸν σῶν ἔμμεναι *I wish the people to be safe* (the safety of the people).

οὐνεκ' ἄκουσε τεύρεσθαι Τρῶας *because he heard of the Trojans being hard pressed*.

τῷ οὐ νεμεσίζομαι Ἀχαιοὺς ἀσχαλᾶν *wherefore I do not think it a shame in the Greeks to chafe*.

In this construction the logical Object is the fact or action given by the Infinitive, to which the Acc. furnishes a Subject or agent, and thus turns it from an abstract Noun to a virtual predication (so that *e.g.* τεύρεσθαι Τρῶας is virtually = *ὅτι ἐτεύροντο Τρῶες*). It is found with Verbs that usually take only a 'Cognate Acc.' (Neuter Pronoun, &c.), as *φημί, εἶπον, ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, οἶδα, ὄτω, φρονέω, ἐθέλω, βούλομαι, ἔλπομαι, νεμεσίζομαι, φθονέω, &c.*

The construction is the result of two distinct influences:

1. The tendency to shift the weight of meaning from the grammatical Object to an epexegetic or limiting word. This has been fully illustrated in § 234.

2. The principle of the *Accusativus de quo*, which seems to be that an Acc. of the object spoken, thought or felt about may be used when the *thing* said, &c. is also expressed in any way, viz.—

(a) by an Adverb: *εὖ εἰπεῖν to say good of*.

(b) by 'Apposition,' with implied predication (§ 168); *ψεῦδός κεν φαίμεν we should call it false: ἐπύθοντο μετὰ Τρώεσσιν Ἄρηα heard of Ares as among the Trojans.\**

\* There is no need here to suppose an ellipse of *εἶναι*. On the contrary, the Infinitive has sometimes the appearance of being added epexegetically to an implied predicate of this kind. *E.g.*—

Il. 5. 639 ἄλλ' οἷόν τινά φασι βῆναι Ἡρακλεΐην  
ἔμμεναι (*what they call him as to being*).

cp. 2. 249., 17. 27., 21. 463, 570. Od. i. 233, 377., 6. 43., 17. 416.

(c) by a Participle: as Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτόσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of their shrinking*; see § 245.

(d) by a distinct clause (the common *Acc. de quo*); as Il. 3. 192 εἴπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε . . ὅστις ὅδ' ἐστί *tell me of him—who he is*.

3. The Acc. has no construction except as the Subject of the Infinitive. This Acc. is found—

(1) after Impersonal Verbs (§ 162, 4): as—

Il. 18. 329 ἀμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι *it is fated for both to &c.*

19. 182 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νεμεσσητὸν βασιλῆα ἄνδρ' ἀπαρέσσασθαι *it is no shame that a king should &c.*

(2) after πρὶν and πάρος; as πρὶν ἐλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν *before the Greeks came*, πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι *before these things came to pass*.

This may be called the purely *idiomatic* Acc. with the Infinitive. It has evidently been formed on the analogy of the older varieties.

238.] **Tenses of the Infinitive.** So long as the Infinitive is merely a Verbal Noun, it does not express anything about the *time* of the action as Past, Present, or Future. But when it is virtually a predication, the idea of time comes in; e.g.—

Il. 5. 639 ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα φασὶ βῆν Ἡρακλεΐην ἔμμεναι (= 'what they say he *was*').

14. 454 οὐ μὰν αὐτ' ὅτω . . ἄλιον πηδῆσαι ἄκουτα, ἀλλά τις Ἀργείων κόμισε χρόν.

The Future Infinitive has the Tense-meaning of the corresponding Indicative. It is generally used with ὅτω, ἔλπομαι, and other Verbs denoting *expectation*; also with μέλλω, when it means *to be about to*. The notion of Future time, however, may also be given by an Aorist or Present Infinitive:—

Il. 12. 407 ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμὸς ἐέλεπετο κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.

Od. 2. 373 ὁμοσον μὴ μητρὶ φίλῃ τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

It is true that the reading is not always certain; e.g. in the last quoted line there was an ancient v.l. μυθήσασθαι. Accordingly Cobet (*Misc. Crit.* p. 328 ff.) corrects most of the places where a Future can be substituted for an Aorist or Present: reading in Il. 3. 112 ἐλπόμενοι παύσεσθαι, 3. 366 ἢ τ' ἐφάμην τίσεσθαι, and so in Il. 22. 120, 235, 23. 773, Od. 13. 173 (where however the Future meaning is not needed), 20. 121: also in Il. 16. 830 κεραϊζέμεν for κεραϊζέμεν. But no similar correction can be made in Il. 13. 666-8, Od. 15. 214.

The only example of an Inf. representing an Optative is—

Il. 9. 684 καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθήσασθαι

which is the report of the speech (v. 417) καὶ δ' ἂν . . παραμυθησαίμην.

## 239.] Dative with the Infinitive. The construction in—

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι

is idiomatic (as compared with σφῶν δὲς ἄγειν, &c.), because the meaning is, not 'is shameful for future men,' but 'is shameful for the hearing of future men'; that is, πυθέσθαι is the only word which is *logically* a Dative.

The principle is evidently the same as has been pointed out in the case of the Subject and direct Object of the Verb (§ 234). Because the action of the Infinitive stands in a Dative relation to the governing Verb, the *agent* or Subject of the action is put in the Dative. A similar 'Attraction' is seen in the Latin double Datives; indeed the Homeric ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι can be translated literally into Latin (*erit posteris auditus*).

240.] Predicative Nouns—'Attraction.' Corresponding to the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162), an Infinitival Clause may have a Predicative *Accusative*, in agreement with the (expressed or understood) Subject of the Clause: as Il. 4. 341 σφῶν μὲν τ' ἐπέοικε μετὰ πρότοισιν ἐόντας ἐστάμεν *it becomes you that you should stand among the foremost*; Il. 8. 192 τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην ἔμεναι *whose fame reaches heaven (to the effect) that it is all of gold*.

Or there may be 'Attraction'; *i. e.* the Subject of the Infinitive may follow the construction which it has in the principal Clause: as—

Il. 1. 76 καὶ μοι ὁμοσσον ἧ μὲν μοι πρόφρων . . ἀρήξειν.

12. 337 οὗ πῶς οἱ ἔην βῶσαντι γεγωνεῖν.

The general difference between these two constructions is that a Noun or Participle in the Accusative is closely connected with the Infinitive, so as to become emphatically *part* of the predication; whereas a Participle in the Dative may denote something prior to the Infinitive (*a condition or reason*). Thus—

Il. 1. 543 αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἐστὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἐόντα  
κρυπτάδια φρονέοντα δικαζέμεν,

'you like to decide apart from me,'—whereas ἐόντι would give the meaning 'you like *when you are apart from me* to decide.'

Il. 15. 57. ἔλθῃ καὶ εἴησι Ποσειδάωνι ἀνακτι  
πανσάμενον πολέμοιο τὰ δ' ἀπὸς δάμαθ' ἱέσθαι

'to cease from war and come'; not 'when he has ceased to come.'

Od. 4. 210 ὥς νῦν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερές ἥματα πάντα,  
αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν κτλ.

But with a Dat.—

Il. 6. 410 ἐμοὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἴη σεῦ ἀφαρματούσῃ χθόνα δύμεναι  
'it were better for me, *if* (or *when*) I lose thee, to go down to the grave.'

15. 496 οὐ οἱ δεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνᾶμεν  
*to die when fighting for his country*.

In other places the Dat. is perhaps used merely as the easier construction: *e. g.*

Il. 8. 218 ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε Ἀγαμέμνονι πότνια Ἥρη αὐτῷ ποιπνύσασσι . . ὀτρύναι.

When the Subject of the Infinitive is also Subject of the governing Verb the

Nominative is generally used: as Il. i. 76 (quoted above), i. 415., 4. 101-3., 8. 498, &c. An exception is—

Od. 9. 224 ἐνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν πρόπτισθ' ἔταροι λίσσοντ' ἐπέεσσι,  
 τυρῶν ἀνυμένους λέναι πάλιν

*that they might take of the cheeses and so go back.*

The so-called 'Attraction,' it should be observed, is in reality the simpler and older construction. The idiomatic Acc. with the Infinitive is evidently used mainly to give the Infinitive its later character as a predication.

241.] **Infinitive as an Imperative.** This use is very frequent in Homer, but is chiefly found after an Imperative, so that the Infinitive serves to carry on the command already given:—

Il. i. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαι  
 χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηίδα.

2. 8-10 βάσκ' ἴθι . . . ἀγορευέμεν ὥς ἐπιτέλλω.

3. 459 ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν.

Od. 4. 415 καὶ τότ' ἐπειθ' ὑμῖν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε,  
 αὐθι δ' ἔχειν κτλ. (cp. v. 419, 422 ff.).

Or after a Future, to express what the person addressed is to do as *his* part in a set of acts:—

Il. 22. 259 νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοῖσιν δώσω πάλιν, ὥς δὲ σὺ ῥέξεις.

Od. 4. 408 εὐνάσω ἐξείης· σὺ δ' ἐὺ κρύνασθαι ἐταίρους.

So after a clause which leads up to a command; Il. 11. 788 ἀλλ' εὖ οἱ φάσθαι (Achilles is the mightier) *but do you advise him well*: 17. 691., 20. 335. Compare also, Il. 4. 53 τὰς διαπέρσαι *destroy them (as you say you wish, v. 40)*: 10. 65 αὐθι μένειν (*answer to the question am I to remain here?*): 5. 124 θαρσέων νῦν . . μάχεσθαι (*in answer to a prayer without fear now you may fight*).

The use for the Third Person is rare: in a *command*, Il. 6. 86-92 εἰπὲ δ' ἔπειτα μητέρι σῇ καὶ ἐμῇ· ἥ δὲ . . θεῖναι κτλ.; 7. 79 σῶμα δὲ οἱκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν (*let him take my arms*) *but give back my body*; so 17. 155., 23. 247: in a *prayer*, with a Subject in the Accusative,—

Il. 2. 412 Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
 μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἥελιον δῦναι κτλ. (cp. 3. 285., 7. 179).

Od. 17. 354 Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν δλβιον εἶναι.

An Infinitive of wish is used with the Subject in the Nom., once of the Second Person, and once of the First Person:

Od. 7. 311 αἱ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλών  
 τοῖος ἔων οἷός ἐσσι, τὰ τε φρονέων ἃ τ' ἐγὼ περ,  
 παῖδά τ' ἐμὴν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι.

24. 376 αἱ γὰρ . . οἷος Νήρικον εἶλον . . τοῖος ἔων . . ἐφεστά-  
 μεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν.

The force of the Infinitive in all these uses seems to be that of an *indirect*

**Imperative.** The command is given as something *following* on an expressed or implied state of things. Thus we may connect the use of the Infinitive to imply *fitness, obligation, &c.* (§ 231); compare *εἰσι καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐνέμεν* *these are here to say this*, with *καὶ δὲ σὺ ἐνέμεναι* *it is your part to say*. There is a similar use of the Infinitive in Sanscrit (Whitney, § 982, c, d; compare the predicative use of the Sanscrit Dative, *ibid.* § 287).

**242.] Origin and history of the Infinitive.** That the Greek Infinitive was originally the Dative of an abstract Noun is proved by comparison with Sanscrit. 'In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa a number of verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages—although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind' (Whitney's Sanscrit Grammar, § 969). In the Veda these Infinitives, or Case-forms on the way to become Infinitives (*werdende Infinitive*, Delbr.), are mostly Datives, expressing *end* or *purpose*, and several of them are identical in formation with Greek Infinitives; as *dāvane δοῦναι* (*doferai*), *vidmane ᾤδμεναι*, *-dhyai -οθαι*,\* *-ase -σαι*. In Greek however,—the Dative Ending *-αι* not being otherwise preserved, and the 'true Dative' construction not applied to things (§ 143),—these forms stand quite apart from the Case-system, and consequently have ceased to be felt as real Case-forms. In other words, the Greek Infinitive is a *survival* from a period when the Dative of purpose or consequence was one of the ordinary constructions of the language. In Latin, again, this Dative (which includes the Predicative Dative) is common enough, and often answers in meaning to the Greek Infinitive; compare (*e.g.*) *ἔρη ἐστὶν εὐδεῖν* with *munitioni tempus relinquere* (Roby, § 1156), *ἀμύνειν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι* with *auxilio esse*, &c. The limitations which Mr. Roby points out in the use of the 'Predicative Dative' (Pref. p. xxvi ff.) indicate that it had been employed more freely at an earlier period. The retention of the construction in Latin is connected, on the one hand with the fact that the Latin Dative is a 'true Dative,' on the other hand with the comparatively small use that is made in Latin of the Infinitive of purpose. Similarly it is curious that in classical Sanscrit the Dative of purpose &c. is extremely common, but the Dative Infinitives have gone entirely out of use (Whitney, § 287 and § 986)—a result of the 'struggle for existence' which precisely reverses the state of things in Greek.

The development of the original abstract Infinitive into the Infinitival Clause which we find in Greek and Latin may be traced chiefly under two heads; (1) the construction of the 'Accusative with the Infinitive,' by which the predication of the Infinitive is provided with an expressed Subject (§ 237): and (2) the system of Tenses of the Infinitive, which is gradually completed by the creation of new *forms*,—esp. the form of the Future Infinitive, peculiar to Greek,—and by the use of the Present Infinitive as equivalent in meaning to the Present and Imperfect Indicative. Other forms appear to have been added in the post-Homeric language (§ 85, 1), and the Infinitive came to be used as an equivalent, not only for the Indicative, but also for other Moods.

The use of the Infinitive as an indeclinable Noun is subsequent to Homer; it became possible with the later use of the Article. Some of the conditions, however, out of which it grew may be traced in Homeric language. The first of these was

\* So Delbrück and others; but see Max Müller's Chips, Vol. IV. p. 58.



the complete separation of the Infinitive from the Case-system; the use of a single Case only as an Infinitive, and that in a construction (Dat. of consequence) which had become obsolete with other Nouns: to which we may add the unlikeness of the Infinitive form to any Datives retained in the Declensions. Thus the Infinitive ceased to be felt as a Case-form, and could be used in parallel construction to the Nom. or Acc.: as—

II. 2. 453 τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίαν γένητ' ἢ ἐνέσθαι.

7. 203 δὲ νίκην Δίαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.

Again, an Infinitive following a Neuter Pronoun (Nom. or Acc.), and expressing the logical Subject or Object, might easily come to be regarded as in 'Apposition' to the Pronoun: as—

Od. 1. 370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἔστιν δοῖδω.

II. 358 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη,  
πλειότερῃ σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἐκείσθαι

where the Article is as independent as in Od. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμάζω Ἴδον κτλ. The only instance which looks like the Attic use is Od. 20. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν, where however the juxtaposition of the Article and Infinitive may be accidental. The use of the Infinitive with an Article in the Gen. or Dat. is wholly post-Homeric.

### The Participle.

243.] **Uses of the Participle.** Following out the view of the Participle as a Verbal Adjective, we may distinguish the following uses:

1. The Participle is often used as an ordinary Adjective qualifying a Noun; as θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, βροτοὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες, πῖθοι ποτὶ τοῖχον ἀρηρότες, σάκος τετυγμένον, and the like. In one or two cases it is Substantival: as τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἔστί θανόντων, ψυχὰι εἰδῶλα καμόντων.

In this use—which may be called *attributive*—the Participle is a simple qualifying word in relation to the Noun with which it agrees, while it is construed with dependent words like a Verb (αἰὲν ἔόντες, σῖτον ἔδοντες, &c.). A few Participles have lost their Verbal character altogether: esp. οὐλόμενος, δνήμενος, ἱκμενος, ἀσμενος (§ 86); also the Substantival μέδοντες *rulers*, τένοντες *muscles*, ἀμείβοντες *rafters*, αἰθουσα *a portico*; perhaps γέραν, θεράπων, μούσα. The word κρείων retains a trace of the Verb in εὐρὺ κρείων *widely ruling*.

2. Much more frequently, the Participle qualifies or forms part of the predication (§ 162): *e. g.* in such combinations as—

διαστήτην ἐρσαντε *parted having quarrelled*  
εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο *spoke with good thought*

the Participle has the same construction as the Adjective in παλίνροσος ἀπέστη, or πρόφρων τέτληκας (§ 162, 2). Thus it serves to express a predication which the speaker wishes to subordinate in some way to that of the governing Verb.

3. Finally, a Participle construed in 'Apposition' to a Noun in an oblique Case may imply a predication (§ 168); as καπνὸν

ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι *to descry the smoke rising* (i. e. *when it rises, or that it rises, &c.*).

The two last uses are generally comprehended under the term *predicative*. The first of them, since it connects the Participle with the Verb of the sentence, is a variety of the Secondary Predicate (§ 162); the second answers to the Tertiary Predicate (§ 168).

Note also that—

1. A Participle of this kind often has the character of a distinct Clause, coming at the end of a sentence, and after a metrical pause: as—

II. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι δνακτος  
δρυνμένου (*as he roused himself*).

Od. 23. 205 ὡς φάτο, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ  
σήματ' ἀναγνούσης (*when she recognised the token*).

2. Not unfrequently the Noun or Pronoun which should stand as subject to the Participle is understood:

II. 2. 153 δὴτῇ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκεν | οἴκαδε ἱεμένων: so II. 339, 13. 291, 498, 15. 689.

5. 162 πόρτιος ἢ βοὸς ζύλοχον κάτα βοσκομενῶν *a heifer or cow (of those that are feeding in a thicket)*.

5. 665 τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε | μηροῦ ἐξερύσαι δόρυ μείλινον, ὅφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ, | σπενδόντων πο οὐκ... (*of them*) *in their haste*: cp. 15. 450 τό οἱ οὐ τις ἐρύκακεν ἱεμένων περ.

18. 246 ὁρῶν δ' ἑσταότων ἀγορῇ γένετ' *an assembly was held upstanding (of them standing up)*.

Od. 17. 489 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐν μὲν κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἄεξε | βλημένου *for his having been wounded*; so II. 13. 417, &c.

So with the Dative; II. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἴκοντο *came as a relief (to them) when they were hard pressed*: Od. 5. 152 κατείβετο δὲ γλυκὺς αἰὼν νόστον ὀδυρομένην.

3. The understood Subject may be indefinite; as II. 2. 291 πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνηθέντα νείσθαι *for a man to return vexed*: cp. the phrase ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

4. The Participle is sometimes found in a different Case from a preceding Pronoun with which it might have been construed. Thus we have a Gen. after a preceding Dat.—

II. 14. 25 λάκε δὲ σφι περὶ χροῦ χαλκὸς ἀτείρης  
νυσσομένων (*governed by χροῦ instead of agreeing with σφι*).

16. 531 ὅττι οἱ ᾤκ' ἤκουσε μέγας θεὸς εὐξαμένοιο  
(*with ἤκουσε instead of οἱ*).

Od. 9. 256 ὡς ἔφαθ', ἡμῖν δ' αὖτε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ  
δαισάντων.

So after an Acc., II. 20. 413 τὸν βάλε . . . νῶτα παραίσσοντος *wounded him . . . in the back as he darted past*; Od. 4. 646 ἢ σε βίῃ δέκοντος ἀπηύρα.

Again, a Dat. is used after another Case, in—

II. 10. 187 ὡς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ὀλώλει  
νύκτα φυλασσομένοισι κακῇν: so 14. 141–3.

Od. 17. 555 μεταλλῆσαι τί ἔθυμὸς  
ἀμφὶ πόσει κέλεται καὶ κῆδεά περ πεπαυμένη.

We need not consider these as instances of 'Anacolouthon' or change of the construction. The Participle, as we saw from note 2, does not need a preceding Pronoun: it may therefore have a construction independent of such a Pronoun.

It is clear, in most cases at least, that the poet has chosen the simpler or more convenient of two equally admissible constructions of the Participle.

244.] **Tenses of the Participle.** The distinction between the Present and Aorist Participle has already been touched upon in §§ 76–77, and the meaning of the Perfect Participle in § 28.

It may be remarked here, as a point of difference between the two kinds of Verbal Noun, that the Aorist Participle generally represents an action as past at the time given by the Verb: *e.g.* *ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἵξετο* *having thus spoken he sat down*. This however is not from the Participle itself conveying any notion of past time, but from its relation to the Verb (as a subordinate predication). When a Participle is not predicative, the notion of time is usually absent: *e.g.* in the phrase *ἡ ἑλίον καταδύντα* *to sun-set*; so *Il.* 13. 37 *ὅφρ' ἔμπεδον αἶθρι μένοιεν νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα* *that they might await the return of their lord*.

The Future Participle is used predicatively with Verbs of motion; *ἦλθε λυσόμενος* *came to ransom*, *καλέουσ' ἵε* *went to call*, *ἦγ' ἐπικουρήσονται*, *ἐπέδραμε τεύχεα συλήσων*, &c. The exceptions to this rule are—

- (1) *ἐσσόμενος* *future*, in *Il.* 1. 70 *τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα* *things future and past*; 2. 119 *καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*.
- (2) *ἐπιβησόμενος*, in *Il.* 5. 46 (16. 343) *νύξ' ἱππῶν ἐπιβησόμενον*, 23. 379 *αἰεὶ γὰρ δίφρου ἐπιβησομένοισιν ἔικτην*. But see § 41.
- (3) *Od.* 11. 608 *αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἐοικώς*.
- (4) *Il.* 18. 309 *καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα*, see § 86.

245.] **Implied Predication.** Where the Participle is predicative, we often find the Noun or Pronoun taking the place in the construction of the whole Participial Clause: as *Od.* 5. 6 *μέλε γάρ οἱ ἐὼν ἐν δώμασι νύμφης* *it troubled her that he was &c.*: *Il.* 6. 191 *γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦδ' ἐόντα* *knew him for the offspring of a god*: *Od.* 10. 419 *σοὶ μὲν νοστήσαντι ἐχάρημεν* *we were gladdened by thy return*: *Il.* 13. 417 *ἄχος γένετ' εὐξαμένοιο* *there was vexation at his boasting*.

We have here the idiom already observed in the use of the Infinitive (§ 237) by which the weight of the meaning is shifted from the grammatical Subject, Object, &c. to a limiting or qualifying word.

With Verbs of *saying, hearing, knowing, &c.*, also of *rejoicing and grieving*, we sometimes find an Acc. with a Participle following (analogous to the Acc. with the Infinitive, § 237, 2):

*Il.* 7. 129 *τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτόσσοντας ὕφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι* *if he were to hear of their shrinking*.

*Od.* 4. 732 *εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθόμην ταύτην δδὼν ὀρμαίνοντα*.

23. 2 *δεσποίνῃ ἐρέουσα φίλον πόσω ἐνδὼν ἐόντα*.

*Il.* 8. 378 *ἦ νῶϊ . . γηθήσει προφανείσα* *will rejoice at our appearing*.

II. 13. 16 ἤχθετο γάρ ῥα Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους *he was vexed at their being subdued by the Trojans.*

A further extension, analogous to the Acc. with the Inf. after Impersonal Verbs, may perhaps be seen in Od. 6. 193 ὣν ἐπέοιχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιδίσσαστα *which it is fit that a suppliant should meet with.*

246.] **Genitive Absolute.** This is a form of 'implied predication,' in which the Noun or Pronoun has no regular construction with the governing Verb. The Participial Clause expresses the *time* or *circumstances* in which the action of the Verb takes place :

II. 1. 88 οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος κτλ. *no one, while I am living, shall &c.*

2. 551 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν *as years go round.*

5. 203 ἀνδρῶν ἐιλομένων *where men are crowded*; 80 ἀνδρῶν λικμώντων, ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, πολλῶν ἐλκόντων, &c.

Od. 1. 390 καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι *that too I would be willing to obtain if Zeus gave it.*

The Subject is understood in Od. 4. 19 μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος *when the singer began the music.*

The Aorist Participle is less common in Homer than the Present, especially in the Odyssey: the instances are, II. 8. 164, 468., 9. 426., 10. 246, 356., 11. 509., 13. 409., 14. 522., 16. 306., 19. 62, 75., 21. 290, 437., 22. 47, 288, 383, Od. 14. 475., 24. 88, 535.\*

An approach to a 'Dative Absolute' may be seen in such uses as—

II. 8. 487 Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' ἀέκουσιν ἔδω φάος.

12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἴκοντο.

Od. 21. 115 οὐ κέ μοι ἀχνημένῃ τὰδε δώματα πότνια μήτηρ λείποι (=it would be no distress to me if &c.)

which are extensions or free applications, by the help of the Participle, of the true Dat. (*Dativus ethicus*).

Similarly the 'Genitive Absolute' must have begun as an extension of one of the ordinary uses of the Gen.; most probably (if a conjecture is to be ventured) of the Gen. of Time (§ 150). For ἡελίου ἀνιόντος *within the time of the sun's rising* is a Gen. like ἡοῦς *in the morning*, νυκτός *by night*, &c., and answers, as a phrase denoting time, to ἅμ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι *at sun-set*, ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύντα *up to sun-set*, &c. So we may compare τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται *he will come within this year* with ἡ σέθεν ἐνθάδ' ἔοντος ἐλεύσεται *he will come within your being here*; and again περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν *in the years as they go round*, with τῶν προτέρων ἐτῶν *in the former years*. The transition may be seen in ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο *in the spring when it is beginning*. Compare also the phrases ἐπειγομένων ἀνέμων, βορέαο πεισόντος, &c. with νηνεμῆς *in calm weather*, &c.

The circumstance that the Ablative is the 'absolute' Case in Latin is far from proving that the Greek Gen. in this use is Ablatival. In Sanscrit the Case used

\* This list is given by Classen, Beob. p. 180 ff.; but he includes περιπλόμενος (Od. 1. 16., 11. 248), as to which see Curt. Verb. II. 9.

in this way is the Locative: and the Latin Abl. Absolute may represent a Locative of *time at which*, or even an Instrumental of *circumstance* (§ 144). The hypothesis that such Participial Clauses in Greek expressed *space* of time *within which* (rather than *point* of time, or *circumstance*) is borne out by the interesting fact, noticed above, that in Homer this construction is chiefly found with the Participle which implies continuance, viz. the Present: whereas in Latin the Abl. Abs. is commonest with the Perfect Participle.

## CHAPTER XI.

### USES OF THE PRONOUNS.

#### *Introductory.*

247.] The preceding chapter has dealt with the two grammatical forms under which a Noun, by acquiring a verbal or predicative character, is developed into a kind of subordinate Clause. We have now to consider the Subordinate Clause properly so called: that is to say, the Clause which contains a true (finite) Verb, but stands to another Clause in the relation of a dependent word. *E.g.* in the Sentence *λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὁ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ* *ye see that my prize goes elsewhere*, the Clause *ὁ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ* stands in the relation of *Object* to the Verb of the principal Clause.

As the grammatical structure of Subordinate Clauses is shown in general by means of Pronouns, or Conjunctions formed from Pronominal Stems, it will be proper to begin with an account of the meaning and use of the different words of this class.

248.] **Deictic and Anaphoric Pronouns.** The Greek Grammarians divided the Pronouns (*ἀντωνυμῖαι*) into *δεικτικαί* 'pointing,' and *ἀναφορικαί* 'referring' or 'repeating.' These words have given us, through the Roman grammarians, the modern terms Demonstrative and Relative: but the meaning, as often happens in such cases, has undergone a considerable change. A *Deictic* Pronoun—it will be convenient to adopt the Greek words—is one that marks an object by its position in respect to the speaker: *I, thou, this* (here), *yonder*, &c.; an *Anaphoric* Pronoun is one that denotes an object already mentioned or otherwise known,—the term thus including many 'Demonstratives' (*that same man, the man, he*, &c.), as well as the 'Relative.' In all, therefore, we may distinguish three kinds of Pronouns:

1. Deictic, in the original sense.

2. Anaphoric, *i. e.* referring to a Noun, but Demonstrative (in the modern sense).
3. Relative, in the modern sense.

This however, it should be observed, is a classification of the *uses* of Pronouns, not of the words or Stems themselves: for the same Pronoun may be Deictic or Anaphoric, Demonstrative or Relative, according to the context. It is probable, indeed, that all Pronouns are originally Deictic, and become Anaphoric in the course of usage.

ὅδε, κείνος, οὗτος.

249.] The Pronoun ὅδε is almost purely Deictic. It marks an object as near the speaker,—*this here, this on my side*, &c.; as *ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκήπτρον* *by this sceptre (in my hand)*; *Ἑκτορος ἦδε γυνή* *this is the wife of Hector*; *Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς οἶδε περιφραζόμεθα* *let us here consider* (§ 162, 2); *1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ' ἐστί* *what I see here is not a club-feast*. It is especially applied to a person or thing to which the speaker turns for the first time, as—

*Il. 3. 192 εἴπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε, φίλον τέκος, ὅστις ὅδ' ἐστί.* Hence the use to denote what is *about to be* mentioned—the new as opposed to the known. This is an approach to an Anaphoric use, in so far as it expresses not *local* nearness, but the place of an object in the speaker's thought. So in—

*Il. 7. 358 οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι* the speech is the *present* one, opposed to a better one which should have been made.

The derivatives *τοσόσδε, τοιόσδε, ὥδε, ἐνθάδε*, are similarly Deictic: as *Il. 6. 463 χήτει τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς* *from want of a man such as I am now*.

250.] The Pronoun κείνος is sometimes used in the Deictic sense, pointing to an object as distant:

*Il. 3. 391 κείνος δ' γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ* *yonder he is in the chamber*.

*5 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης* *there is Ares at his side*.

So of an absent object: as *Od. 2. 351 κείνον διομένη τὸν κάμμορον* *thinking of that (absent) one, the unhappy*.

Hence in an Anaphoric use, κείνος distinguishes what is *past* or *done with*, in contrast to a new object or state of things:

*Il. 2. 330 κείνος τὼς ἀγόρευε* *he (on that former occasion), &c.*

*3. 440 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἐνίκησεν σὺν Ἀθῆνῃ, κείνον δ' αὖτις ἐγώ.*

*Od. 1. 46 καὶ λίην κείνός γε ἑοικότι κέται δλέθρῳ· ἀλλὰ μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κ.τ.λ.*

Here κείνος marks the contrast with which the speaker turns to a new case. The literal sense of local distance is transferred to remoteness in *time*, or in the *order of thought*.

251.] The Pronoun *οὗτος* is not unfrequently Deictic in Homer, expressing an object that is present to the speaker, but not near him, or connected with him. Hence it is chiefly used (like *iste* in Latin) in reference to the person spoken to, or else in a hostile or contemptuous tone. Instances of the former use are:—

Il. 7. 110 ἀφραίνεις, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ ταύτης ἀφροσύνης.

10. 82 τίς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἔρχεται οἶος;

Od. 2. 40 οὐχ ἑκὰς οὗτος ἀνὴρ *the man you want is not far off*.

Again, *οὗτος* is regularly used of one of the enemy; as—

Il. 5. 257 τούτῳ δ' οὐ πάλιν αὖτις ἀποίσετον ὠκέες ἵπποι.

22. 38 μή μοι μίμνε, φίλον τέκος, ἀνέρα τούτον.

Similarly, with a tone of contempt,—

Il. 5. 761 ἄφρονα τούτον ἀνέντες (cp. 831, 879).

Od. 1. 159 τούτοισιν μὲν ταῦτα μέλει (of the Suitors).

More commonly, however, *οὗτος* is Anaphoric, denoting an object already mentioned or known. In later Greek it is often employed where Homer (as we shall see) would use the Article.

It is a curious proof of the limited use of *οὗτος* in Homer that it is never found after a Preposition (Krüger, Dial. 50, 2, 9).

#### αὐτός.

252.] The Pronoun *αὐτός* is purely Anaphoric: its proper use seems to be to emphasise an object as the one mentioned or implied,—the *very* one, *that and no other*. It conveys no local sense, and is used of the speaker, or the person addressed, as well as of a third person. Specific uses are—

(1) To distinguish a person from his surroundings or adjuncts: as—

Il. 3. 195 τεύχεα μὲν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ κ. τ. λ.

9. 301 αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα *he and his gifts*.

14. 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

17. 152 ὅς τοι πόλλ' ὄφελος γένητο πτόλεϊ τε καὶ αὐτῷ *to thy city and thyself*.

So of the *body*, as the actual person, in contradistinction to the soul or life (*ψυχή*), Il. 1. 4, Od. 11. 602, &c.

Hence, too, *αὐτός* = *by himself* (without the usual surroundings):—

Il. 8. 99 Τυδείδης δ' αὐτὸς περ ἔων προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη.

So Achilles in his complaint of Agamemnon, Il. 1. 356 ἔλων γὰρ

ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας, i. e. *at his own will*, without the usual sanction: cp. 17. 254., 23. 591.

This meaning appears also in αὐτως = *merely*,—

Od. 14. 151 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐτως μυθήσομαι ἀλλὰ σὺν ὄρκῳ.

Cp. Il. 1. 520 ἥ δὲ καὶ αὐτως . . νεικεῖ *as it is* (without such provocation) *she reproaches me*.

The Gen. αὐτοῦ, &c. is used to strengthen the Possessives: as Od. 2. 45 ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος: Il. 6. 490 τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα: Il. 10. 204 φ' αὐτοῦ θυμῷ (*suo ipsius animo*).

Hence in Il. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει—where the use of the Art. is not Homeric—we should probably read ἦν αὐτοῦ.

(2) To express *without change, the same as before*:

Il. 12. 225 οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα.

Od. 8. 107 ἦρχε δὲ τῷ αὐτῇν ὁδὸν ἦν περ οἱ ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ.

Hence the use with a Dat., noticed in § 144; as Od. 8. 186 αὐτῷ φάρεϊ *with his cloak as it was* (without putting it off); and in the Adverbs αὐτόθι, αὐτοῦ *in the place, without moving*; and αὐτως *without doing more, hence without effect, idly*: as—

Il. 2. 342 αὐτως γάρ ῥ' ἐπέεσσ' ἐριδαίνομεν κ.τ.λ.

(3) The unemphatic use, as it may be called, in which it is an ordinary Anaphoric Pronoun of the Third Person (Eng. *he, she, it*). In this use the Pronoun cannot stand at the beginning of a Clause (the emphatic position), or in the Nominative—an unemphasised *Subject* being sufficiently expressed by the Person-Ending of the Verb. The use is derived from that of the emphatic αὐτός in the same way that in old-fashioned English 'the same' often denotes merely the person or thing just mentioned: and as in German *derselbe* and *der nämliche* are used without any emphasis on the idea of sameness.

The Reflexive use of αὐτός is very rare: Od. 4. 247 ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φατὶ κατακρύπτων ἦσκε. On Il. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει see above (1).

### *The Reflexive Pronoun.*

253.] The Pronoun *ἐο* (i. e. the Personal Pronoun declined from the Stems *ἐ-* or *ἐ-* and *σφε-*) is sometimes Reflexive (i. e. denotes the Subject of the Sentence or Clause), sometimes a simple Anaphoric Pronoun. In the latter use it is always unemphatic.

The Reflexive sense is chiefly found either (1) after a Preposition, as ἀμφὶ ἐ παπτήνας *looking round him*, and so ἀπὸ *ἐο*, ἐπὶ οἱ, πρὸς οἱ, μετὰ σφίσι, κατὰ σφέας, &c.; or (2) when it is reinforced by αὐτός, as Il. 20. 171 ἐὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι *stirs himself up to fight*. Other examples are few in number;



Il. 2. 239 *ὅς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλλῆα, ἔο μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα κ.τ.λ.*

5. 800 *ἣ δόλιγον οἱ παῖδα ἐοικότα γέλυστο Τυδεύς.*

So Il. 4. 400., 5. 56., 24. 134, Od. 11. 433., 19. 446, 481. We should add however such Infinitival Clauses as—

Il. 9. 305 *ἐπεὶ οὐ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον οἱ ἔμειναι κ.τ.λ.*

where the reference is to the Subject of the governing Verb: so Il. 17. 407, Od. 7. 217, &c. Compare also the similar use in Subordinate Clauses, as—

Il. 11. 439 *γνῶ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δ' οἱ οὐ τι τέλος κατακαίριον ἦλθεν.*

The strictly Reflexive use is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. Excluding Infinitival and Subordinate Clauses, there are 43 examples in the Iliad, against 18 in the Odyssey. Note that the use is mainly preserved in fixed combinations (*ἀπὸ ἑο, πρὸς οἱ, &c.*).

The Anaphoric (non-Reflexive) use is very much commoner. In this use—which is doubtless derived from the other by loss of the original emphasis—the Pronoun is enclitic: whereas in the Reflexive use it is orthotone.

**Accentuation.** According to the ancient grammarians this Pronoun is orthotone (1) when used in a reflexive sense, (2) when preceded by a Preposition, and (3) when followed by a Case-form of αὐτός in agreement with it. The first and second rules, as we have seen, practically coincide: and the third is not borne out by the usage of Homer. In such places as Od. 2. 33 *εἶθε οἱ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τελέσειε*, Il. 6. 91 *καὶ οἱ πολλὸν φίλτατος αὐτῇ*, Od. 8. 396 *Εὐρύαλος δέ ἐ αὐτὸν* (*Ὀδυσσεύς*) *ἀρεσσάσθω*,—add Il. 24. 292, Od. 4. 66, 667., 6. 277—the Pronoun is evidently unemphatic, and is accordingly allowed to be enclitic by good ancient authorities. This is amply confirmed by the instances of *μὴν αὐτόν* (Il. 21. 245, 318, Od. 3. 19, 237, &c.).

In one instance, viz.—

Od. 4. 244 *αὐτόν μιν πληγῆσιν ἀεικέλυσσι δαμάσσει*

it would seem that *μιν* has a reflexive sense. The reading, however, is not certain, some ancient authorities giving *αὐτόν μὲν* or *αὐτόν μὲν* (La Roche *a. l.* and H. U. p. 138).

254.] The Possessive *ἐός, ὅς* is nearly always Reflexive. Occasionally it refers to a prominent word in the same Sentence which is not grammatically the Subject: as—

Il. 6. 500 *αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζῶν γόνυ Ἐκτορα ᾗ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.*

Od. 9. 369 *Οὐτιν ἐγὼ πύματον ἔδομαι μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι.*

Cp. Il. 16. 800., 22. 404, Od. 4. 643., 11. 282., 23. 153. And it is occasionally used in a Subordinate Clause to refer to the Subject, or a prominent word, of the Principal Clause:

Od. 4. 618 *πόμεν δέ ἐ Φαίδιμος ἦρως  
Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὃθ' ἐὸς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα* (cp. 4. 741).

II. 10. 256 Τυδείδῃ μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης  
φάσγανον ἄμφηκες, τὸ δ' ἔδν παρὰ νηϊ λέλειπτο.

16. 753 ἔβλητο πρὸς στήθος, ἐή τέ μιν ὤλεσεν ἀλκή.

It will be seen that where *έός* does not refer to the grammatical Subject it is generally emphatic: *e.g.* in the line last quoted, *έή ἀλκή* *his own prowess*, not that of an enemy. This indicates the original force of the Pronoun, which was to confine the reference emphatically to a person or thing just mentioned.

255.] Use of *έός*, *ός* as a general Reflexive Pronoun. It has been a matter of dispute with Homeric scholars, both ancient and modern, whether *έός* (*ός*) was confined to the Third Person Singular (*his own*), or could be used as a Reflexive of any Number and Person (*own* in general—*my own*, *thy own*, *their own*, &c.).\* The question is principally one of textual criticism, and depends in the last resort on the comparative weight to be assigned to the authority of the two great Alexandrian grammarians, Zenodotus and Aristarchus. It is connected with another question, of less importance for Homer, viz. whether the forms *έο*, *οί*, *έ* are confined to the Singular, and those beginning with *σφ*- to the Plural.

In regard to the latter of these questions there is no room for doubt. The only instance in dispute is II. 2. 197, where the reading of Zenodotus was—

θυμός δέ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,  
τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστί, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ μητίετα Ζεύς,

and so the first line is quoted by Aristotle (Rhet. II. 2). Aristarchus read *διοτρεφέας βασιλῆος*, possibly on account of *έ*. However, admitting Zenodotus to be right, *έ* need not be a Plural. The change from the Plural to the Singular is not unusual in passages of a gnomic character, *e.g.*

Od. 4. 691 ἥ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θέλων βασιλῆων  
ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοῖη.

Again, the 'general' Reflexive use, if it exists in Homer, is confined to the adjective *έός*, *ός*. Our texts indeed contain an instance of *σφίσιν* in this use. In II. 10. 398 Dolon tells Ulysses that he has been sent by Hector to find out—

ἥ ἐ φυλάσσονται νῆες θαλάσσης ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,  
ἥ ἤδη χεῖρессιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσι δαμέντες  
φύξιν βουλεύουσι μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι κ.τ.λ.

With this reading Dolon repeats the exact words of Hector (vv. 309-311), and so Aristarchus read; but the best MSS. have *βουλεύετε μετὰ σφίσιν* (*consult among yourselves*), and *ἐθέλουτε*. The Optative, however, is not defensible (esp. after the Indic. *φυλάσσονται*), and was probably introduced by some one who thought the Second Person necessary for the sense. But the Third Person is natural enough: for Ulysses, to whom Dolon is speaking, is not one of the Greeks who can be supposed to be 'consulting among themselves.'

The form *έ* is found as a Plural in Hom. h. Ven. 267. In later Epic poets the

\* The question was first scientifically discussed by Miklosich, in a paper read to the Vienna Academy (I, 1848, p. 119 ff.), who is followed on the same side by Dr. Karl Brugman (*Ein Problem der homerischen Textkritik und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1876). The other side of the discussion has been chiefly sustained by Dr. E. Kammer in the *Neue Jahrbücher* (1877, p. 649 ff.).

Substantival *ἐὼ*, &c. are used as Reflexives of any Person or Number: see Theocritus, 27. 44, Apollonius Rhodius, 1. 893., 2. 635, 1278., 3. 99 (Brugman, *Probl.* p. 80). But the use is exclusively post-Homeric.

The case is different with the adjective *ἑός*, *ός*. Zenodotus appears to have regarded it as a Reflexive of any Person or Number (meaning *οἷον* in general), while Aristarchus confined it strictly to the Third Person Singular. Accordingly we find forms of *ἑός* (*ός*) read by Zenodotus in a number of places in which our editions—following the authority of Aristarchus—have substituted other words. Thus in—

Π. 1. 393 ἀλλὰ σὺ, εἰ δύνασαί γε, περισχεο παῖδός ἐγός,

and in similar passages (Π. 15. 138., 19. 342., 24. 550), it is known from the Scholia that Aristarchus read *ἐγός*, Zenodotus *οἷο* (= *thine own*). Again, in—

Π. 3. 244 ὅς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίχοος αἶα,  
ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ αὖθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ

for φίλῃ Zenodotus read *ἐῖ* (*their own*). So, again, in—

Π. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς δεικνύς τίσετε λῶβην

Zenodotus read *οὐ* πατρὸς (*your own father*). It is probable that he read *οὐ* in the similar places Π. 19. 322, Od. 16. 149, &c. Besides the instances of undoubtedly ancient difference of reading, there are several places where one or more MSS. offer forms of *ἑός* in place of *ἐμός* and *σός*. Thus—

Π. 14. 221 ὃ τι φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς (ῆσι La Roche's D).

19. 174 σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσιν λανθῇς (ῆσιν in several MSS.).

Similar variations (with *φρεσὶ*) are found in Od. 5. 206., 6. 180., 13. 362., 15. 111., 24. 357. Again—

Od. 1. 402 δάμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις (οἷσιν ten MSS.).

Similarly in Od. 8. 242., 15. 89 (*οἷοῖσι* for *ἐμοῖσι*): also—

Od. 7. 77 καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν (ἦν ἐς in one MS.).

13. 61 σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (ῶ' ἐνὶ one MS.).

Another instance of variation is detected by Dr. Brugman in—

Π. 9. 414 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἰκωμὶ φίλῃ ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,

where the MSS. (except Ven. A) have *ἰκωμαι*, pointing to the reading *ἐγὼ* (*my own*).\*

The existing text of the Odyssey contains three passages which Brugman claims as instances of a general Reflexive sense, viz. Od. 4. 192 (as to which see Merry and Riddell's note), Od. 13. 320 (where there is some reason to suspect an interpolation), and—

Od. 9. 28 οὐ τοι ἔγω γε  
ῆς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

But there is no reason to take *ῆς* otherwise than in v. 34 *ὅς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκῆων γίγνεται* *nothing is sweeter than a man's own country*, &c. The reference of the Pronoun is vague, as in Od. 1. 392 *αἰνὰ τε οἱ δῶ ἀφνειὸν πέλεται* *a man's house* (when he is a king) *quickly grows rich*.

We have seen that post-Homeric poets (who, even if they do not represent living usage, may be regarded at least as embodying early traditions about the

\* Dr. Brugman carries his theory into other passages where he supposes Aristarchus to have corrected the text in order to get rid of the use of *ἑός* for the First or Second Person: but the examples quoted above will suffice to give an idea of the strength of his argument.

text of Homer) use the Substantival *ἐγώ*, &c. in the sense in question. The corresponding use of the adjective *ἐμός*, *ἑός* is still more common, as Brugman shows. It is found in Hesiod (Op. 58, Theog. 71), and in Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Problem*, pp. 28, 78-83).

In attempting to arrive at a conclusion on this matter we must begin by understanding that the issue does not lie between supposing on the one hand that Aristarchus had good ground for correcting the text of Zenodotus in all the places in question, and on the other hand that he introduced a strange form like *ἐγός* on his own authority, and merely to satisfy a theory. The latter is improbable, not only from the respect for manuscript authority which is expressly attributed to Aristarchus, but also because the various readings are not all capable of being explained on this supposition. Thus, (1) the word *ἐγός* is proved to exist by Od. 14. 505., 15. 450, and *ἐοῖο*, though excluded by the sense, is found as a variant in the latter place. Also (2) *ἐγός* is found for *ἐοῖο* meaning *his own* in Il. 14. 11., 18. 71, 138. It cannot therefore be regarded as certain that *ἐγός* was systematically introduced to get rid of *ἐοῖο* = *my own*, &c. Again, (3) the use of the Article in *τοῦ πατρός*, *τῆς μητρός*, *τοῦ παίδος*, is not so clearly un-Homeric as to require the change to *οὗ πατρός*, &c. in every place (see § 258). And if in Il. 11. 763 *οἷος τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπορήσεται* Bentley was right in reading *ἦς* (cp. 17. 25), this indicates that the Article might creep in for *οὗ*, *ἦς*, &c. apart from the intention of carrying out a grammatical theory.

On the other side it must be conceded that the generalised Reflexive use of *ἐμός*, *ἑός*,—if not of the substantival forms *ἐγώ*, &c.—is of high antiquity, so that sporadic instances of it may have occurred in the genuine text of Homer. If so, the error of Aristarchus will consist in a somewhat undue purism.

Brugman holds that the general Reflexive sense is the primary one, belonging to the Stem *swa* (Greek *ῥε-*) in the original Indo-European language, and surviving in the Homeric use of *ἐμός*, *ἑός*. But even if the readings of Zenodotus which give this sense are right, it does not follow that they represent the oldest use of the Pronoun. Brugman has himself given excellent instances of the extension to the First and Second Person of a Reflexive Pronoun originally confined to the Third Person (*Problem*, pp. 119 ff.). In the present case it is significant that the generalised use of the substantival forms *ἐγώ*, &c. is clearly post-Homeric. If *ἐμός* (*ἑός*) is sometimes used in Homer, as well as afterwards, of the First and Second Persons, or of the Plural, it is natural to see in this the result of an extension of usage. And the conclusion is strengthened by the character of the instances. For we see that *ἐμός* (*ἑός*) is so used, according to Brugman, (1) with words of relationship, as in the combinations *οὗ πατρός*, *παίδος ἐοῖο*, &c., (2) with words meaning *home* or *country*, as *ἦς πατρίδος*, *δάμασιν ὁῖον*, &c., and (3) with *φρένες*, esp. in the phrase *φρεσὶν ᾗσιν*. These are precisely the most familiar combinations into which such a Pronoun enters,—the combinations accordingly in which an extension of use is most likely to be found.

### ὁ ἡ τό.

256.] The Article *ὁ ἡ τό* may be defined as a purely Anaphoric Pronoun, conveying some degree of emphasis. It differs from *ὅδε οὗτος* and *ἐκεῖνος* in the absence of Deictic meaning: for while it usually marks some contrast between objects, it does not distinguish them as *near* or *far*, *present* or *absent*, &c. On

the other hand it is distinguished from the non-Reflexive use of αὐτός and ἐο by greater emphasis.

Three chief uses of ὁ ἢ τό may be distinguished:—

1. The use as an independent Pronoun; ὁ ἢ τό = *he she it*. This may be called the SUBSTANTIVAL use: it embraces the great majority of the instances in Homer.
2. The use as an 'Article' in the later sense of the term, *i. e.* with a Noun following. This may be called the ATTRIBUTIVE use.
3. The use as a Relative.

257.] **The Substantival Article.** This use of the Article is very much the commonest in Homer, and it is also the use from which the others may be easily derived.

The Substantival Article either (1) is simply 'resumptive,' recalling a person or thing already mentioned, as ὁ γάρ *for he, τὸν ῥα him I say, αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα the man and his gifts: or* (2) marks a contrast, as ὁ δέ *but the other*.

The following points of usage are to be noticed:—

1. The most frequent—we may almost say the regular—place of the Article is at the beginning of a Clause, followed by μὲν, δέ, γάρ, ἄρα, or preceded by αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, ἢ τοι, or an equivalent Particle. Hence the familiar combinations ὁ μὲν, ὁ δέ, ὁ γάρ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ, αὐτὰρ ὁ, ἢ τοι ὁ, τὸν ῥα, ἀλλὰ τόν, &c. of which it is needless to give instances.

It is worth notice that the later Substantival use with μὲν and δέ is a surviving fragment of this group of uses. A few others are found in Attic poets, as ὁ γάρ (*Æsch. Sept. 17, Soph. El. 45, O. T. 1082*).

The use of the Article with an adversative Particle (δέ, αὐτάρ, ἀλλά) generally marks a change of Subject: ὁ δέ *but the other*, &c. But this is not always the case: *e. g.* Il. 4. 491 τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ', ὁ δὲ Λεύκον . . . βεβλήκει *him he missed, but smote Leucus* (so Il. 8. 119, 126, 302., 11. 80, &c.); Il. 1. 496 Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθε' ἐφετμέων | παιδὸς ἑοῦ, ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἀνεδύσσετο κ.τ.λ.: *cp.* Il. 5. 321., 6. 168, Od. 1. 4, &c. The Article in all such cases evidently expresses a contrast: not however between two persons, but between two characters in which the same person is thought of.

This last use—in which the Article is pleonastic, according to Attic notions—occurs in Herodotus, as 5. 120 τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κἄρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπτόντο. We may compare it with the pleonastic use of the Pronoun in—

Il. 11. 131 ζῶγρει Ἀτρεὺς νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα,

where the effect of inserting σὺ is to oppose the two acts denoted by ζῶγρει and δέξαι ἄποινα.

2. The Article with γέ is frequent in Disjunctive sentences :

Il. 12. 240 εἴ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,  
εἴ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε κτλ. (*or else to left*).

Od. 2. 132 ζῶει δ' γ' ἡ τέθνηκεν.

Here also the force of the Article is to contrast two things said about the same Subject.

3. The principle of contrast often leads to the placing of two Articles together : Il. 21. 602 εἰς ὃ τὸν πεδίοιο διώκετο, 10. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησεν. So an Article and a Personal Pronoun, ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι (Il. 13. 829, &c.); cp.—

Il. 8. 532 εἰσομαι εἰ κέ μ' ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης  
πάρ νηῶν πρὸς τείχος ἀπώσεται, ἢ κεν ἐγὼ τόν.

Note that when the second of the two is in the Nom., it usually takes γέ : hence τοῦ δ' γε, τῇ ῥ' οἷ γε, &c.

4. The Article often stands for the object defined by a following Relative Clause, *e.g.*—

Il. 9. 615 καλὸν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν κήδειν ὅς κ' ἐμὲ κήδῃ.

1. 272 τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι &c.

The use is to be classed as Anaphoric ; the intention of saying something about the object is equivalent to a previous mention. So in Latin the Anaphoric *is* is used to introduce *qui*.

The Neuter of the Article is similarly used to introduce Clauses beginning with ὅτε, ὥς, and the like :—

Il. 15. 207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἶσιμα εἰδῆ.

Od. 9. 442 τὸ δὲ νῆπιος οὐκ ἐνόησεν | ὥς οἱ κ.τ.λ.

Il. 3. 308 Ζεὺς μέν που τό γε οἶδε . . . ὅπποτέρῳ κ.τ.λ.

and even independent sentences, as—

Od. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμάζω· ἴδον ἐνθάδε Μέντορα δῖον.

5. The uses in which the Article is least emphatic (*i.e.* does not begin the Clause, or express a contrast) appear to be—

(a) after Prepositions : esp. in the Dat. Plur. after μετά, παρά, προτί, σύν, ἐν, ἀμα : as Il. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἀμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν. This is to be connected with the fact that the forms εἰ, οἷ, σφίσι, &c. are not used with Prepositions in the simple Anaphoric sense (§ 253) ; so that the Art. is the only Pronoun available.

(b) when the Neuter Article is used for a fact or set of facts ; as Il. 4. 353 ὄψεαι ἦν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη. Here again the want of a corresponding form of εἰ makes itself felt. This use is chiefly found in the Nom. and Acc. ; but also in τοῦνεκα *therefore*, ἐκ τοῦτο *from that time*, &c.

258.] **The Attributive Article.** The Attributive Article is found in Homer in a limited range of cases, and has evidently grown out of the use of the Substantival Article followed by a Noun in 'Apposition;' *e.g.* Il. 4. 20 ὧς ἔφαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπέμυζαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη *thus he spoke, but they murmured, Athene and Here*: Il. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κλέν. So with μιν, Il. 21. 249 ἵνα μιν παύσειε πόνοιο | δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα, *cp. Od. 11. 570.* In such cases the Pronoun is still substantival, the Noun being added by way of afterthought.

It is a step towards an Attributive use when the Article *needs* the addition of the Noun to explain it; *e.g.*

Il. 4. 501 τὸν ῥ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐτάροιο χολωσάμενος βάλε δουρὶ  
κόρσῃν· ἡ δ' ἐτέροιο διὰ κροτάφοιο πέρησεν  
αἰχμὴ χαλκείῃ.

Here ἡ δέ would not be clear without αἰχμῇ. So in—

Od. 15. 54 τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μμνήσκειται ἤματα πάντα  
ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου.

So too with Proper Names—when a *new* person is about to be mentioned the Art. *anticipates* the Noun: *e.g.*

Il. 2. 402 αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.

And where the Neut. τό is followed by an exegetic Infinitive:

Od. 1. 370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἐστὶν αἰδοῦ.

In all these cases the combination of Article and Noun is not sufficiently close to constitute an Attributive use; but they serve to show how such a use is developed.

The Attributive uses in Homer may be classified as follows:—

1. Uses with *connecting Particles*, where some contrast is made in passing to the new sentence or clause.
2. Uses with certain *Adjectives* that imply contrast.
3. Uses to mark a person or thing as *definite*.

259.] **With connecting Particles.** The uses that fall under this head, though not very numerous, are characteristic of Homer. The following are the chief:—

1. The Article with an Adversative δέ, αὐτάρ, &c. is not unfrequently used to bring out the contrast in which the Noun stands to something already mentioned: *e.g.*

Il. 2. 217 φολκὸς ξην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα, τῷ δέ οἱ ὦμοι  
*but then his shoulders—contrasted with the parts of his body mentioned before; so τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε (Il. 13. 616), &c.*

Il. 22. 405 ὥς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν, ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ  
*but on the other hand his mother, &c.*

Il. 4. 399 τοῖος ξην Τυδεὺς Αἰτῳλῖος· ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν κ.τ.λ.

1. 382 ἦκε δ' ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος, οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ  
θυήσκον ἐπασσύτεροι, τὰ δ' ἐπύχετο κῆλα θεοῖο.

So we should explain the Article in Il. 1. 20 παῖδα δέ μοι λύ-  
σαιτε φάλην, τὰ δ' ἀποινα δέχεσθαι *release my daughter, and on the  
other side accept ransom*. Cp. Il. 2. 105, 107, 278., 5. 308., 7.  
84, &c. The usage is perceptibly rarer in the Odyssey.

2. The use of the Art. with μέν—to contrast the Noun with  
something that follows—is rare: Il. 267 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔλκος  
ἐτέρσετο: cp. 8. 73., 9. 1., 13. 640., 19. 21., 20. 75, Od. 3. 270  
(seemingly the only instance in the Odyssey). There is a similar  
use however with the Art. following the Noun: Il. 6. 147 φύλλα  
τὰ μὲν τ' κτλ.; Od. 1. 116 μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν κτλ.

This use should be carefully distinguished from the later Definite Article. For  
instance, in Il. 1. 20 τὰ ἀποινα does not mean *this or the ransom*, in contradistin-  
ction to other ransoms. It means *the other, the ransom*, in contrast to the person  
ransomed. To give another example, the 4th book of the Iliad begins οἱ δὲ θεοί,  
which we naturally take to mean simply *but the gods*. This however is incorrect.  
Taking in the last line of the 3rd book, we have—

- ὅς ἔφατ' Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπὶ δ' ἦνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαιοί·  
οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ' Ἰηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο.

Clearly the Article marks the turning from the one scene to the other,—from the  
battlefield to Olympus. Thus the Attic οἱ (θεοί) distinguishes the gods from other  
beings: the Homeric οἱ (δὲ θεοί) marks, not this permanent distinction, but the  
contrast arising out of the particular context.

The difference appears also in the use with Proper Names. In Attic the Article  
shows that a particular known person is spoken of; in Homer it marks the turn-  
ing of attention to a person—ushers in the name, as it were: e.g. Il. 5. 509 τοῦ  
δ' ἐκπαύειν ἐφετμὰς | φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος. In short, the Homeric Article *contrasts*,  
the Attic Article *defines*.

3. The corresponding use with copulative and illative Par-  
ticles, καί, τέ, ἡδέ, καὶ γάρ, is much less common: cp.—

- Il. 1. 339 πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος.

15. 36 ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεῖν,  
καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (cp. 18. 486).

- Od. 22. 103 δώσω δὲ συβώτῃ | καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα.

- Il. 14. 503 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Προμάχοιο δάμαρ κτλ.

The Article singles out its Noun as the special object intended,  
or turns to it with fresh emphasis.

The only instance of an Art. with an Infinitive falls under this  
head, viz. Od. 20. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν. But we need not  
take τὸ φυλάσσειν closely together.

260.] **With Adjectives.** The Article is used before adjectival  
words that imply a contrast or distinction, especially between  
definite or well-known alternatives: in particular—

- (a) ἄλλος and ἕτερος, *passim*: also αὐτός = *same*.



- (b) Comparatives and Superlatives; οἱ πλείονες, οἱ ἀριστοί, &c.  
So in the adverbial expressions τὸ πρῶν, τὸ πάρος, τὰ πρῶτα, and the like.

In these phrases the Neut. Article is used 'adverbially' (§ 113), and has the force of an Adverb of Time (cp. ἐκ τοῦ, εἰς δ). Hence there is a kind of 'concord' between the Pronoun and the Adverb (τὸ πάρος = *then formerly*). It is quite different when a Masc. or Fem. Article is used with an Adverb, as οἱ ἐνερθε θεοί—a use which is extremely rare in Homer.

- (c) Ordinal Numerals: as τῇ δεκάτῃ: similarly τὸ ἡμῖς, τὸ χθιζόν. Also Cardinal Numerals, when a *division* is made; as Il. 5. 271 τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ, τὼ δὲ δὴ Αἰνεία δῶκεν *four he kept, and the (other) two he gave to Æneas*: Il. 11. 174 πάσας τῇ δέ τ' ἱῇ κ.τ.λ. (*the lion chases all, but to one &c.*)
- (d) Possessives; τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, τὰ σὰ κῆλα, &c.
- (e) A few words expressing the standing contrasts (as they may be called), of great and small, many and few, good and evil, and the like, esp. when the contrast is brought out by the context:

Il. 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·  
αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κακ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.

3. 138 τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλῃ κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις  
(*the conqueror being one of two definite persons*).

So ἡ πλεθὺς (Il. 2. 278., 15. 305) *the many* (in contrast to a single man, or to the few): Αἴας δὲ μέγας *the greater Ajax*: ἀνακτες οἱ νέοι (Od. 14. 61) *masters of the younger generation*: ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοις (Od. 12. 252) *the smaller kinds of fish*: τὸν προὔχοντα (Il. 23. 325) *the one in advance*. So too—

Il. 1. 70 δς ἦδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα.

The use to contrast *indefinite* individuals (*one—another*) is rare in Homer: Il. 9. 320 κάτθαν' ὁμῶς δ τ' ἀεργος ἀνὴρ δ τε πολλὰ ἐοργῶς: Od. 17. 218 ὥς ἀεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

- (f) Patronymics and geographical epithets: e.g. Il. 11. 613 Μαχάονι πάντα ἔοικε τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ (cp. 13. 698., 14. 460., 23. 295, 303, 525): Il. 2. 595 Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα: Il. 6. 201 πεδῖον τὸ Ἀλφειόν, cp. 2. 681., 10. 11: and so perhaps Il. 21. 252 αἰετοῦ . . τοῦ θηρητήρος *an eagle, the hunting kind*. This use is rare.

- (g) In a very few places a Genitive takes the place of the Adjective: Il. 20. 181 τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου: Od. 24. 497 νιεῖς οἱ Δολιχιοῖ: Il. 9. 342., 10. 408., 23. 348, 376, Od. 3. 145.

When an Adjective with the Article prefixed to it qualifies a Noun, the general rule in Homer is that the Noun comes first. This is also the order which we saw

to prevail in the use before a Relative: compare (*e.g.*) Π. 14. 279 θεοὺς . . | τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους with 5. 331 θεάων | τῶν αἰ τ' ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον κατά κοιρανέουσιν. In both cases the Article is properly 'resumptive,' that is to say, it repeats the Noun in order to add the qualifying words.

The other order—in which the Noun comes last—is common with Comparatives and Superlatives (as τὰ νεώτα πείρατα), with the Possessives, as τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον (but we also have πατὴρ οὐμός), and with ἄλλος (τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν &c.; but also, Π. 5. 130 θεοῖς . . . τοῖς ἄλλοις, 9. 219 τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου).

With the other groups enumerated above it is exceptional: Π. 14. 274 οἱ ἐνερθε θεοί; 2. 681 τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος. Commonly the Article begins a new line, as in ἀνδρῶν | τῶν τότε, ἀνακτες | οἱ νέοι, Μαχάονι . . | τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ; or it follows the principal Cæsura, as in Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα; or begins the second foot, as in ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου, Δίας δ' ὁ μέγας, παῖδες τοὶ μετόπισθε λε-  
λειμμένοι.

261.] **The defining Article.** The few and somewhat isolated uses which fall under this description may be grouped as follows:

1. The use before a Relative Clause may be combined with 'Apposition' to a Noun: as—

Π. 5. 319 οὐδ' υἱὸς Καπανῆος ἐλήθετο συνθεσιδίων  
τάων ἃς ἐπέτελλε κ.τ.λ.

This is the primitive order, the Article being 'resumptive'—*the injunctions, those namely which, &c.* So ἡματι τῷ ὅτε &c. The later order—that in which the Noun follows the Article—appears in a few places of the Iliad:—

5. 265 τῆς γὰρ τοι γενεῆς ἧς Τρωτὶ περ κτλ. (*cp.* v. 268).

also 6. 292., 8. 186., 19. 105. It is commoner in the Odyssey.

2. Occasionally the Article is prefixed to an epithet used in a hostile or contemptuous tone: thus we have Π. 2. 275 τὸν λαβητῆρα, 13. 53 ὁ λυσσώδης, 21. 421 ἡ κυνάμνια, 22. 59 τὸν δύστηνον: *Od.* 2. 351 τὸν κάμμορον; 12. 113 τὴν ὀλοήν; 18. 26 ὁ μολοβρός; 18. 333 τὸν ἀλήτην; 19. 372 αἱ κύνες αἶδε. So perhaps in Π. 3. 55 ἧ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος.

In *Od.* 18. 114 τοῦτον τὸν ἀναλτον does not mean (as it would in Attic) 'this ἀναλτος,' but 'this man—ἀναλτος that he is.' *Cp.* Π. 13. 53 ἧ ῥ' ὁ γ' ὁ λυσσώδης κτλ., where ὁ λυσσώδης—the mad-man—is used as a single term, in Apposition to ὁ γε.

This use—which is characteristic of Homer—may be regarded as a relic of the Deictic force of ὁ ἡ τό. It answers to the later use of οὗτος, Latin *iste*.

3. The use of the Article to show that the Noun denotes a known person or thing—the defining Article of later Greek—is rare in Homer. It is found in the Iliad—

(1) with γέρων, γεραιός, ἀναξ, ἥρως: where however the Pronoun is the important word, the Noun being subjoined as a kind of title: τοῖο ἀνακτος='of his lordship' (*cp.* the German *allerhöchst derselbe*). Accordingly,

when the name is added the Art. is generally not used; as γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς (not δ γέρων).

- (2) with ἔπος and μῦθος, in certain phrases, as ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες; In these cases the Noun is of vague meaning, adding little to the Article: cp. ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε with ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε. So in the formula δμοσέν τε τελεύτησέν τε τὸν ὄρκον, perhaps with a touch of ceremonial verbiage.

In the Odyssey it occurs with several other Nouns: ὁ ξείνος, *passim*; ἡ νῆσος, Od. 5. 55., 9. 146., 12. 201, 276, 403, &c.; τὰ μῆλα Od. 9. 464., 11. 4, 20: ὁ μόχλος Od. 9. 375, 378: τὸ τόξον Od. 21. 113, 305. The other examples in the Iliad are chiefly found in one or two books: see Il. 2. 80., 7. 412., 10. 97, 277, 321, 322, 330, 408, 497., 20. 147., 23. 75, 257, 465., 24. 388, 801.

We may perhaps add a few uses with words of relationship:

Il. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τίσετε λάβην.

But here the Art. is resumptive with emphasis: (if ye are sons of Antimachus) *ye shall now pay for his, your father's, outrage.*

Il. 19. 322 οὐδ' εἴ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο τυθολίμην *not even if I heard of him, my father, being dead:* and so Il. 4. 399., 21. 412, Od. 2. 134., 16. 149. See however § 255.

**Possessive Article.** It has been a question whether the Article is ever equivalent to a Possessive Pronoun. If so it would be a kind of *defining* Article—defining a thing as belonging to a known person. In most of the instances, however, the reference to a person is given by a distinct Pronoun: Il. 19. 331 ὡς ἂν μοι τὸν παῖδα κ.τ.λ.: Od. 11. 492 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς κ.τ.λ.: Od. 8. 195 καὶ κ' ἀλαός τοι . . τὸ σῆμα: Od. 18. 380 οὐδ' ἂν μοι τὴν γαστέρ' κ.τ.λ.: Od. 19. 535 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸν δνειρον κ.τ.λ.: Il. 1. 167 σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολλὸ μείζον: Il. 10. 321 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνάσχεο. Hence the Art. in these places has much the same function as with a Possessive (μοι τὸν παῖδα = τὸν ἐμὸν παῖδα); it reinforces the Pronoun which conveys the idea of possession.

This account does not apply to τῆς εὐνῆς (Il. 9. 133, 275., 19. 176), and τῆς ἀρετῆς (Od. 2. 206). But the Art. is most probably substantival: τῆς εὐνῆς *her couch*, τῆς ἀρετῆς *her perfection*.

262.] **The Article as a Relative.** The Article at the beginning of a clause may often be translated either as a Demonstrative or as a Relative. It has the character of a Relative when it introduces a distinctly subordinate or parenthetical Clause: as—

Il. 1. 36 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἡὔκομος τέκε Λητώ.

The use of δ ἡ τό as a Relative is less common in Homer than that of ὅς ἡ ὅ, and is restricted in several ways:

1. It follows the Noun to which it refers; whereas a Clause introduced by ὅς often precedes.
2. The Clause which it introduces does not *define*,—i. e. show who or what is denoted by the antecedent. E. g. τὸν

ἡύκομος τέκε Λητώ is meant merely to say something about Apollo, not to show who is meant by the name. But in Il. 1. 78 ὅτομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν δς κ.τ.λ. the Relative Clause is necessary to the meaning,—‘the man who &c.’—the antecedent ἄνδρα being *indefinite*.

It evidently follows from this that the Art. cannot stand as *correlative* to a Demonstrative Pronoun (τὸ—δ *that—which*, not τὸ—τὸ): also that a Clause expressing *condition* must have δς.

The only exceptions to the first rule,—

Il. 1. 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλῶν ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται. ✓

Od. 4. 349 (= 17. 140) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ξείπε . . τῶν κ.τ.λ.

are also exceptions to this second rule. It seems to follow that the original reading in these places must have been ἀλλὰ θ' ἂ μὲν.

The other exceptions to the second rule are, in some instances at least, capable of explanation: *e.g.* in—

Il. 1. 319 λῆγ' ἐρίδος τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησ' Ἀχιλλῆῷ  
the meaning is not ‘the same quarrel which he had threatened,’ but *his quarrel—*  
*which he had &c.* And so perhaps in Il. 13. 220, Od. 13. 126. Again—

Il. 7. 452 τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων κτλ.  
*and will forget the other—(a wall) which &c.* But some MS. have δ τ' ἐγώ,  
which is free from difficulty.

Od. 22. 392 ὅφρα ἔπος εἴπωμι τό μοι καταθύμιόν ἐστι  
*that I may utter a word (not the word), which is in my mind.* Cp. the recurring  
ὅφρ' εἴπω τὰ μέ θυμὸς κ.τ.λ., and Il. 19. 339 μνησάμενοι τὰ ἕκαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν  
ἐλείπον.

Real exceptions (if the text is right) are to be seen in Il. 9. 592 κῆδε' δσ' ἀνθρώ-  
ποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἄλγῃ: Od. 1. 444 ὁδὸν τὴν πέφραδ' Ἀθήνῃ: and perhaps a few  
other places (Od. 1. 17., 9. 334., 13. 263., 14. 227., 19. 573., 23. 355).

3. On the same principle, the Art. is little used where the Clause expresses a constant or *essential* characteristic of the Antecedent. In particular, it is not found in epexegetic Clauses: as νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὐ τι μέλει κ.τ.λ.: ἀρχεκάκους, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν κ.τ.λ.: Λαμπετιῶν, δν Λάμπος ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. This however does not apply to the Art. with τέ (ὃ τε, ἡ τε, τό τε), as to which see § 263.

If the Clause adds some *new* fact about a *definite* Antecedent, the Article is preferred. And sometimes even it has the effect of representing a fact as unexpected: as Il. 1. 160 πρὸς Τρώων, τῶν οὐ τι μεταρρέπη *the Trojans—to whom all the time you give no heed*: 1. 392 τὴν μοι δόσαν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν (*Briseis*) *whom the Greeks gave me* (=although the Greeks had given her to me).

Note especially the adverbial use of τό=*wherefore* (§ 133): as—

Il. 3. 176 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίονσα τέθηκα.

19. 213 τό μοι οὐ τι μετὰ φρεσὶ ταῦτα μέμνηεν.

So Il. 7. 239., 12. 9., 17. 404., 23. 547. There is only one instance in the Odyssey, viz. 8. 332 (in the Song of Demodocus).

263.] The Article with *τέ* serves as a Relative. In use it is intermediate between the simple Article and the Relative *ὅς*, for it expresses a constant or *general* characteristic, but only of a *definite* Antecedent: as—

Il. 7. 112 Ἔκτορι Πριαμῶνι, τὸν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.

15. 621 κύματά τε τροφόεντα, τὰ τε προσερεύεται αὐτήν.

Od. 18. 273 οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς δλβον ἀπήρρα.

It is especially used in similes (where a *typical* case is described), as Il. 13. 390 πίτυς βλωθρὴ τὴν τ' οὔρεσι κτλ.: see § 266 *fin*.

264.] **Homeric and Attic Article.** After the account given in the preceding §§ of the Homeric uses of the Article it is hardly necessary to show in detail where they differ from the corresponding uses in Attic Greek. What we have chiefly to observe is that the difference is often greater in reality than it appears to be at first sight. Familiar as we are with the defining Article of modern languages, and of Attic Greek, we naturally import it into Homer whenever it is not made impossible by the context: and accordingly it is often assumed that the use in Homer is not consistent—that *ὁ* is sometimes a Demonstrative, sometimes an 'Article' properly so called. In Homer the Article indicates, not that a person or thing is a known or definite one, but *that it is presented to us in an antithesis or contrast*,—which need not be more than the contrast involved in turning our attention from one person or thing to another. Objects so contrasted are usually definite, in the sense that they are already known or suggested by the context: and hence the readiness with which the later defining sense can be applied to passages in Homer. Thus αὐτὰρ *ὁ* γ' ἦρως can usually be translated *but the hero (before mentioned)*, as though *ὁ* distinguished him from other heroes. But when we find that αὐτὰρ *ὁ* in Homer means *but he*, or *but the other*, and that it may be followed by an epexegetic Noun (as αὐτὰρ *ὁ* βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων), we see that *ἦρως* is a kind of epithet—*but he a hero*.

This point has been explained in connexion with the use of the Attributive Article, § 258, 1 (with the note). It may be further illustrated from instances in which the Article marks contrast, *but not definition*, and where consequently it cannot be translated by the English *the*. Such are:—

Il. 15. 66 πολέας δλέσαντ' αἰζηοὺς

τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' οὖν ἐμὸν Σαρπηδόνα διόν

not *the others*, but *others as well, certain others*.

Il. 5. 672 ἢ προτέρω Διὸς οὖν ἐριγδούποιο διώκοι,

ἢ *ὁ* γε τῶν πλεόνων Λυκίων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο

or *should take the lives of more Lycians instead*. Here οἱ *πλέονες*

does not mean 'the greater number,' but 'a greater number,' in contrast to the one person mentioned.

Π. 22. 162 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι  
ρίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἀέθλον  
*and there a great prize lies ready.* So Od. 20. 242 αὐτὰρ δ . .  
ὄρνις *but a bird.*

The same thing is shown by the position of the Article in *μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν* κ.τ.λ. (§ 259, 2). It is evident that τῶν is used, not because the suitors are definite persons, but because a contrast is made by means of μὲν.

The use with Cardinal Numerals (§ 260, c) is to be similarly explained. It is not peculiar to Homer, but is regular in Attic also, where it may be regarded as a survival of the Homeric use of the Article.

It is a further question, and one that cannot be fully discussed here, whether any uses of the Article found in our texts of the Iliad and Odyssey are post-Homeric, and evidence of a later origin of the books or passages where they occur. It will be seen that in the case of the uses which have been noticed as rare or exceptional most of the examples come from books ix, x, xxiii, and xxiv. See especially the uses treated of in § 260 f, g, and § 261, 3. Others again seem to belong to the Odyssey; see § 261, 3, and cp. § 259, 1. The use of the Article in the tenth book of the Iliad seems clearly later than in any other part of Homer: e. g.

Π. 10. 97 δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβείομεν.

277 χαίρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνιθ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

322 ἣ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρματα κ.τ.λ. (so 330).

408 πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαὶ κ.τ.λ.

Also πεδῖον τὸ Τρωϊκόν (v. 11), ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεύς (v. 231, 498), τὴν νύκτα (v. 497). So in the Catalogue of the Ships we have Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα (Π. 2. 595), and τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος (2. 681).

ὅς ἢ ὅ.

265.] The Pronoun ὅς ἢ ὅ, and the Adverbs formed from the same Stem (ὥς, ὅτε, ἕως, &c.) are occasionally used in Homer in a Demonstrative sense; viz.—

(1) After καί, οὐδέ, μηδέ: as Π. 21. 198 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δειδοικε *even he fears*: Π. 6. 59 μηδ' ὅς φύγοι *may not even he escape*: and often in the combinations καὶ ὥς *even so*, οὐδ' ὥς *not even so*.

(2) With μὲν and δέ, to express a contrast between indefinite objects:

Π. 11. 64 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ὅτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρώτοισι φάνεσκεν,

ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτοισι κτλ. (so 18. 599., 20. 49).

12. 141 οἱ δ' ἢ τοι εἰως μὲν κτλ. *up to a certain time*.

17. 178 ὅτε δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει *but sometimes &c.*

(3) ὥς *thus* is common; especially ὥς—ὅς=*as—so*.

These idioms may be regarded as the remains of an earlier use of  $\delta\varsigma$  in the simple Anaphoric sense. The growth of a Relative out of a Demonstrative has been already exemplified in the Article (§ 262).

The Demonstrative meaning need not be given to  $\delta\varsigma$  in—

Od. 4. 388 τὸν γ' εἰ πας σὺ δύναιο λοχησάμενος λελαβέσθαι  
ὅς κέν τοι εἴησιν ὁδόν κ.τ.λ.

him, if you can, lay in wait for and seize, in the hope that he will tell you: cp. Od. 5. 17., 10. 539.

In the combination  $\delta\varsigma$  γάρ it makes little difference whether  $\delta\varsigma$  is rendered as a Demonstrative (*for he*), or as a Relative ( $\delta\varsigma$  γ' ἄρ' *who as you suppose, who therefore*): the latter is more natural in parenthetical Clauses, such as δ γάρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων *which of course is the privilege of elders*.

266.]  $\delta\varsigma$  τε,  $\delta\varsigma$  τις. The simple  $\delta\varsigma$  may be used in any kind of Relative Clause, although in certain cases (§ 259) the Article is preferred. Thus we have—

II. 4. 196 δὲν τις διστεύσας ἔβαλεν (a particular fact).

1. 403 δὲν Βριάρεων καλέουσι (a constant or characteristic fact).

2. 205 εἰς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε (a characteristic fact, defining).

1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται (definition of a class).

If the Relative is meant to refer to an indefinite number of individuals falling under a common description,  $\delta\varsigma$  τις is generally used, = *who being any one, whoever*.

If, again, the Relative Clause generalises by making us think, not so much of all possible *individuals* in a class, as of different times and circumstances,—in other words, if it lays stress on the general and permanent element in facts— $\delta\varsigma$  τε is used: *e.g.*—

II. 1. 279 σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κύδος ἔδωκε *to whom as king, to whom in any case*.

5. 545 Ἀλφειοῦ ὅς τ' εὐρὺν ῥέει κ.τ.λ. (cp. 5. 876).

4. 361 τὰ γὰρ φρονέεις ἃ τ' ἐγὼ περ (*such things as, &c.*).

9. 117 ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ.

Od. 1. 348 Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅς τε δίδωσιν κτλ.: so 4. 105., 5. 52, &c.

7. 74 οἷσιν τ' εὖ φρονέσῃ *they to whom she is well inclined*.

Thus  $\delta\varsigma$  τε is constantly used in *comparisons*: as II. 3. 61 (πέλεκυς) ὅς τ' εἰσιν διὰ δούροδς ὑπ' ἀνέρος ὅς ῥά τε κ.τ.λ.: 5. 5 ἀστέρ' ὅπωρυν ᾧ ἐναλγικιον ὅς τε μάλιστα κ.τ.λ.

So ὥς τε, ὅθι τε, ὅθεν τε, ὅτε τε: ἔνθα τε, ἵνα τε: ὅσος τε, οἷός τε.

Od. 12. 22 δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἀπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἀνθρώποι.

19. 178 Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως κ.τ.λ.

We have seen above (§ 263) that  $\delta$  τε is also used in comparisons, and generally when the Relative Clause expresses a permanent characteristic, or treats the particular Antecedent

as typical. If any rule is to be laid down for distinguishing the two uses, it must be that  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  is properly confined to the use with a *definite* Antecedent; whereas  $\delta\varsigma\tau\epsilon$  is free from this restriction.

Thus  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  in a comparison either makes us think of an instance as a single definite one, or refers (when the Plural is used) to the whole class. Thus in Il. 5. 783  $\sigmaυοὶ\ κἀπυροισιν\ τῶν\ τ\epsilon\ σθένος\ οὐκ\ ἀλαπαδνόν$  the Relative Clause applies to all boars. This distinction comes out in Il. 16. 157  $οἱ\ δὲ\ λύκοι\ ὅς\ ἀμοφάγοι,\ τοῖσιν\ τ\epsilon\ περὶ\ φρεσὶν\ ἀσπετος\ ἀλκή,\ οἳ\ τ'\ ἔλαφον\ κεραὸν\ .\ .\ δάπτουσιν\ κτλ.$  Here  $τοῖσιν\ τ\epsilon$  refers to all wolves,  $οἳ\ τ\epsilon$  to the wolves of the particular simile.

Thus Homer has *five* Relatives, viz.  $\delta$ ,  $\delta\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ , each with a distinct shade of meaning: Attic retains only  $\delta\varsigma$  and  $\delta\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ .

267.] **Correlative Clauses.** It is important to distinguish between the simple structure in which the Relative and Antecedent merely denote the same object, as—

$\alphaὐδρα\ βαλὼν\ ὅς\ κ.τ.λ.$  *having struck a man who &c.*

$τῶν\ οἱ\ νῦν\ βροτοὶ\ εἰσι\ ὅς\ τ\epsilon$  *of those who are now living.*

$\epsilonἰν\ πεδίῳ\ ὅθι\ περ\ κ.τ.λ.$  *in the plain where &c.*

and the *parallel* structure, in which the Relative must be an Adverb with the same Ending as the Antecedent; as—

$τὼς\ δὲ\ σ'\ ἀπεχθήρω\ ὥς\ νῦν\ ἔκπαγλ'\ ἐφίλησα$

*and hate you in the manner in which I have loved you*—where the *manner* is the point of comparison, and must qualify both Clauses. So—

$τόφρα\ δ'\ ἐπὶ\ Τρώεσσι\ τίθει\ κράτος,\ ὅφρ'\ ἂν\ Ἀχαιοὶ\ κ.τ.λ.$

$τῇ\ ἴμεν\ ἢ\ κεν\ δὴ\ σύ,\ κελαιεφές,\ ἡγεμονεύης.$

The difference between the two kinds of Clauses is that in the former the Relative affects a Noun or Pronoun in the principal Clause; whereas in the latter it qualifies (or at least helps in qualifying) the whole Clause. The Relative Clause in fact serves as an Adverb (of *manner, time, way, &c.* as the Suffix may determine), construed, like the Antecedent Adverb, with the principal Verb.

It follows that the Demonstrative Antecedent may be omitted without injury to the sense: so that  $\ὥς\ νῦν\ ἐφίλησα$  may stand for  $τὼς—ὥς\ νῦν\ ἐφίλησα,\ ὅφρ'\ ἂν$  for  $τόφρα—ὅφρ'\ ἂν$ , and so on. In sentences of this type the fuller or *Correlative* structure is the older, and may be presumed to have preceded the other in every case. In this way we see how  $\ὥς$  (lit. *in which manner*) came to mean *in the manner in which*; and so  $\��φρα$  to the *time when, &c.* by the way by which,  $\��θι$  at the place where,  $\��τε$  at the time when, and so on.

There is however a further stage of the use of Correlatives, viz. that in which the Relative *has no proper construction in its own Clause.*



This may be most clearly seen in the use of οὐνεκα (i.e. οὐ ἐνεκα) *for which reason*: e.g.—

Il. 1. 110 ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἐνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει,  
οὐνεκ' ἐγὼ . . οὐκ ἔθελον κ.τ.λ.

*Apollo causes sorrow for this reason, that I would not &c.* Here we cannot translate οὐνεκα *for which reason*: the reason does not precede, but is given by the Relative Clause. Hence the first ἐνεκα only is logical; the second (in οὐνεκα) is due to the parallelism of the Clauses. Thus the correlatives τοῦνεκα—οὐνεκα come to mean *for the reason—that*. Or,—since οὐνεκα implies an antecedent τοῦνεκα—the Relative οὐνεκα by itself expresses *for the reason that, because*.

To put the matter in a different way, the correlative structure is rational only when the relation between the clauses can be inverted: e.g. ὡς ἶδον ὡς ἐμάνην *I saw and was maddened in the same degree*. But in (τοῦνεκα) ἄλγεα τεύχει οὐνεκ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔθελον the second clause gives the ground of the first, not *vice versa*d. Therefore the τοῦνεκα is rational, the οὐνεκα is irrational; and when we translate οὐνεκα *for the reason that, because*, we really supply the necessary τοῦνεκα, and render οὐνεκα itself by a mere connecting Particle (*that*).

The same process may be traced more or less distinctly in all Relative Adverbs. Thus ὥς (*in which manner*) comes to mean *in such manner that, ὅσῳ for so long that, εἰς ὃ to the point that, ἔνα (lit. where) in order that*; also, as will be shown presently, ὃ, ὅτι and ὃ τε are adverbial Accusatives, meaning literally *in which respect, hence in respect that, because, that*.

By an inverse process the suppressed Antecedent may be without a construction. This is found in the use of ὥς=ὅτι οὕτως, as Il. 4. 157 ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες *since the Trojans have thus shot at you*: and so οἷον ἀκουσε *at hearing such a thing, of ἄγορεύεις judging from the quality of your speech*. Here ὥς comes to mean *seeing the manner in which, οἷον because of the thing such as, &c.* The looseness of structure here is due to the ellipse. The Antecedent being omitted, the want of a construction is not felt.

268.] οὐνεκα. This Conjunction (which may be treated as a single word) is used in two ways:

(a) to assign a *cause* or *reason*:

(b) to connect the fact expressed in the Relative Clause with a Verb of *saying, knowing, &c.*

The second of these uses is evidently derived from the first by a kind of degeneration, or loss of meaning. The *fact* told or known is originally given as the *ground* of the saying or knowing. The transition may be seen in—

Od. 7. 299 ξείν', ἡ τοι μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναλίσμιον οὐκ ἐνόησε  
παῖς ἐμὴ οὐνεκά σ' οὐ τι μετ' ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξιν  
ἦγεν ἐς ἡμέτερον

*my daughter did not judge aright in this, because she did not &c., more simply, in this, that she did not &c. Again—*

Od. 5. 215

οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς

πάντα μάλ', οὐνεκα σείω περίφρων Πηνελόπεια κτλ.

*I know all, inasmuch as Penelope is &c.; i. e. I know that she is &c. This use is found with Verbs of saying in Od. 13. 309., 15. 42., 16. 330, 379. In the Iliad it occurs only once, viz. Il. 11. 21 πεύθετο . . μέγα κλέος, οὐνεκ' Ἀχαιοί κτλ.*

Note that (except in Od. 13. 309., 16. 379) the Verb is followed by an Acc. of the *thing*; so that the Relative Clause does not directly take the place of the Object. Thus (e. g.) πεύθετο κλέος οὐνεκα is literally *heard a rumour the ground of which was that &c.*

269.] δ, δι, δ τε. The Acc. Neut. of the Relative, when used adverbially (§ 133), yields the three ‘Conjunctions’ δ, δι and δ τε, which mean properly *in respect that*, hence usually (a) *because*, or (b) *that* (after a Verb of *saying, knowing, &c.*).

(1) δ *in respect that, because* may be exemplified by—

Il. 20. 283 ταρβήσας δ οἱ ἄγχι πάγῃ βέλος

*dreading because the dart stuck near him.* We have here the phenomenon already noticed in οὐνεκα, viz. the Relative has no construction in its own Clause, but reflects the construction of the Demonstrative in the principal Clause: ταρβήσας (τὸ) δ πάγῃ βέλος. The Cognate or adverbial Accusative with ταρβήσας would express the *nature or ground* of dread (as in τό γε δειδιδί, τόδε χέω, &c.); hence the meaning *dreading in respect of* (or *because of*) *this, that the dart stuck.* Accordingly we find δ = *because* chiefly with Verbs of *feeling*, which regularly take a Neuter Pronoun of the *ground* of feeling:—

Od. 1. 382 Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον δ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.

So Il. 9. 534 (χωσαμένη), Od. 19. 543., 21. 289 (οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς δ).

A peculiar use to state a *consequence* which is made a *ground* of inference may be seen in—

Od. 4. 206 τοῖον γὰρ καὶ πατρός, δ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάζεις

*for you are of a wise father, (as I know) because you speak wisely:* so Od. 18. 392, and probably also—

Il. 21. 150 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, δ μεν ἔτλης ἀντίος ἐλθεῖν;

*who are you that* (i. e. *I ask because*) *you dare &c.*

The transition to the use of δ = *that* may be seen in—

Od. 2. 44 οὔτε τι δῆμιον ἄλλο πιφάνσκομαι οὐδ' ἀγορεύω

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, δ μοι κακὸν ἔμπεσεν οἶκος

*what I tell is my own case (which consists in the fact) that evil has fallen on my house.* It is common with οἶδα (Il. 8. 32, Od. 4. 771, &c.), γινώσκω (Il. 5. 433., 16. 120, &c.) αἶω (Il. 15. 248):

and found with Verbs of *seeing*, as Il. 1. 120 λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη *ye see this, that my prize goes elsewhere* (cp. Il. 19. 144., 22. 445, Od. 17. 545).

(2) ὅτι *because* is common after Verbs of *feeling*. We need only stop to notice some instances (parallel to those of ὃ just quoted) in which it is = *as I know because* :

Il. 16. 33 νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεὺς,  
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,  
πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής

meaning now *I know that you are no child of Peleus &c., because your mind is relentless.*

Il. 21. 410 νηπύτι', οὐδέ νύ πώ περ ἐπεφράσω δσσον ἀρείων  
εὐχομ' ἐγὼν ἔμεναι, ὅτι μοι μένος ἀντιφερίζεις.

Od. 5. 339 κάμμορε, τίπτε τοι ὦδε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
ὠδύσατ' ἐκπάγλως, ὅτι τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυτεύει

*why is Poseidon so enraged against you (as he seems to be) since he causes you many evils?* So Il. 10. 142., 21. 488., 24. 240, Od. 14. 367., 22. 36.

The transition to the meaning *that* may be seen in—

Il. 2. 255 ἦσαι ὀνειδίζων ὅτι οἱ μᾶλα πολλὰ διδοῦσι  
*reproaching him in respect that, with the fact that &c.* It is the regular meaning with Verbs of *knowing*: Il. 8. 175 γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων *I know that &c.*

The use of ὅτι = *that* is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey (where *ὅς* and *ὅνεκα* partly supply the place, see § 268).

(3) The form ὃ τε (so written by Bekker to distinguish it from ὅτε *when*) is found in Homer with the same varieties of meaning as ὃ and ὅτι. Thus we have—

Il. 1. 244 χωόμενος ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας  
*angry because &c.*; so Il. 6. 126., 16. 509., Od. 8. 78.

Il. 4. 31 δαίμονι, τί νύ σε Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες  
τόσσα κακὰ ῥέχουσιν, ὃ τ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνεις  
*how do Priam and his sons do you such evil, (as they must do) since you are furiously enraged?* So Od. 14. 89 οἷδε δέ τοι ἴσασι . . ὃ τ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι *they know something (as is plain) because they are not willing*: Od. 21. 254 τοσσόνδε βίης ἐπιδενέες εἰμὲν . . ὃ τ' οὐ δυνάμεσθα *we are so wanting in strength, as appears by the fact that we are not able.* And with the meaning *that*—

Il. 1. 411 γυνῶ δὲ καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης, εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
ἦν ἄτην, ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισεν  
*may know his folly, in that he failed to honour &c.*

Od. 14. 365 ἐγὼ δ' εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς  
νόστον ἐμείο ἀνακτος, ὃ τ' ἤχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι

*I know of the return of my lord, that (as it showed) he was hated by all the gods.* So Il. 8. 251 εἶδονθ' ὃ τ' ἄρ' κτλ. *saw that &c.*; and with γινώσκω, Il. 5. 331, &c.

The existence of a distinct ὃ τε with the meaning *because* or *that* depends upon its being shown that in places such as those now quoted the word cannot be either ὃτι *that* or ὃτε *when*. The latter supposition, though often admissible in particular passages, seems excluded by several examples,—e.g. Il. 5. 331 γινώσκων ὃ τ' ἀναλκίς ἔην θεός,—and generally by the complete correspondence of meaning between ὃ, ὃτι, and ὃ τε. On the other hand it is extremely improbable that the ι of ὃτι was ever capable of elision. In this respect ὃτι *that* stands on the same footing as τί and ὃ τι. It has to be considered, too, that in Homer the adverbial use of these words, which gives them the character of Conjunctions, is hardly more than a particular use of the Accusative Neuter. If then the Neut. of ὃς and ὃς τε is so used, it is difficult to see any reason why the Neut. of the equally familiar ὃς τε should be excluded.

The only objection is that in most of the instances (perhaps all the clear instances) which support ὃ τε the final vowel is elided. Why do we find ὃ τ' and ὃ θ', but not ὃ τε, if it existed? The answer must be that ὃ τε would be liable to be altered into the familiar ὃτι wherever sense and metre alike permitted. The MSS. vary in some places between ὃτε and ὃτι (as in Il. 14. 71, 72, Od. 13. 129), and on such a point we cannot be said to have any good external authority. In Il. 16. 35 Ar. read ὃτε. And there are one or two places where all the MSS. give ὃ τε or ὃτε (unelided) with the meaning *because*;

Il. 15. 467 ὃ πόποι ἦ δὴ πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κείρει

δαίμων ἡμετέρης ὃ τέ μοι βιδὼν ἐκβαλε χεῖρός

*surely God is frustrating us, (as I judge from this) that he has thrown the bow from my hands.* So—

Od. 5. 356 ὃ μοι ἐγὼ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αἶτε

ἀθανάτων, ὃ τέ με σχεδὴς ἀποβῆναι ἀνάγει

i.e. 'there is another snare in this bidding me to get off the raft.' So perhaps Od. 13. 129 ὃ τέ με βροτοὶ οὐ τι τίουσιν (*I shall not be honoured by the gods, as I judge*) *because mortals do not honour me*: and even (with La Roche) Il. 1. 518 ἦ δὴ λοῖγμια ἔργ', ὃ τέ μ' κτλ. *it is a pestilent thing that you &c.*, Il. 16. 433 ὃ μοι ἐγὼν, ὃ τε ἀλὰς for me *that &c.*, and Il. 19. 57.

270.] ὃ, ὃτι, ὃ τε as Conjunctions. In a few instances it is impossible to explain these Relatives by supplying an Accusative τὸ in the principal Clause. Thus—

Il. 5. 349 ἦ οὐχ ἄλκις ὅτι γυναικας ἀνάλκιδας ἡπεροπεύεις;

Here the principal Clause is Impersonal, and the Antecedent might be a Nom. (*is it not enough*) or Gen. (*is there not enough in this*), but hardly an Accusative. Again in—

Il. 8. 362 οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὃ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις κτλ.

17. 207 τῶν ποιμήν, ὃ τοι κτλ. (*as amends for the fact that*) the Relative Clause serves as a Genitive: cp. Od. 11. 540 γηθοσύνη ὃ οἱ κτλ., 12. 374 ἄγγελος ἦλθεν . . ὃ οἱ κτλ. Further, in—

Od. 20. 333 νῦν δ' ἤδη τόδε δῆλον, ὃ τ' οὐκέτι νόστιμός ἐστι

it is in Apposition to a Nom., and so in Od. 24. 182. Add Il. 9. 493 τὰ φρονέων δ' μοι κτλ., 23. 545 τὰ φρονέων δτι οἱ κτλ.: and also Od. 2. 116 τὰ φρονέουσ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν δ' οἱ κτλ., where the v. l. δ for & has good MS. authority.

In these instances, then, the forms δ, &c. have ceased to be felt as Case-forms, and may properly be termed Conjunctions.

It is worth while pointing out the parallel between this exceptional construction of the Clause with δ &c. and the extension of use which has been observed in the Infinitival Clause (§ 234). At first the Acc. is allowed because the Infinitive serves as logical *Object*: and accordingly the construction is found with Verbs that take a Neut. Pronoun as Acc. of the *thing*, viz. Verbs of *saying, knowing, feeling*, &c. (§ 237, 2). The next stage consists of the use with Impersonal phrases (as ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ), which is also Homeric, and forms the transition to the use of the Infinitival Clause as a *Subject*, and so to the (post-Homeric) use of the Infinitive as an indeclinable Noun. Similarly the Clause with δ or δτι is primarily equivalent to an Accusative of the reason (§ 133), and is extended (but in a few Homeric examples only) to the relation of a Nom. or a Gen.

The three forms δ, δ τε, δτι do not differ perceptibly in meaning. Hence the reduction in Attic to the single δτι is no real loss.

271.] **Form of the Relative Clause.** It is characteristic of the Relative Clause that the Verb *to be* is often omitted: as—

Il. 8. 524 μῦθος δ' ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγίης, εἰρημένος ἐστω,  
and so δσσοι Ἀχαιοί, οἳ περ ἄριστοι, ἢ τις ἀρίστη, δς τ' αἶτιος δς τε καὶ οὐκί, &c. Hence we should write in Il. 11. 535., 20. 500 ἄντυγες αἱ περὶ δέφρον, in Il. 21. 353 ἰχθύες οἳ κατὰ δῖνας.

So with Relative Adverbs; as Od. 10. 176 ὅφρ' ἐν νηὶ θοῇ βρῶσις τε πόσις τε *so long as there is food and drink in the ship*.

This ellipse leads to a peculiar 'Attraction' of the Relative to the Case of the Antecedent, found chiefly with δσος τε in the Odyssey, as—

Od. 10. 113 τὴν δὲ γυναικα | εὖρον δσην τ' ὄρεος κορυφήν,  
which is equivalent to τόσην δση ἐστὶ κορυφή; and so δσον τε, Od. 9. 322, 325., 10. 167, 517., 11. 25; also οἶον τε, Od. 19. 233. The only instance in the Iliad is somewhat different:—

Il. 1. 262 οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον . . οἶον Πειρίβοον κ.τ.λ.

The later Attraction of the Relative into the Case of the Antecedent is not found in Homer: but there are some instances which may be assigned to 'Inverse Attraction,' i. e. in which a Noun is put in the Case of a following Relative: as—

Il. 14. 75 νῆες δσαι πρῶται εἰρύσται ἄγχι θαλάσσης  
ἐλκωμεν κ.τ.λ. (so 6. 396., 10. 416., 14. 371).

Kühner gives, as an example of Attraction, Il. 5. 265 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἥς Τροίη περ εὐρύσσει Ζεὺς δῶκε. But there the Gen. may be partitive: 'the brood from which Zeus gave' (§ 151 e). So Il. 23. 649 (§ 153).

272.] **Double Relative Clauses.** When two or more Clauses connected by καί or δέ are introduced by a single Relative, it need not be construed with any Clause after the first: *e.g.*—

Il. 3. 235 οὓς κεν ἐβ' γνοίην καὶ τ' οὐνομα μυθησαίμην  
and (whose) names I could tell. So, with change of Subject,—

Il. 1. 162 ᾧ ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν  
for which I toiled, and which the sons of the Greeks gave me.

Od. 2. 114 τῷ ὅτεφ' τε πατὴρ κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ  
and who is pleasing to herself. The Relative is not repeated in any Clause of this form; but its place is often taken by another Pronoun (usually an enclitic, or an unemphatic αὐτός):—

Il. 1. 78 ἣ γὰρ ὀτομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, δς μέγα πάντων  
'Αργείων κρατέει καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί.

Od. 9. 19 ἔϊμι' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, δς πᾶσι δόλοισιν  
ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μεν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἴκει.

This idiom, it should be observed, is not peculiar to Homer, but prevails in all periods of Greek (Kühner, II. p. 936).

Successive Relative Clauses not connected by a Conjunction are frequent in Homer. In one or two places the Relative seems to be repeated for the sake of emphasis: Od. 2. 130 δόμων ἀέκουσαν ἀπῶσαι ἥ μ' ἔτεχ' ἥ μ' ἔθρεψε. Sometimes the second of two such Clauses is epexegetic of the first: as—

Il. 5. 403 σχῆτλιος, ὀβριμοεργός, δς οὐκ ὄθετ' αἰσυλα ῥέζων,  
δς τόξοισιν ἔκηδε θεοῦς (so 6. 131., 17. 674, &c.).

Or it marks the return to the main thread of the narrative: as—

Od. 14. 288 δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδώς,  
τρώκτης, δς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἑώργει,  
ὅς μ' ἄγε παρπεπιθῶν κτλ. (cp. Il. 15. 461–3).

Where different Pronouns are used as Relatives in successive Clauses, the reason of the variety may often be traced. Thus in—

Il. 16. 152 ἐν δὲ παρηορήσιν ἀμύμονα Πήδασον ἴει,  
τόν β' ποτ' Ἡετίανος ἐλὼν πόλιν ἤγαγ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
δς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἔπεθ' ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι.

20. 233 δς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
τόν καὶ ἀνερρίψαντο θεοὶ κτλ.

the Clause with τόν gives a single fact or event, that with δς a characteristic or permanent circumstance. Again, we find δς expressing a single fact, while δς τε introduces a general assertion: as Il. 5. 545 Ἀλφειοῦ, δς τ' εὐρὸ ῥέει Πυλῖαν διὰ γαίης, δς τέκετ' Ὀρσίλοχον.

The difference between δς τις and δς τε appears in Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσῶ ἥ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι, ἥ τ' ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων ἀνδράσι μίσσηται. Here ἥ τις insists on the inclusion of all members of the class (any one who —), ἥ τε prepares us for the class characteristics (one of the kind that —).

## CHAPTER XII.

## USES OF THE MOODS.

*Introductory.*

273.] **Classification of Sentences.** Before entering upon an examination of the Homeric uses of the Moods, it will be convenient to give some account of the different kinds of Sentences and Clauses with which we shall have to deal.

**A Simple Sentence**—or the principal Clause in a Complex Sentence—may be purely *Affirmative*. Or, the affirmation may be turned (either by the use of a suitable Pronoun or Particle, or by the tone and manner in which it is uttered) into a question: *i. e.* the Sentence may be *Interrogative*. Or, a predication may be framed in order to be denied: in which case a Particle is added to make the Sentence *Negative*. Or, the Sentence may express *Wish, Purpose, or Command*; and any of these may again be combined with a Negative, so as to express some variety of *Prohibition*. Or, once more, the Sentence may be *Conditional*, *i. e.* may assert, deny, command, &c. subject to a hypothesis; and this hypothesis or condition may be expressed by a subordinate Clause, or by an Adverb or adverbial phrase (*then, in that case, or the like*): or the condition need not be expressed at all, but conveyed by the drift of the context.

**A subordinate Clause** may be so loosely connected with the principal Clause as to be virtually an independent sentence. We have seen that this is generally the case (for example) with Clauses introduced by the Article (§ 262). The Clauses which chiefly concern us now are—

1. Dependent Interrogative Clauses.
2. Prohibitive Clauses ( $\mu\eta$  = *lest*).
3. Relative Clauses proper (introduced by  $\delta\varsigma$ ).
4. Clauses introduced by a Relative Adverb ( $\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\theta\iota$ ,  $\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\delta\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ , &c.; also  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$ ,  $\iota\omega\alpha$ , and  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ ).
5. Clauses introduced by  $\epsilon\iota$  *if*.

This classification is based upon the grammatical *form* of the Clause. If we look to the relation in point of *meaning* between the two Clauses of a Complex Sentence, we find that subordinate Clauses fall into a wholly different set of groups. Thus there are—

- (1) Clauses expressing *cause* or *reason*: as—

II. 2. 274  $\nu\upsilon\nu$  δὲ τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν,  
 δς τὸν λωβητῆρα ἐπεσβόλον ἔσχ' ἀγοράων.

And so in clauses like Il. 4. 157 ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες *since the Trojans have thus shot at you*; 6. 166 οἶον ἄκουσε *at hearing such a thing* (§ 267 *fin.*): as well as in the regular Causal use of  $\delta$ ,  $\delta\tau$ ,  $\delta$  τε (§ 269), and οὐνεκα.

(2) Clauses expressing the *Object* of Verbs of *saying, knowing, thinking, &c.* (i. e. the *fact* or *thing* said, &c.): as—

Il. 2. 365 γνώσῃ ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

Od. 6. 141 ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἦ . . ἦ κτλ.

Il. 18. 125 γνοῖεν δ' ὥς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι.

βοῖ πειρήσεται αἶ κε θέσσω (*tries if it will run*).

(3) Clauses expressing *condition* or *limitation*; which may be introduced—

By  $\delta$ s: as τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι *of the mortals now living*:  $\delta$ s κ' ἐπιδευής *he who is in want*:  $\delta$ s κε θεοῖς ἐπιτελεθταὶ *he who shall obey the gods*:  $\delta$  τι οἱ εἴσαιο *whatever seemed to him*.

By a Relative Adverb: of *manner*, as ὥς ἐπιτέλλω *as I bid*, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω *as I shall speak*; of *time*, ἐπεί, ὅτε, &c., also ἕως and ὅφρα when they mean *so long as*; of *place*, as ὀππόθι πύοτατον πεδίον *where is the richest of the plain*.

By εἰ—the common form of Conditional protasis.

It will be convenient to term all these Clauses 'Conditional'—the word being taken in a wide sense, so as to include every Clause of the nature of a *definition* or *limitation*, as well as those in which actual *priority* in time is implied.

(4) Final Clauses, expressing *end* or *purpose*: introduced—

By  $\delta$ s; as Il. 4. 190 ἐπιθήσει φάρμαχ' ἃ κεν πάυσῃσι *will apply drugs which shall stay*: Il. 14. 107 νῦν δ' εἴη  $\delta$ s . . ἐνίσποι *may there be one who may tell*.

By ὥς, ὅπως, ἵνα—the ordinary forms.

By ἕως and ὅφρα, when they mean *till such time that*: to which we must add εἰς  $\delta$  *until*, which (like οὐνεκα) is practically a single word.

By εἰ: as Il. 1. 420-εἴμ' αὐτὴ . . αἶ κε πίθηται *I go in the hope that he will listen*.

By μή *lest* (= ἵνα μή).

It is important to observe that the several groups of Clauses now pointed out are generally indistinguishable in respect of grammatical form; so that Clauses of the same form (introduced by the same Pronoun or Particle, and with a Verb of the same Tense and Mood) often bear entirely different meanings. This will be shown in detail in the course of the present chapter; meanwhile a few instances may be noted as illustrations.

1. Final Clauses introduced by  $\delta$ s are in the same form as the Conditional or limiting Clauses such as  $\delta$ s κε τύχη, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃς, &c.



2. The regular Final Clauses with *ὥς* and *ὥπως* are in the same form as the limiting *ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἶπω* as *I shall speak*, *ὥπως ἐθέλῃσιν* as *he pleases*, &c.

3. Clauses with *μή* may either be Final (when *μή*=*ἵνα μή*), or Object-Clauses after a Verb of *fearing* (*δίδωμι* *μή*).

4. Clauses with *ἕως* and *ὅφρα* may either be Conditional (when the Conjunction means *so long as*), or Final (when it means *until*).

5. The Final Clause with *εἰ* is indistinguishable in form from the ordinary Conditional Protasis: compare *αἰ κε πύθῃται* to see if he will listen with Il. 24. 592 *μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμανέμεν αἰ κε πύθῃται* be not angry in case you hear.

From these examples it is evident that in this as in so many parts of Greek grammar the most important differences of meaning are not expressed by corresponding distinctions of form. The Pronoun or Conjunction which connects the subordinate with the principal Clause generally leaves the real relation between the two Clauses to be gathered from the context.

These different kinds of Sentence are distinguished to some extent by means of Particles which it will be convenient to mention here, reserving a fuller account of them for a later chapter:

(1) Strong Affirmation is often expressed by *ἦ*, and the same Particle is also employed in *Interrogation* (especially with ironical force).

(2) Negation is expressed by *οὐκ* (*οὐ*, *οὐδ*), Prohibition by *μή*.

(3) The Particle *εἰ*, in its ordinary use, marks a *Conditional Protasis*, i. e. a Clause stating a condition or supposition.

(4) The Particles *ἄν* and *κἔν* mark a predication as *Conditional*, or dependent upon a condition. It is not necessary that the condition should be expressed by a Clause with *εἰ*, or even that it should be distinctly stated in the context. It is enough (as we shall see) if the predication (assertion, denial, purpose, command, &c.) is made in view of some *limitation* to particular conditions or circumstances.

#### *The Subjunctive—in Principal Clauses.*

274.] The Subjunctive in a Simple Sentence, or in the Principal Clause of a Complex Sentence, may be said in general to express either the *will* of the speaker or his sense of the *necessity* of a future event. Like the English *must* and *shall*, by which it may usually be rendered, it is intermediate in meaning between the Imperative and the Future. Sometimes (as in the 'Hortatory' *τομεν* let us go, or in Prohibitions with *μή*) it is virtually an Imperative; sometimes it is an emphatic or passionate Future. These varieties of use will be best understood if treated with reference to the different kinds of sentence—Affirmative, Interrogative, Negative, Prohibitive, &c.—in which they occur.

275.] In *Affirmative* sentences the force of the Subj. depends in great measure on the Person used.

(a) In the First Person the Subj. supplies the place of an Imperative, so far as such a thing is conceivable: that is to say, it expresses what the speaker *resolves* or *insists* upon doing; *e.g.*

Il. 9. 121 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω  
(where the list of gifts immediately follows).

Od. 2. 222 σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖξω  
πολλὰ μάλ' ὅσσα ἔοικε, καὶ ἀνέρι μητέρα δώσω  
(the Subj. expresses the decisive action to be taken by Telemachus, viz. to acknowledge his father's death: the Fut. δώσω expresses what would follow as a matter of course).

12. 383 δύσομαι εἰς Ἀῖδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω  
(said by way of a threat).

Hence after a Clause containing an Imperative the Subj. is used to show what the speaker will do *as his part*; as—

Il. 6. 340 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύνω  
*wait, and I will put on my armour.*

22. 416 σχέσθε φίλοι καὶ μ' οἶον ἔασατε κηδόμενόν περ  
ἔξελθόντα πόληος ἰκέσθ' ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
λίσσωμ' ἀνέρα τοῦτον κτλ.

450 δεῦτε, δύνω μοι ἐπεσθον, ἴδωμ' ὅτω' ἔργα τέτυκται.

So after the phrases ἀλλ' ἄγε, εἰ δ' ἄγε, as Od. 6. 126 ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς πειρήσομαι ἢ δὲ ἴδωμαι: 9. 37 εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ νόστον ἔμὸν πολυκηδέ' ἐνίσπω. On the phrase εἰ δ' ἄγε see § 321.

To show that a purpose is *conditional* upon something else being done, the Subj. may be qualified by the Particle *κέν*:

Il. 1. 137 εἰ δέ κέ μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι  
*if they do not give her, I will (in that case) &c.*

14. 235 πείθευ, ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι εἰδέω χάριν  
*obey, and I will be thankful.*

16. 129 δύσεο τεύχεα θᾶσσον, ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω.

Od. 17. 417 τῷ σε χρὴ δόμεναι καὶ λώϊον ἢ ἐπερ ἄλλοι  
σίτου· ἐγὼ δέ κέ σε κλείω κτλ.

So too Il. 1. 183 τὴν μὲν . . πέμψω, ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα *I will send her (as required) and then I will take Briseis*—the Subj. expressing the speaker's own threatened action, and *κέν* marking that it is the counterpart to what is imposed upon him.

This use of *κέν* with the Subj. is not found except in Homer.

It appears to be the rule that *κέν* is used when the Clause with the Subj. is introduced by *δέ*, but not when it follows without a connecting Particle.

The First Person Plural is similarly used, as Od. 3. 17 ἀλλ' ἄγε

νῦν ἰθὺς κίε Νέστορος ἵπποδάμοιο· εἶδομεν κτλ. And so in the common 'Hortatory' Subj., as *φεύγωμεν let us fly*.

(b) A Subj. of the Second and Third Person in an Affirmative sentence is usually an emphatic Future, sometimes approaching the force of an Imperative. The only example of a *pure* Subj. (*i. e.* without *ἄν* or *κεν*) in this use appears to be the phrase *καί ποτέ τις εἴησι and men shall say* (Il. 6. 459, 479., 7. 87). With *ἄν* we find—

- Il. 1. 205 *ἥς ὑπεροπλήησι τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὄληται*  
(in effect a threat of what the speaker will do).  
22. 505 *νῦν δ' ἄν πολλὰ πάθῃσι φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἁμαρτῶν*  
*now he must suffer much &c.*

With *κέν* the examples are rather more numerous :—

- Od. 1. 396 *τῶν κέν τις τὸδ' ἔχῃσιν, ἐπεὶ θάνε διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς*  
*let one of them have this (emphatic assent).*  
4. 80 *ἀνδρῶν δ' ἣ κέν τις μοι ἐρίσσεται ἡὲ καὶ οὐκί.*  
10. 507 *ἦσθαι, τὴν δέ κέ τοι πνοιῇ Βορέας φέρῃσι*  
*sit still, and her (the ship) the breath of Boreas*  
*shall bear along (solemn promise).*  
Il. 9. 701 *ἀλλ' ἣ τοι κείνον μὲν ἔδασομεν, ἣ κεν ἦσιν*  
*ἣ κεν μένῃ (let him go or let him stay): cp. Od. 14. 183.*

Note that where two alternatives are not expressed by the same Mood, the Subj. gives the alternative on which the stress is laid :

- Il. 11. 431 *σήμερον ἢ δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξεται . .*  
*ἢ κεν ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείσιν ἀπὸ θυμὸν δλέσσης.*  
18. 308 *στήσομαι, ἣ κε φέρῃσι μέγα κράτος ἣ κε φεροίμην*  
*I shall stand firm, let him gain the victory (= though*  
*he shall gain) or I may gain it.*  
Od. 4. 692 *ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρῃσι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίῃ*  
*a king will (is sure to) hate one, he may love another.*

A curious combination of Opt. and Subj. is found in—

- Il. 24. 654 *αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,*  
*καὶ κεν ἀνάβλησις λύσιος νεκροῖο γένηται*  
*he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and then there must be a*  
*delay in the ransoming of the dead.* The Subj. is used to express the certainty of the further consequence, as though the hypothetical case (*αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι*) had actually occurred.

276.] In *Negative* Clauses properly so called (*i. e.* distinguished from Prohibitions) the Subj. is an emphatic Future. We find—

(a) The pure Subj. (expressing a general denial) :

- Il. 1. 262 *οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἶδον ἀνέρας, οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι*  
*I have not seen—I never shall see.*

Il. 7. 197 οὐ γάρ τις με βλή γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται  
*no man shall chase me against my will.*

15. 349 οὐδέ νυ τὸν γε  
 γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα.

Od. 16. 437 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται  
*there is not, there never will or can be, the man  
 who &c. (so 6. 201).*

24. 29 μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὗ τις ἀλεύεται (cp. 14. 400).

(β) The Subj. with *ἄν*:

Il. 3. 54 οὐκ ἄν τοι χαλίσμη κίθαρις κτλ.  
*be sure that then your lyre will not avail you.*

11. 386 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,  
 οὐκ ἄν τοι χαλίσμησι βιὸς κτλ.

The reason for *ἄν* in these places is obvious: in the following instances it seems to be used because there is a *contrast*:—

Il. 2. 488 πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μυνθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω  
*but the multitude I cannot declare or tell by name*

Od. 6. 221 ἀντην δ' οὐκ ἄν ἔγωγε λοέσσομαι (here *ἀντην* is an  
 emphatic limiting word: cp. Od. 4. 240., 11.  
 328, 517).

277.] In *Interrogative* sentences the Subj. generally expresses *necessity*, submission to some command or power; as Il. 10. 62  
*αὐθι μένω . . ἦε θέω κτλ. am I to remain here, or am I to run &c. ;*  
 Od. 15. 509 πῇ γὰρ ἐγὼ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω; τευ δῶμαθ' ἴκωμαι κτλ.  
*where am I to go? to whose house, &c. : Od. 5. 465 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τί  
 πάθω; τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται; what am I to suffer? what is to  
 become of me? And rhetorically, with an implied negation—*

Il. 18. 188 πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω μετὰ μῶλον; ἔχουσι δὲ τεύχε' ἐκείνοι  
*how can I go into the battle? They have my arms.*

Il. 1. 150 πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείσεται Ἀχαιῶν;

One or two passages given by Delbrück under this head should be classed as examples of Subordinate Clauses. A transitional instance may be seen in Od. 22. 166 σὺ δέ μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες, ἥ μιν ἀποκτείνω . . ἦε σοὶ ἐνθάδ' ἄγω κτλ. *tell me, am I to kill him, or bring him here?* Here the Clause may be treated as a distinct sentence; but this can hardly be said of Il. 9. 618 ἅμα δ' ἦοι φαίνο-  
*μένων φρεσσόμεθ' ἥ κε νεώμεθ' κτλ.,* because the Clause does not express an actual but an intended future deliberation. Still less Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ δ' ἐμῇ δίχα θυμὸς  
*ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει ἢ αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμοί τε μένη κτλ.,* where the form of expression is changed from the First to the Third Person (as in *oratio obliqua*). These are therefore examples of the Dependent Deliberative Subj. (§ 280), and rank with the Subordinate Clauses that furnish an Object to Verbs of *saying, knowing, thinking, &c.*

278.] With the *Prohibitive* Particle *μή* the Subj. has the character of an Imperative. We may distinguish however—

(a) Direct forbidding, usually with the First Personal Plural (answering to the Hortatory Subj.), and the Second Person Sing.; sometimes also with the Third Person, as—

Il. 4. 37 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις· μὴ τοῦτό γε νεῖκος ὀπίσσω  
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ἔρισμα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται  
*I do not want this to become a quarrel.*

Od. 22. 213 Μέντορ, μὴ σ' ἐπέεσσι παραιπεπίθησιν Ὀδυσσεύς  
*see that Ulysses does not persuade you.*

And with the First Person, as Il. 1. 26 μὴ σε κικέλω *let me not catch you*; Il. 21. 475 μὴ σε ἀκούσω.

(b) Fear, warning, suggestion of danger, &c.; e. g.—

Il. 2. 195 μὴ τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ (*I fear he will &c.*).

5. 487 μὴ πως ὥς ἀψῖσι λίνου ἀλόντε πανάγρου  
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε  
*see that you do not become a prey &c.*

22. 123 μὴ μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι λών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει.

Od. 5. 356 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, μὴ τίς μοι ὑφαίησιν δόλον αὐτῇ  
ἀθανάτων (*I hope some god is not weaving &c.*).

18. 334 μὴ τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρου ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστῇ  
*see that a better than Irus does not rise up.*

The construction is the same in principle when a Clause of this kind follows a Verb of *fearing*; and it is sometimes a question whether the Clause is subordinate or not. Thus the older editors (including Wolf) punctuated Il. 11. 470 *δεῖδω, μὴ τι πάθῃσι*—as though *δεῖδω* were parenthetical. It is more probable, however, that in such cases the Clause with *μὴ* has acquired a subordinate character, serving as Object to the Verb (*thing feared*); see § 281.

On the other hand, Clauses with *μὴ* are often explained by supposing an ellipse of a Verb of *fearing*: *μὴ ῥέξῃ* for *δεῖδω μὴ ῥέξῃ*. This is open to the general objection that it explains a Simple sentence by supposing a Complex one: and moreover it gives a different account of the formation of Clauses which are essentially similar. For the Clause *μὴ ῥέξῃ* *I will not have him do* (hence *I fear he may do*) is identical in form with *μὴ ῥέξῃς* *I will not have you do*.

Similar questions may arise regarding the Final Clauses which are formed in the same way as the Prohibitive Clauses now in question. Thus in Il. 1. 586–7 *τέτλαθι, μήτηρ ἐμή, . . μὴ σε . . ἴδωμαι* we may translate *endure, mother; let me not see you &c.*, or (bringing the two Clauses more closely together) *endure, lest I see you &c.* No clear line can be drawn between independent and subordinate Clauses: for in this as in other cases the complex Sentence has been formed gradually, by the agglutination of simple Clauses.

The combination *μὴ οὐ*—prohibition of a negative—is extremely rare in Homer. In Il. 5. 233 *μὴ τῷ μὲν δέισαντε ματή-σετον οὐδ' ἐθέλητον*, and Il. 16. 128 *μὴ δὴ νῆας ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλωνται*, the Particles are in distinct Clauses. There is no clear instance of *μὴ οὐ* in an independent sentence. It occurs in a Final Clause, Il. 1. 28 *μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη κτλ.*, Il. 24. 569: and after *δεῖδω* in Il. 10. 39 *δεῖδω μὴ οὐ τίς τοι κτλ.*

It is well known that the *Present* Subj. is not used as an Imperative of Prohibition (with μή). The rule is absolute in Homer for the Second Person. The Third Person is occasionally used when *fear* (not *command*) is expressed; the instances are,—Od. 5. 356 (quoted above); 15. 19 μή νύ τι . . φέρεται; 16. 87 μή μιν κερτομέωσιν. The restriction does not apply to the 'Hortatory' use of the First Person Plur., as Il. 13. 292 μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα. We shall return to this subject in connexion with the corresponding rule which forbids or restricts the use of μή with the Aorist Imperative (§ 327).

279.] **Homeric and Attic uses.** In Attic the use of the Subj. in independent Clauses is either Hortatory, or Deliberative, or Prohibitive. Thus the use with ἄν (§ 275, *a*), the use in *Affirmation* (§ 275, *b*), and the *Negative* uses (§ 276) do not survive.

*The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses.*

280.] **Clauses with ἤε—ἤε.** Doubt or deliberation between alternative courses of action is expressed by Clauses of the form ἤε (ἦ)—ἤε (ἦ) with the Subj., dependent on a Verb such as φράζομαι, μερμηρίζω, &c., or an equivalent phrase: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,  
ἦ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν  
ὄρσομεν, ἦ φιλότῃτα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι βάλωμεν.

Od. 19. 524 ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξα θυμὸς ὀρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
ἦ ἐ μένω . . ἦ ἤδη ἄμ' ἔπωμαι κτλ. (cp. 22. 167).

So, of doubt as to which of two possible results of the speaker's action will be realised:—

Il. 13. 327 εἶδομεν, ἤε τῷ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν, ἤε τις ἡμῖν.

This form is also found (but rarely) expressing, not the speaker's own deliberation, but that of a third person:

Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ δ' ἐμῇ δόξα θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει,  
ἦ αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμοὶ τε μένη καὶ δῶμα κομίζῃ, κτλ.

The speaker (Telemachus) here expresses himself from his mother's point of view, only putting the Third Person for the First. So of mere doubt as to a result—

Il. 16. 243 εἴσεται ἦ ῥα καὶ οἶος ἐπίσσηται πολεμίζειν  
ἡμέτερος θεράπων, ἦ οἱ κτλ.

where ἐπίσσηται (*will prove to know*) is used nearly as the Latin Subj. in Indirect Questions. An example after a *Past Tense* is found in Il. 16. 646 ff.: see § 298 *fin*.

The accentuation ἤε (ἦ) in the second of the two Clauses is supported by the unanimous testimony of the ancient grammarians, and is now generally adopted.

The MSS. nearly always have  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\acute{\eta}$  in both places: and so the older editors wrote.

281.] **Clauses with  $\mu\acute{\eta}$ .** These are mainly of two kinds:

(1) Clauses following a Verb that expresses the *fear* of the speaker, as  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\iota\ I\ fear\ that\ he\ will\ suffer$ . Here the Clause with  $\mu\acute{\eta}$ , although of the same form as the independent Clauses given in § 278, is practically subordinate, and serves as *Object* to the Verb. The Verb, it is to be observed, is always in a Present Tense, and in the First Person: *i.e.* it is the speaker's *own present* fear that is expressed.

Such a Clause may also be Object to a Verb of *knowing*, &c., as—

Il. 10. 100  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \delta'\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\alpha\ \eta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota,\ \o\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\ \iota\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$   
 $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\ \nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota.$

The fear expressed by  $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\omega\varsigma$  &c. is subordinated (or on the way to be subordinated) to  $\iota\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ : *we do not know* (said apprehensively) *whether they will not be eager &c.* So Od. 24. 491  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \iota\delta\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\eta\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\alpha\ \delta\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ some\ one\ go\ out\ and\ look\ whether\ they\ are\ not\ near$ . And in the Prohibitive use—

Il. 5. 411  $\phi\rho\alpha\varsigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\ \delta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\ \sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota,$   
 $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\eta\nu\ \kappa\tau\lambda.\ let\ him\ see\ to\ it\ that\ no\ one\ &c.,\ lest\ &c.$

Od. 22. 367  $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ |\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \delta\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota.$

(2) Final Clauses: the Verb of the principal Clause being—

(a) an Imperative, or equivalent form: as—

Il. 3. 414  $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \mu'\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon,\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \chi\omega\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega.$

(β) a Present or Future in the First Person: as—

Od. 6. 273  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \phi\acute{\eta}\mu\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \delta\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$   
 $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\eta.$

In one place the governing Verb shows that the purpose expressed is not the speaker's own:

Il. 13. 648  $\acute{\alpha}\psi\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \kappa\eta\rho'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu,$   
 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\alpha\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta.$

Here (if the reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  is right) the poet describes the fear as though it were present to himself (see however § 298 *fin.*).

The two groups of Clauses under discussion agree in using only the *pure* Subj. (not the Subj. with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ). The reason probably is that the Prohibitive form as such expresses a *general*, unqualified, fear or aversion.

282.] **Relative Clauses.** These fall into the two groups of Final Clauses and Conditional or limiting Clauses.

**Final Relative Clauses** generally follow a Clause which conveys an expression of *will*; and the reference to a future occasion is shown in most cases by the use of  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ : *e.g.*—

Il. 9. 165 ἀλλ' ἄγετε κλητοὺς δτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
ἐλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην.

24. 119 δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ φερέμεν τά κε θυμὸν ἰήνη.

Od. 13. 399 ἀμφὶ δὲ λαῖφος  
ἔσσω, δ κε στυγέσιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα.

With ellipsis of the antecedent Pronoun—

Il. 7. 171 κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλαχθε διαμπερὲς ὅς κε λάχῃσι.

In other instances the notion of *End* is less distinctly conveyed, and the Subj. need only have the emphatic Future meaning, as in independent sentences (§ 275, *b*):

Od. 10. 538 ἔνθα τοι αὐτίκα μάντις ἐλεύσεται, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,  
ὅς κέν τοι εἴπησι κτλ. (so 4. 389., 11. 135).

4. 756 ἀλλ' ἔτι πού τις ἐπέσεται ὅς κεν ἔχησι κτλ.

The prophetic tone prevails in these places: cp. the threat in Il. 21. 126 μέλαιναν φρίχ' ὑπαίξει ἰχθύς, ὅς κε φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν.

The chief examples of a *pure* Subj. in a Final Clause are—

Il. 3. 286 τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' εἰκεν,  
ἣ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

Od. 18. 334 μή τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρος ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστῇ,  
ὅς τίς σ' . . δώματος ἐκπέμψῃσι.

The want of *ἄν* or *κέν* is doubtless owing to the *vagueness* of the future event contemplated, *i. e.* the wish to exclude all reference to a particular occasion.

Finally, this form is sometimes used after a Negative principal Clause—where there is necessarily no *actual* purpose:—

Od. 2. 42 οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἐκλυον ἐρχομένοιο,  
ἣν χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἶπω, ὅτε πρότερός γε πυθολίμην.

6. 201 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ . . ὅς κεν . . ἱκηται (v. l. ἱκοίτο).

Il. 23. 345 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς κέ σ' ἔλησι κτλ.

and without *κέν*, Il. 21. 103 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγη (v. l. φύγοι). The Subj. is doubtless used in order to retain the positiveness of tone which is given by *οὐ* and *οὐκ ἄν* with the Subj. in Simple sentences (*οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς φύγη* = *οὐ τις φύγη*).

The greater prevalence of these Clauses in the *Odyssey* is worth notice. Of Delbrück's examples (Synt. Forsch. I. pp. 130–132)—24 in number, excluding repetitions—17 are from the *Odyssey*: and of the group which he describes as Subjunctives of Willing with *κέν*, eleven are from the *Odyssey*, two from the *Iliad* (9. 166., 24. 119). In Attic the idiom only survives in such phrases as *ἔχει δ τι εἶπῃ he has something to say* (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, § 65, 1, N. 3).

It is to be noted that the Article (*ὁ ἡ τό*) is occasionally used as a Relative to introduce these Clauses. This is in harmony with the quasi-independent character which belongs to them.



283.] **Conditional Relative Clauses.** The numerous Clauses which fall under this heading may be divided again into two classes, distinguished by the presence or absence of *ἄν* or *κέν*.

(a) The *pure Subj.* is used when the speaker wishes to avoid reference to particular cases, especially to any *future* occasion or state of things. Hence the governing Verb is generally a Present or Perfect Indicative: examples are—

Il. 1. 554 τὰ φράσαι, ἅσθ' ἐθέλησθα (*whatever you choose*).

3. 109 οἷς δ' ὁ γέρων μετήσιν, ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω  
λεύσσει (a general reflection or maxim).

14. 81 βέλτερον δς φεύγων προφύγη κακὸν ἢ ἐάλωη.

Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται  
ἀνέρι δς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπιψαύη πραπίδεςσι.

In *Similes* this usage is regular; as—

Il. 12. 299 ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, δς τ' ἐπιδευῆς  
δηρὸν ξη κρειῶν (cp. 5. 5, 138., 10. 185).

Od. 13. 31 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ δόρποιο λυαίεται, ᾧ τε πανῆμαρ  
νειὸν ἀν' ἔλκητον βόε οἶνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον.

Where the principal Verb refers to a future event, and *ἄν* or *κέν* is not used, the intention is to make the reference quite general and sweeping; so Il. 13. 234, Od. 20. 335: and cp. Il. 5. 33 ὀπποτέρουσι πατὴρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξῃ *to whichever* (now or at any time) *Zeus shall give the victory*.

Forms of the 3 Sing. Plqpf. are sometimes given by the MSS. and older editions in Relative Clauses of this kind: as πεφύκει (Il. 4. 483), ἰστίκει (Il. 17. 435), &c. These were corrected by Hermann (Opusc. II. 44), reading πεφύκει, &c.: see La Roche on Il. 4. 483.

(β) The Subj. with *κέν* indicates *limitation* to particular circumstances: especially limitation or reference to the future. Hence it is used (with the few exceptions just mentioned) when the governing Verb is a Future, or in a Mood that implies futurity, viz. an Imperative, Subjunctive or Optative: as—

Il. 1. 139 ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὅν κεν ἴκωμαι.

Od. 2. 25 κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μεν, ἴθακήσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἴπω.

So after an Infinitive used as an Imperative, or expressing consequence, fitness, obligation, or the like:

Od. 1. 316 δῶρον δ' ὅττι κέ μοι δοῦναι φίλον ἦτορ ἀνώγη,  
αὔτις ἀνερχομένῃ δόμεναι.

Il. 6. 227 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔμοι Τρῶες κλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,  
κτείνειν ὅν κε θεός γε πόρῃ κτλ.

19. 228 ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν ὅς κε θάνῃσι.

Od. 10. 73 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποτέμπειν  
ἄνδρα τὸν ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθῃται μακάρεσσιν.

And on the same principle after a Verbal in -τος :

Il. 1. 527 οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον ὃ τι κεν κτλ.

3. 65 οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ . . ὅσσα κεν κτλ.

The reference to the future may be evident from the context :

Od. 6. 158 κείνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἰκόνδ' ἀγάγεται (cp. 15. 21).

In certain forms of expression the use of κέν does not imply that actual particular events or occasions are contemplated. The following cases may be noticed :—

1. In a simile the Verb in the first Clause—the Clause which gives the main characteristic of the object to be described—is usually a pure Subj. ; but the subsequent Clauses by which the description is carried on may take κέν. Thus—

Il. 14. 414 ὥς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ πληγῆς πατρός Διὸς ἐξέρπη δρῦς  
. . τὸν δ' οὐ περ ἔχει θράσος ὅς κεν ἴσθται.

21. 22 ὥς δ' ὑπὸ δελφίνος . .

. . μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὃν κε λάβῃσι.

The reason of this is that when the supposition has once been made, it ceases to be general or typical, and is treated as a particular case about to happen. The principle will be further exemplified in the use of ἄν and κέν with Conjunctions.

2. When an opposition is made between two groups, especially between two subdivisions of a class, the tendency is to regard one or both as *definite* or *particular*. The principle is the same as in the use of the Article in the form οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ meaning *some—others*. Two indefinite groups, because thought of in contrast, are imagined as definite. For example—

Il. 9. 508 ὅς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κόυρας Διὸς ἄσπον λούσας,  
τὸν δὲ μέγ' ἄνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο·  
ὅς δέ κ' ἀνήνεται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποιέπῃ,  
λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ.

Od. 19. 564 τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,  
οἱ β' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράντα φέροντες·  
οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κερῶν ἔλθωσι κτλ.

So Il. 11. 409., 19. 167., 23. 322, Od. 14. 126 : cp. the uses with ὅτε (§ 289, 2, β).

3. When a Singular Relative is used after a Plural antecedent, the Subj. may take κέν : apparently because with the change of Number we pass from a general description to a particular instance : *e.g.*—

Il. 3. 278 καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας  
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπιόρκον ὁμόςσῃ  
whoever (to take a particular case) shall &c.

Od. 15. 421 τὰ τε φρένας ἡπεροπεύει  
θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἡ κ' εὐέργος ἔσθι.

So Il. 16. 621., 19. 260, Od. 7. 33., 15. 345., 20. 295.

4. The κέν in the following cases may be due to the contrast implied by the preceding ἄλλος :

Od. 8. 32 οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος, ὅτις κ' ἐμὰ δάμαθ' ἵκηται (so 10. 327).  
15. 69 νεμεσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ . . ὅς κ' κτλ.

It must be remembered that we cannot be sure of the text in all the passages now in question. Such forms (*e.g.*) as ὅς κε and ὅς τε might easily be interchanged. This may be the case in some of the instances to which the foregoing explanations do not apply : as Il. 1. 218., 9. 313, 615., 24. 335, Od. 4. 196.

(γ) The use of *ἄν* in the Clauses of this kind is very rare. In the two places Il. 8. 10 and 19. 230 the reference to the future is plain. The remaining instance is Od. 21. 293 *ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους βλάπτει, ὃς ἄν κτλ.*, where either of the last two explanations noticed in the preceding note would be applicable.

284.] **The Relative Adverbs.** The most important are, the Adverbs of *manner*, *ὡς* and *ὅπως*; *ἵνα*, originally an Adverb of *place* (= *where*); and the Adverbs of *time*, *ὄφρα*, *ἕως*, *εἰς δ*, *ὅτε*, and *ὁπότε*, *εὔτε*, *ἥμος*. It will be best to take these words separately.

285.] *ὡς, ὅπως*:

(1) Final Clauses with *ὡς* or *ὅπως* and the Subj. generally convey the aim or purpose of something which the speaker himself does, or desires to be done: *as*—

Il. 1. 32 *ἀλλ' ἴθι μὴ μ' ἐρέθιζε, σωτέρος ὥς κε νήηαι.*

7. 293 *ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι,  
ὡς σύ τ' εὐφρήνῃς πάντας κτλ.*

(2) With Verbs that by their own meaning imply aim or purpose a Clause of this kind becomes an *Object Clause*: thus—

Il. 4. 66 *πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κε Τρῶες . . ἄρξωσι κτλ.*

9. 112 *φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπίθωμεν.*

Od. 1. 76 *ἡμεῖς δ' οἶδε περιφραζώμεθα πάντες  
νόστον, ὅπως ἔλθῃσι (how he is to come).*

3. 19 *λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ὅπως νημερτέα εἴπη  
entreat him so that he shall speak (i. e. to speak).*

Here the subordinate Clause expresses the *thing* tried, thought about, &c., rather than a distinct consequence (such as we have *e.g.* in Od. 8. 100 *ἀέθλων πειρηθῶμεν πάντων, ὥς χ' ὁ ξείνος ἐνίσπη οἴσι φίλοισι*).

The instances in which the governing Verb is not an Imperative, or akin to one—and consequently the purpose expressed is not the *speaker's own*—are chiefly *Object Clauses*: *e.g.*—

Od. 1. 205 *φράσσεται ὥς κε νήηται he will devise how he is to return* (cp. 2. 368., 14. 329).

Il. 1. 558 *τῇ σ' ὅτω κατανεῦσαι ἐπήτυμον ὥς Ἀχιλῆα  
τιμήσῃς, ὀλέσῃς δὲ κτλ. (hast nodded to the effect &c.).*

The text is uncertain in Od. 2. 368 *οἱ δέ τοι αὐτίκ' ἴοντι κατὰ φράσσονται ὀπίσσω ὥς κε δόλφ φθίῃς* (al. *φθίῃς*). The true reading may be *φθίῃς*, an Opt. formed like *δύῃ* (§ 83, 1). There is a similar doubt as to *σόφ* and *σόφς* (Il. 9. 424, 681): see § 83 (note).

Regarding *ἄν* and *κέν* observe that in Final and Object Clauses after *ὡς* the Subj. with *κέν* is the commonest, occurring 32 times, while the Subj. with *ἄν* and the pure Subj. occur each 8 times.

After ὅπως, which has a more indefinite meaning (*in some such manner that*), the pure Subj. occurs 7 times, the Subj. with κέν twice (Od. I. 296., 4. 545).

(3) Conditional or limiting Clauses : *e. g.*—

Il. 16. 83 πείθεο δ' ὥς τοι ἐγὼ μύθον τέλος ἐν φρεσὶ θείω.

Here the Subj. is pure; but we have also the formula ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἶπω πειθώμεθα, which refers more definitely to a speech about to follow. So ὅπως ἐθέλῃσι *as he pleases*.

The use of ὥς and ὥς τε in *similes* belongs to this head : *e. g.*

Il. 5. 161 ὥς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορῶν ἐξ αὐχένα ἄξῃ κτλ.

11. 67 οἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἀμνηστῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν κτλ.

In this use, as in the corresponding use of the Relative (§ 283), the Subj. is always pure, the case supposed being not a particular one actually expected, but a typical or recurring one.

Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 161) makes the curious observation that if the simile begins (as in the second instance quoted) with a Demonstrative denoting the subject of the comparison, then the Adverb used is always ὥς τε. This rule appears to be without exception.

286.] Ἰνα is used in Final Clauses only. With a Subj. it usually expresses the speaker's own purpose; even in—

Od. 2. 306 ταῦτα δέ τοι μάλα πάντα τελευτήσουσιν Ἀχαιοί,  
νῆα καὶ ἐξάλτους ἐρέτας, ἵνα θάσσον ἴκηαι κτλ.

the meaning is 'I undertake that the Achæans will do this for you.' Exceptions (out of about 80 instances) are : Il. 1. 203 ἥ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ *is it that you may see &c.* : Il. 9. 99., 12. 435., 24. 43, Od. 8. 580., 10. 24., 13. 327.

An Object Clause with ἵνα is perhaps to be recognised in—

Od. 3. 327 λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ἵνα νημερτὲς ἐνίστη

if the reading is right. The line may possibly be an incorrect repetition of 3. 19.

The pure Subj. only is used with ἵνα, except in Od. 12. 156 ἵνα εἰδότες ἥ κε θάνωμεν ἥ κεν κτλ., where the κε—κεν may be due to the antithesis of the Clauses (§ 283, n. 2). But some MSS. have ἥδὲ θάνωμεν.

287.] ὅφρα is sometimes Final, sometimes Conditional.

(1) In Final Clauses, ὅφρα either retains a distinctly *temporal* force—meaning *so long till, to the time when*,—or passes into the general meaning *to the end that*. Thus we have—

(a) ὅφρα = *until (as shall be)*, used with ἂν or κέν, as—

Il. 1. 509 τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὅφρ' ἂν Ἀχαιοὶ  
νῖον ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὀφέλλωσιν τέ ἐ τιμῇ.

22. 192 ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἔμπεδον, ὅφρα κεν εὕρῃ.

With this meaning the pure Subj. is found in Il. 1. 82 ἔχει κότον ὄφρα τελέσῃ *he keeps his anger until he accomplishes it*—a general reflexion: also in Il. 12. 281 (in a simile).

(b) ὄφρα = *to the end that*, used with the pure Subj., rarely with ἄν or κέν. The transition to this meaning may be seen in—

Il. 6. 258 ἀλλὰ μὲν', ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιγδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω  
*stay till I bring (=giving me time to bring).*

(2) Clauses with ὄφρα may be classed as Conditional when it means *so long as*; e. g.—

Il. 4. 345 ἐνθα φιλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἐδμεναι . . ὄφρ' ἐθέλητον.

Od. 2. 123 τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βλοτόν τε τεδν καὶ κτήματ' ἔδονται,  
ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχη νόον.

The use of ἄν or κέν in these Clauses is governed by the same rule as with ὅς, viz. it is used when the reference is to the future, and is not expressly meant to be general (as Il. 23. 47 ὄφρα ζωῶσι μετέλω). The combination of ἄν and κέν, in the form ὄφρ' ἄν μὲν κεν, occurs in three places (Il. 11. 202, Od. 5. 361., 6. 259).

Where two actions are represented as simultaneous, the general sense of the context may show whether one of them is to be regarded as the condition of the other. In Il. 6. 112 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μῆσασθε δὲ θοοίριδος ἀλεκτῆς, ὄφρ' ἄν ἐγὼ βείω (cp. 8. 375., 17. 186, Od. 13. 412., 19. 17) the Clause seems to mean *until I go*, i. e. *long enough for me to go*. We may compare the independent Subj. following an Imperative, as in ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύω (§ 275). Delbrück however counts Il. 6. 112, &c. as Conditional (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 170).

288.] ἕως and εἰς ὅ, used with the Subj., always take κέν. The meaning *until*, with implied purpose, is the usual one: as—

Il. 3. 290 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα κούρης  
αὔθι μένων, εἰὸς κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχείω.

9. 48 νῶϊ δ' ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε μαχησόμεθ' εἰς ὃ κε τέκμων  
'Ιλίου εὕρωμεν.

The Conditional meaning is only found in the recurring expression εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμὴ ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη (Il. 9. 609., 10. 89) = *so long as I have life*.

289.] ὅτε, ὁπότε :

(1) The instances in which Clauses with ὅτε and ὁπότε may be counted as Final Clauses are very few. They are—

(a) with the pure Subj.,

Il. 21. 111 ἔσσεται ἡ ἡὺς ἢ δεῖλη ἡ μέσον ἡμαρ,  
ὁπότε τις καὶ ἐμείοι Ἄρει ἐκ θυμόν ἔλῃται.

So Il. 19. 336 ἐμὴν ποτιδέμενον αἰεὶ λυγρὴν ἀγγελίην, ὅτ' ἀποφθιμένοιο πύθεται *waiting for the message when he shall hear &c.*, i. e. 'waiting for the time when the news shall come that &c.'

(β) with *ἄν* or *κέν* :

Il. 4. 164 *ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ* κτλ. (6. 448., 8. 373). The use of *ἄν* gives definiteness to the expectation, as though a particular time were contemplated. Cp. also Il. 6. 454 *ὅσσον σεῦ (μέλει), ὅτε κέν τις . . δακρυόεσσαν ἄγῃται* as *I am concerned for you (in respect of the time) when &c.*

It is obvious that in these places the Clause is not strictly Final, since the Subj. expresses *emphatic prediction* (§ 275, δ) rather than purpose. But they have the essential characteristic of Final Clauses, viz. that the time of the Clause is fixed by that of the governing Verb.

(2) Clauses with *ὅτε* or *ὁπότε* which define the time of the principal Clause may be regarded as Conditional. In regard to the use of *ἄν* and *κέν* they follow the rules which hold in the case of Conditional Relative Clauses (§ 283) : viz.—

(α) The pure Subj. indicates that the speaker is supposing a case which may occur *repeatedly*, or *at any time* : as—

Od. 7. 71 οἱ μὲν ῥα θεὸν ὧς εἰσορόωντες  
δειδέχεται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείλῃσ' ἀνὰ ἄστρῳ  
*who look on him as a god, and salute him when he walks &c.*

Il. 1. 163 οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσιν ἔχω γέρας, ὁππότε 'Αχαιοὶ  
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' εὐ ναιόμενον πολλέθρον  
*whenever the Greeks sack a Trojan town. So in maxims, &c. :—*

Il. 1. 80 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρῃ.

15. 207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἴσιμα εἶδῃ.

And in similes, as Il. 2. 395 *ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών*. So with the regular *ὧς ὅτε* as *when*, *ὧς ὁπότε* as *in any case when*.

In a few instances *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν* is found instead of *ὧς δ' ὅτε* : viz.—

Il. 15. 170 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐκ νεφέων πτῆται* κτλ.

19. 375 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐκ πόντοιο σέλας ναύτησι φανῇ*

Od. 5. 394 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀσπασίος βίοςτος παῖδεςσι φανῇ*

23. 233 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀσπασίος γῆ νηχομένοισι φανῇ*

Il. 11. 269 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλος ὀφρὶ γυναῖκα*

17. 520 *ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ὀφρὶν ἔχων πέλεκυν* κτλ.

Also Il. 10. 5., 24. 480, Od. 22. 468. The resemblance in form that runs through these instances would seem to indicate some common source of the peculiar *ἄν*. Perhaps there is ground for the conjecture that the word was originally the Preposition *ἀνά*—not indeed in all the places where this *ὅτ' ἄν* occurs in the present text, but in a sufficient number of places to form a type, and to lead to confusion between an original *ὅτ' ἀν* . . *ἔχῃ* (*φανῇ*, &c.) and the ordinary *ὅτ' ἄν*.

In the one or two places where the pure Subj. occurs after a Future there is an evident intention to speak quite generally : as Il. 21. 322 *οὐδέ τί μιν χρεὼ ἔσται τυμβοχόης ὅτε μιν θάπτωσιν* 'Αχαιοί : so Od. 16. 267., 23. 257. But in the similar passage Il. 10. 130 *ὅτε κέν* is used.

(β) *ἄν* or *κέν* connects a supposition with a *particular* event or state of things: hence the following general rules:—

1. The Subj. takes *ἄν* or *κέν* after a Future, Subjunctive, or Imperative in the principal Clause: *e. g.*—

Il. 4. 53 τὰς διαπέρσαι δὲ ἄν τοι ἀπέχθωνται

Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαι  
ὀππότε ἄν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἱμεῖρεται αἵης.

Il. 20. 130 δέισεν ἔπειθ', ὅτε κέν τις κτλ.

So after *χρή* (Il. 9. 100), and *μοῖρα* (Od. 4. 475), followed by an Inf.

2. When there is an *opposition* between two sets of supposed cases, *ἄν* or *κέν* may be used: *as*—

Il. 6. 224 τῷ νῦν σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἀργεὶ μέσσω  
εἰμὶ, σὺ δ' ἐν Λυκίῃ, ὅτε κεν τῶν δῆμον ἱκωμαι.

20. 166 πρῶτον μὲν . . ἀλλ' ὅτε κέν τις κτλ. (cp. Od. 20. 83).

Od. 11. 17 οὐθ' ὀπότε ἄν στείλῃσι . . οὐθ' δὲ ἄν ἂψ κτλ.

So in Il. 2. 397 παντοίων ἀνέμων δὲ ἄν ἐνθ' ἡ ἔνθα γένωνται: and perhaps in Od. 13. 100 ἐντοσθεν δὲ τ' ἄνεν δεσμοῖο μένουσι νῆες εὐσσελμοὶ δὲ ἄν κτλ. (in implied contrast to those outside).

3. When there is a change from the Plural to the Singular:—

Il. 9. 501 λισσόμενοι ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Od. 11. 218 ἀλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσι.

The order *ὅτε τίς κε* does not seem to be Homeric; elsewhere we have *ὅτε κέν τις* (Il. 9. 501., 10. 130., 20. 130, 167, Od. 13. 180., 19. 567, cp. 20. 83., 24. 7, &c.). We should perhaps read in Od. 11. 218 *ὅτε τίς τε θάνῃσι*.

290.] *εἴτε*, *ἥμος*. The word *εἴτε* is only once found with a pure Subj., viz. Od. 7. 202 (in a general assertion): *εἴτ' ἄν* occurs after a Future (Il. 1. 242., 19. 158), and an Imperative (Il. 2. 34); also in one or two places where the use of *ἄν* is more difficult to explain, viz. Il. 2. 227, Od. 1. 192., 17. 320, 323., 18. 194. The combination *εἴτε κεν* is not found.

The pure Subj. with *ἥμος* occurs in one place—

Od. 4. 400 ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβέβηκε

*i. e.* 'each midday.'

### *The Subjunctive with εἰ, &c.*

291.] **Clauses with εἰ.** The use of the Particle *εἰ* (or *αἶ*), in the Clauses with which we have now to do, is to make an *assumption* or *supposition*. In most cases (1) this assumption is made in order to assert a consequence (*εἰ = if*): in other words, it is a *condition*. But (2) an assumption may also be made in order to express *end* (*εἰμι . . αἶ κε πύθεται I go—suppose he shall listen =*

I go in the hope that he will listen), and accordingly the Clause may be a Final Clause. Again (3) with certain Verbs the assumption may stand as Object (*τίς οἶδ' εἰ κεν . . ὀρίνω who knows —suppose I shall rouse=who knows whether I shall rouse*). We shall take these three groups of Clauses in order.

292.] **Conditional Protasis with εἰ.** The chief point of interest under this head is the use of *κέν* or *ἄν*. The rules will be found to be essentially the same as those already laid down for the corresponding Clauses with the Relative (§ 283, β) and the Relative Adverbs (see esp. § 289, 2), and to be even more uniform in their application.

(α) The pure Subj. is used in general sayings, and in similes :

Il. 1. 80 *κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χῶσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρῃ·  
εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.*

12. 238 *τῶν δ' οὗ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,  
εἰ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἧῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,  
εἰ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε κτλ.*

Od. 16. 97 *κασιγνήτοις . . οἷσί περ ἀνὴρ  
μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος ὄρηται.*

Il. 11. 116 *ἢ δ' εἰ πέρ τε τύχησι κτλ.* (in a simile ; so 16. 263., 21. 576., 22. 191).

If the principal Verb is a Future (or implies reference to the future), the pure Subj. with *εἰ* indicates that the speaker expressly avoids contemplating an actual case arising : *e. g.*

Il. 12. 223 *ὥς ἡμεῖς εἰ πέρ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν  
ῥηξόμεθα σθένει μεγάλῳ, εἴζωσι δ' Ἀχαιοί,  
οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα.*

Polydamas is here interpreting an omen which he wishes to remain unfulfilled. Similarly Il. 12. 245 *εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε περικτευνώμεθα κτλ.* : Il. 22. 86 *εἰ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνῃ, οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἔγωγε κλαύσομαι ἐν λεχέεσσι* : Od. 1. 204 *οὐδ' εἰ πέρ τε σιδήρεα δέσματ' ἔχησι* : Od. 5. 221 *εἰ δ' αὖ τις ραίῃσι θεῶν κτλ.* : Od. 12. 348 *εἰ δὲ χολωσάμενός τι . . νῆ' ἐθέλῃ ὀλέσαι κτλ.* The object of the speaker, in these examples, is to treat the supposed case as imaginary or unpractical.

(β) The Subj. with *ἄν* or *κέν* indicates that a future occasion is contemplated : hence it is generally used when the governing Verb is a Future, or equivalent to a Future : as—

Il. 4. 353 *ὄψεται ἦν ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ εἰ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλῃ.*

11. 404 *μέγα μὲν κακὸν (sc. ἔσται) εἰ κε φέβωμαι.*

24. 592 *μή μοι . . σκυδμαινέμεν, εἰ κε πύθῃαι κτλ.*



Od. 2. 218 εἰ μὲν κεν πατρὸς βίον καὶ νόστον ἀκούσω,  
ἢ τ' ἂν τρυχόμενός περ ἔτι τλαίην ἐναιαυτόν.

II. 112 εἰ δέ κε σῶναι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὀλεθρον  
(*I prophesy your destruction*).

12. 121 ἦν γὰρ δηθύνεσθα κορυσσάμενος παρὰ πέτρῃ,  
δεῖδω μὴ σ' ἐξαῦτις κτλ. (cp. II. 6. 442., 8. 478, 482).

The chief instances of *ἂν* or *κέν* after a Present appear to be :

II. 1. 166 ἀνὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἱκνῆται, σοὶ τὸ γέρας κτλ.

Here however the Clause gives a particular case of a supposition already made : the context being, *I have not an equal prize when the Greeks sack* (pure Subj.) *a town, but if (in such case) a division is made &c.*

II. 3. 25 μάλα γὰρ τε κατεσθίει εἰ περ ἂν κτλ. (so II. 302 : § 283, n. 1).

11. 391 ἦ τ' ἄλλως ἔπ' ἐμεῖο, καὶ εἰ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρη,  
ὀξὺ βέλος πέλεται.

Od. 11. 158 τὸν οὐ πᾶς ἔστι περῆσαι  
πεζὸν ἰόντ', ἦν μὴ τις ἔχῃ εὐεργέα νῆα.

In these cases there is an emphasis due to implied *contrast* : e.g. *εἰ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρη* means 'not only when it reaches him fully, but also if it only touches him slightly.' Cp. § 289, 2, β, 2.

293. Final Clauses with *εἰ*.] After a principal Verb expressive of the speaker's *will* (an Imperative, or First Person), a Final Clause may be introduced by *εἰ κεν* or *ἦν* : as—

II. 8. 282 βάλλ' οὕτως εἰ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι.

Od. 1. 281 ἔρχεο πεινσόμενος πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο,  
ἦν τίς τοι εἴπησι κτλ.

II. 11. 791 ταῦτ' εἵποις Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι εἰ κε πίθηται.

22. 418 λίσσωμ' ἀνέρα τοῦτον . . ἦν πῶς κτλ.

Od. 4. 34 δεῦρ' ἰκόμεθ' αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς . . παύσῃ κτλ.

The effect of using *εἰ* (instead of *ὥς* or *ἵνα*) is to express some degree of uncertainty. The end aimed at is represented as a *supposition*, instead of being a direct *purpose*.

The pure Subj. is not found in any clear example of this use. In Od. 5. 471 *εἰ με μεθείη* (*μεθήη* La R.) *βίγος καὶ κάματος, γλυκερὸς δέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθῃ* the MSS. have the Optatives *μεθείη* and *ἐπέλθοι*. In II. 14. 165 the Subj. *χεύη* follows an Opt. (*εἰ πᾶς ἰμείραιτο . . τῷ δ' . . χεύη*).

294.] Object Clauses with *εἰ*. This term will serve to describe the form of Clause in which the supposition made by *εἰ* takes the place of an Acc. of the thing. It may be regarded as a special form of the Final Clause (cp. § 285, 2) : thus II. 18. 600 *ὥς δτε τις τροχὸν . . πειρήσεται εἰ κε θέσῃ* 'tries on the supposition that it will run,' hence *tries whether it will run* : so—

II. 4. 249 ὄφρα ἴδῃτ' εἰ κ' ὕμμιν ὑπερσχήῃ χεῖρα Κρονίων.

15. 32 ὄφρα ἴδῃ ἦν τοι χαλίσμῃ κτλ.

that you may see whether it will avail. Note that the Subj. here has a distinctly *future* meaning, as in Final Clauses; the same words taken as a Conditional Protasis would mean *if it has availed*. So after εἰπεῖν, Il. 7. 375 καὶ δὲ τόδ' [leg. τὸ] εἰπέμεναι πυκινὸν ἔπος, αἱ κ' ἐθέλωσι *say the word supposing that they shall be willing* (=ask if they will agree); and οἶδα, Od. 22. 7 εἴσομαι αἱ κε τύχωμι, and in the phrase τίς οἶδ' εἰ κεν *who knows but* (Il. 15. 403., 16. 860., Od. 2. 332), and οὐ μὲν οἶδ' εἰ (Il. 15. 16).

Note the use of an Acc. with οἶδα in anticipation of the Clause with εἰ: as—

Il. 8. 535 αὔριον ἦν ἀρετὴν διαείσεται εἰ κ' ἐμὸν ἔγχοις  
μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον

meaning 'he will know as to his prowess whether it will enable him to withstand my spear.' So Od. 22. 6 σκοπὸν ἄλλον . . εἴσομαι αἱ κε τύχωμι (cp. § 237, 2, with the note).

In one place the Clause with εἰ serves as explanation of a Neuter Pronoun in the *Nominative*:

Il. 20. 435 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται,  
εἰ κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἔων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωμαι.

The relation between the Clause with εἰ and the governing Verb is essentially the same as between a Clause with μή and a Verb of *fearing*. As the prohibitive μή may imply *fear*, it fits the meaning of the Verb, and comes to serve as explanation or Object to it; and similarly the εἰ implies a more or less uncertain *supposition*, which may serve as explanation or Object to a Clause expressing doubt, enquiry, or the like. In both cases the essence of the construction is the special harmony of meaning between the governing Verb and the Subordinate Clause.

295.] The Subj. with ὥς εἰ occurs in a single place only, viz.—

Il. 9. 481 καὶ με φίλησ' ὥς εἴ τε πατὴρ δὴν παῖδα φιλήσῃ.

Here the assumption εἰ . . . φιλήσῃ is made for the purpose of comparison. Thus the meaning is nearly the same as with ὥς ὅτε (§ 289, 2), and the Clause is essentially Conditional.

296.] ἐπεὶ with the Subj. The use of ἐπεὶ implies that the action is prior in time to the action of the principal Clause; hence Clauses with ἐπεὶ fall under the definition of the Conditional Clause.

A pure Subj. after ἐπεὶ is found in two places only, viz. Od. 20. 86 ἐπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψῃ (*sleep makes men forget everything*) when it has spread over their eyelids; and Il. 15. 363 (in a simile).

The use of κεν or ἄν (*i. e.* ἐπεὶ κεν or ἐπὶ ἄν, once ἐπεὶ ἄν) is invariable when the principal Verb is future. It is also found after a Present or 'gnomic' Aorist, and even in similes; but usually when the Clause is subordinate to the main Clause of the simile: *e. g.*

Il. 2. 474 τοὺς δ' ὥς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοιοι ἄνδρες  
 ρεῖα διακρίνωσι, ἐπεὶ κε νομῶ μιγέωσιν.

Here the case has been put by the Clause ὥς τε . . διακρίνωσι, and may then be treated as a *particular* case (§ 283, β, *note* 1); so Il. 7. 5., 9. 324., 21. 575, Od. 10. 411., 19. 206., 24. 7.

The explanation here given of the use of ἐπεὶ κε and ἐπὶν in similes does not apply to Il. 17. 657 ὥς τίς τε λίσσῃ . . ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κε κάμησι κτλ.; but perhaps we should read κεκάμησι, and similarly in Il. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κεκάμω (instead of ἐπεὶ κε κάμω).

In several instances the use of ἐπεὶ κε, ἐπὶν may be due to the emphasis laid on the *singleness* of the event: viz. in the combinations ἐπεὶ κεὐν πρῶτον (Il. 13. 285, Od. 11. 221), ἐπὶν τὰ πρῶτα (Il. 6. 489, Od. 8. 553): so Il. 7. 410 ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι *when once they are dead*; Il. 19. 223, Od. 8. 554., 14. 130.

The two remaining instances of ἐπὶν not referring to a particular occasion (Od. 11. 192., 19. 515) are sentences beginning αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν—, where the use of ἄν may be suggested by the opposition.

297.] *πρίν* with the Subj. In general, as we have seen (§ 236), *πρίν* is construed with an Infinitive. If, however, the event is insisted upon as a *condition*,—the principal Verb being an Imperative or emphatic Future,—the Subj. may be used; as—

Il. 18. 134 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μὴ πω καταδύσσο μῶλον Ἄρῃος  
 πρίν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἔλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδῃαι  
*do not enter the battle before you see me coming hither.*

Od. 10. 174 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ πρίν καταδυσόμεθ' ἀχνύμενοί περ  
 εἰς Ἀἶδαο δόμους πρίν μόρσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

So Il. 18. 190., 24. 551, 781, Od. 13. 336., 17. 9. The Subj. is used in these examples without ἄν or κέν, because it is not meant to refer to a particular occasion when the condition will be fulfilled. When such an occasion is contemplated Homer sometimes uses πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν *before the time when* (Od. 2. 374., 4. 477): cp. Il. 16. 62 οὐ πρίν μνηστῆρ' καταπασέμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπότε ἄν κτλ.

It is evident that a conditional Clause of this kind can only occur after a *negative* principal Clause. 'Do not do this before I come' makes my coming into a condition, and a condition which may or may not be realised: but 'do this before I come' is merely a way of fixing the time of doing.

298.] *Subjunctive after a Secondary Tense.* The rule in Homer is that the Subj. is not used in a Subordinate Clause to express a *past* purpose, condition, &c. It may be used however (1) when the governing Verb is a 'gnomic' Aorist:

Il. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

Od. 20. 85 ὁ γὰρ τ' ἐπέλησεν ἀπάντων  
 ἐσθλῶν ἢ δὲ κακῶν ἐπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψῃ.

So Il. 17. 98, Od. 14. 65., 15. 409: also in *general* denial:—

Od. 10. 327 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἀνὴρ τάδε φάρμακ' ἀνέτλη,  
ὅς κε πῆρ κτλ. (cp. Od. 12. 66–68).

And in similes:—

Il. 7. 4 ὥς δὲ θεὸς ναύτησιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν  
οἶρον, ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν (Il. 4. 486, Od. 4. 792, &c.).

Further (2) if the action expressed by the Subordinate Clause is still future at the time of speaking; as—

Il. 5. 127 ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἥδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.  
*I have taken away the mist—that you may know &c.*

7. 394 καὶ δὲ τόδ' ἡνώγει εἰπεῖν ἔπος, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃτε κτλ.

18. 189 μήτηρ δ' οὐ με φίλη πρὶν γ' εἶα θωρήσσεσθαι  
πρὶν γ' αὐτήν . . ἴδωμαι (*before I shall see her &c.*).

Od. 11. 434 οἱ τε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε καὶ ἐσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω  
θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησι.

It will be seen that in such cases the governing Verb is generally to be translated by the English Perfect with *have* (cp. § 73).

The real exceptions are not numerous, and may be due in several cases to alteration of the original text through the influence of the later usage. The reading is uncertain (*e.g.*) in—

Od. 14. 327 τὸν δ' ἐς Δαδάνην φάτο βήμεναι ὄφρα θεοῖο  
(= 19. 296) ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσῃ,

where the Subj. was read by Aristarchus, the Opt. ἐπακούσῃ by Aristophanes and Herodian. With the Subj. βήμεναι = *that he has gone*. Again—

Od. 10. 65 ἥ μὲν σ' ἐνδυκίως ἀπεπέμπομεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἴκηαι.

So La Roche from the best MSS., but other MSS. have ὄφρ' ἂν ἴκοιο and ὄφρ' ἀφίκοιο. The Subj. gives the meaning 'we have but now sent you away, intending that you shall arrive &c.'

In Il. 5. 567 (δίε) μή τι πάθοι, μέγα δέ σφας ἀποσφάλλει, and 15. 598 (ἐβούλετο . . ἵνα) ἐμβάλοι . . Θέτιδος δ' ἐξάσιον ἀρὴν πᾶσαν ἐπικρήνει, most MSS. have πάθη and ἐμβάλη. But the Opt. in the Clause following supports πάθοι and ἐμβάλοι.

Other places where the Subj. is supported by external authority, but is contrary to the rule now laid down, are Il. 13. 649., 14. 165, 522., 15. 23., 16. 650 (see La R.), Od. 9. 102., 10. 24., 16. 369., 17. 60. In all the Opt. may be substituted without affecting the metre: and when we consider the number of places where the MSS. vary between Subj. and Opt. forms, we can hardly doubt that it would often be right to make the change.

The Homeric rule is observed by Plato (see Riddell, Dig. §§ 90, 91), but not by Attic writers in general.

### *The Optative in Simple Sentences.*

299.] The uses of the Optative in Simple Sentences range

from the expression of a wish on the part of the speaker to the expression of mere supposition, or admission of possibility.

Without *ἄν* or *κέν* the Optative may express—

(a) Simple *wish* or *prayer*: as—

Il. 1. 42 *τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσι.*

Od. 1. 403 *μὴ γὰρ ὃ γ' ἔλθοι κτλ. never may he come &c.*

Regarding the Opt. of wish with *εἰ* or *αἶ*, *εἴθε*, *αἴθε*, &c. see § 311.

(b) A gentle or deferential Imperative, conveying *advice*, *suggestion*, or the like: as—

Il. 4. 17 *εἰ δ' αὖ πως τόδε πᾶσι φίλον καὶ ἥδυν γένοιτο,*

*ἦ τοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο κτλ.*

(= *I presume the city is to remain inhabited*).

Od. 4. 735 *ἀλλὰ τις ὀτρηνῶς Δολίου καλέσειε γέροντα*

(as we say, *would some one call &c.*)

18. 141 *τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστιος εἴη,*

*ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι*

*I would have a man not be lawless, but &c.*

Note especially this use of the Second Person: *e. g.*—

Od. 4. 193 *πίθοιό μοι pray listen to me: so in the phrase ἦ ῥά νύ μοι τι πίθοιο* (Il. 4. 93, &c.).

Il. 11. 791 *ταῦτ' εἵποις Ἀχιλῆϊ surpose you say this to Achilles.*

Od. 15. 24 *ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἔλθων αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέφειας ἕκαστα.*

Il. 3. 406 *ἦσο παρ' αὐτὸν λούσα, θεῶν δ' ἀπόεικε κελεύθου,*

*μηδ' ἔτι σοῖσι πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέφειας Ὀλυμπον.*

Hence in Il. 1. 20 we should read (with the best MSS.) *παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε* (not *λῦσαί τε*, Wolf's conjecture).

(c) Rhetorical wish, implying *willingness*, or at least *indifference* to the happening of some evil: as in imprecations—

Il. 2. 340 *ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίετο μήδεα δ' ἀνδρῶν.*

6. 164 *τεθναίης, ὦ Προῦτ', ἣ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην*

(= *I care not if you were dead, unless you &c.*).

Od. 7. 224 *ιδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν κτήσιν ἐμὴν κτλ.*

(= *I am content to die when I have seen &c.*).

(d) *Concession* or *acquiescence*:

Il. 21. 359 *λῆγ' ἐρίδος, Τρῶας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα διός Ἀχιλλεύς ἄστεος ἐξελάσειε* (*cease strife, and I consent that &c.*).

Od. 1. 402 *κτῆματα δ' αὐτὸς ἔχοις καὶ δώμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις.*

2. 232 *ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς τ' εἴη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέζοι*

(i. e. *he may as well be unjust as just*).

The following are instances of the First Person used in this way:

Il. 15. 45 *αὐτάρ τοι καὶ κείνῳ ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην*

*I am willing to advise him* (a concession).

Il. 23. 150 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαι γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ κόμην δάσσαιμι φέρεσθαι  
*since I am not to return, I may give the lock to Patroclus.*

Od. 16. 383 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλόντες ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλης  
 ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ, βίοντο δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ κτήματ' ἔχωμεν  
 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας, οἴκια δ' αὖτε  
 κείνου μητέρι δοῖμεν ἔχειν ἢ δ' ὅς τις ὀπνίοι.

Here what the Suitors are to do for themselves is put in the Subj., what they do or allow to be done for Penelope in the Opt.

Compare Hd. 7. 5. 4 τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις, ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, i. e. 'I consent to your doing what you have in hand, but when it is done, march against Athens.'

(e) Strong *denial* is sometimes implied, under the form of *deprecation*, by the Opt. with μή: as—

Od. 7. 316 μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο *let us not admit that this is the will of father Zeus.*

22. 462 μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην.

(f) From acquiescence, or willingness that something shall happen, the Opt. passes to *admission of possibility*, i. e. willingness to *suppose* or believe that the thing will happen. This use is rarely found without ἄν or κέν: an instance is—

Od. 3. 231 ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι.

This is said as a concession: 'we men must allow that a god can save even from afar.' So perhaps Il. 10. 247 (if the text is right). Other instances are *negative*, viz.—

Il. 19. 321 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι.

Od. 14. 122 ὦ γέρον, οὐ τις κείνου ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν  
 ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γυναῖκά τε καὶ φίλον υἱόν.

The absence of ἄν or κέν marks the negation as sweeping and unconditional. We should compare the corresponding Homeric use of οὐ with the pure Subj., which differs in the degree of confidence expressed: οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι *I am sure I shall never see*, οὐ πάθοιμι *I suppose I shall never suffer*.

300.] With ἄν or κέν the Optative does not express *wish* (which is essentially unconditional), or even direct *willingness* on the part of the speaker, but only *willingness to admit* a consequence: hence *expectation* in view of *particular* circumstances: e. g.—

Il. 1. 100 τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν  
*then we may expect to appease him and gain grace.*

The character of a Clause of this kind depends chiefly on the manner in which the *condition* is indicated. The following are the main points to be observed:—

(a) An Opt. with ἄν or κέν often follows an independent Clause with a Future, Imperative, &c.

Il. 22. 108 ὧς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη κτλ.

Od. 10. 269 φεύγωμεν· ἔτι γάρ κεν ἀλύξαιμεν κακὸν ἡμᾶρ.

Il. 3. 410 κείσε δ' ἐγὼν οὐκ εἶμι, νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη.

(b) Or the preceding Clause may contain a *wish*:

Il. 7. 157 εἴθ' ὧς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη  
τῷ κε τάχ' ἀντήσειε κτλ.

Cp. Il. 4. 93 (where the Opt. is a gentle Imper.).

(c) The case supposed may be in past time, so that the Optative expresses what *would have* followed on an event which did not occur: *e.g.*—

Il. 5. 311 καὶ νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυ νόησε κτλ.

Od. 5. 73 ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθανατὸς περ ἐπελθὼν  
θηήσαιο ἰδῶν.

So Il. 2. 81., 3. 220., 4. 223, 429, 539., 5. 85, 388., 12. 58., 13. 343., 15. 697., 17. 70, 366., Od. 1. 236., 7. 293., 9. 241., 13. 86.  
This use of the Optative is confined to Homer.

(d) The case supposed may be vague or imaginary:

Il. 8. 143 ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὔ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο,  
where the emphatic ἀνὴρ suggests a condition: *if a man, he cannot &c.*; cp. Od. 4. 78., 23. 125.

Od. 12. 102 πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καὶ κεν διοῖστέυσεις  
*one may (on occasion arising) shoot an arrow across.*

9. 131 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὴ γε, φέροι δέ κεν ὧρια πάντα.

It is natural that an *admission* that something *may* happen should generally be made more or less in view of circumstances, given or supposed. Hence the use of ἂν or κέν with an Opt. of this force became the prevailing use, and exceptions are rare, even in Homer.

The Principal Clause or Apodosis of an ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence belongs to this head. It is erroneous, however, to regard the varieties now explained as complex sentences with the Protasis understood. In this, as in some other cases, the complex is to be explained from the simple, not *vice versa*.

In some instances the Opt. with ἂν or κέν appears to be *concessive* (expressing *willingness*). Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 200) gives as examples—

Il. 22. 252 νῦν αὐτὲ με θυμὸς ἀνήκε  
στήμεναι ἀντία σείο· ἔλοιμί κεν ἢ κεν ἀλοίην.

Od. 8. 570 τὰ δέ κεν θεὸς ἢ τελέσειεν  
ἢ κ' ἀτέλεστο' εἴη, ὥς οἱ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.

To which may be added Od. 14. 183 ἢ κεν ἀλοίῃ ἢ κε φύγοι κτλ. (but Il. 13. 486 is different). Possibly the use of κέν in these places is due to the opposition made between the two alternatives.

Π. 24. 618 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα, διὲ γεραιέ,  
οἴτου· ἔπειτά κεν αὐτε φίλον παῖδα κλαίοισθα.

Also Od. 16. 391., 21. 161. But these instances need not be separated from others in which expectation rather than concession is recognised. We may notice especially, as on the border between the two meanings—

(α) Uses of the First Person (esp. in the Odyssey): *s. g.*—

Od. 15. 506 ᾗθ' ὅθεν δέ κεν ὕμιν ὁδοπόριον παραθείμην.

22. 262 ὦ φίλοι, ἤδη μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἴποιμι καὶ ἄμυν κτλ.

16. 304 ἀλλ' οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε γυναικῶν γινώσκοντες ἴδυν,  
καὶ κέ τοι δμῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔτι πειρηθείμεν.

14. 155 πρὶν δέ κε, καὶ μάλα περ κεχρημένος, οὐ τι δεχοίμην.

So Od. 2. 219., 4. 347., 12. 387., 15. 313, 449., 18. 166., 19. 579., 20. 326., 21. 113,  
Il. 9. 417., 24. 664.

(β) Negative Clauses, with the Second Person :

Π. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἂν με . . φάντες | μῦθον ἀτιμήσαιτε

*I do not think you will (I expect you not to) do.*

Od. 20. 135 οὐκ ἂν μιν νῦν, τέκνον, ἀναίτιον αἰτιόφο.

So probably Π. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχον ἀγορεύουσιν κτλ. is ironical courtesy (*you will not if you are advised by me*). This, again, when turned into a question yields another form of polite Imperative: as Π. 3. 52 οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνεις *will you not await?* So Il. 5. 32, 456., 10. 204., Od. 6. 57., 7. 22.

But we have to remember that it is one thing to convey or imply wish or willingness, another to use a form which *expresses* it. The fact that οὐ is the negative Particle in all these instances shows that the Optative is grammatically more akin to a Future than to an Imperative. So far as an Imperative meaning is intended, the use is a *rhetorical* one, like the similar use of the Future Indicative in Attic.

It will be seen that, except in one or two rare Homeric uses of the pure Opt., the usage of the Opt. in independent Sentences is nearly the same in Homer as in later Greek.

### *Optative in Subordinate Clauses.*

301.] The classification which has been followed in discussing the Subordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive will also be the most convenient in the case of the Optative. Indeed there is so close a parallelism between the uses of these two Moods that little is now left to do except to take Clauses of the several types already analysed, and show in each case the nature of the difference which determines the use of one Mood rather than the other.

The reason for using an Optative will generally be found in the circumstance that the governing Verb is incompatible with a subordinate Clause expressing either the *will* or the *assured expectation* of the speaker. If the occasion to which the whole sentence refers is *past*, or is a mere *possibility*, or an *imaginary* case, these two meanings of the Subjunctive are generally out of place—and we can only have the Mood which expresses a wish,



or an admission of possibility. Hence the general rule—to which however we have seen that there are important exceptions (§ 298)—that the Optative must be used when the principal Verb is an Optative, or one of the Secondary Tenses.

302.] **Clauses with ἤέ—ἤε.** The Optative in the Homeric examples is generally to be explained as the translation of the Subjunctive into *oratio obliqua*; that is to say, it expresses a doubt or deliberation thrown back into the past. Thus we have *past deliberation* in—

Il. 16. 713 δίζε γὰρ ἤε μάχοιτο κατὰ κλόνον αὐτὶς ἐλάσσας,  
ἢ λαοὺς ἐς τεῖχος ὁμοκλήσειεν ἀλῆναι  
*he debated—should he fight &c., or should he call to the people &c.:*  
so Il. 1. 189., 5. 671, Od. 4. 117., 6. 141., 10. 50, &c.

Past *doubt* is less common: the examples are—

Od. 4. 789 ὀρμαίνουσ' ἢ οἱ θάνατον φύγοι νιὸς ἀμύμων  
ἢ δ' γ' ὑπὸ μνηστήρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι δαμείη.

15. 304 συμβάτω πειρητίζων  
ἢ μιν ἔτ' ἐνδυκέως φιλέοι μείναι τε κελεύοι  
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ σταθμῷ, ἢ ὀτρύνειε πόλινδε

*Ulysses tried the swineherd—whether would he still be hospitable and bid him stay, or &c.*

In this use we once find *κέν*, viz. Od. 15. 300 ὀρμαίνων ἢ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἢ κεν ἀλοίῃ (where La Roche reads ἀλώῃ).

303.] **Clauses with μή.** These are of two kinds, answering to the similar Clauses with the Subj. (§ 281):

(1) Object Clauses, with Verbs of *thinking*, &c.:—

Il. 21. 516 μέμβλετο γὰρ οἱ τεῖχος εὐδμήτοιο πόληος,  
μή Δαναοὶ πέρσειαν (his care being that) *the Trojans should not &c.:* so Od. 19. 390.

Od. 21. 394 πειρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
μή κέρα ἵπες ἔδοιεν ἀποικομένοιο ἀνακτος

The double past—he tried to see that worms should not have eaten it—has no distinct form of expression: cp. the use of the Aorist as a Pluperfect (§ 76).

So in the common use with Verbs of *fearing*: as Il. 18. 34 δειδὼ γὰρ μή λαιμὸν ἐπαμήσειε *he feared lest &c.* But in—

Il. 9. 244 ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δειδοῖκα κατὰ φρένα μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς  
ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἰσιμον εἶη κτλ.

the Opt. stands for the more remote event: see § 304, a. The true reading however may be εἶη, a Subj. like μετ-είω (Il. 23. 47).

These Object Clauses may be regarded as the *negative* forms answering to the Clauses expressing *past deliberation*. As in the corresponding uses of μή with

the Subj. and Opt. in principal Clauses (§ 278), the Mood is never qualified by *ἄν* or *κέν*.

(2) Final Clauses: an example will suffice:—

Il. 5. 845 δὺν' Ἀϊδος κυνέην μή μιν ἴδοι βροίμος Ἄρης  
(so that) Ares should not see her.

304.] **Relative Clauses—Final.** In many instances the Opt. in a Relative Clause is used precisely as in an independent sentence: the wish or supposition being expressed from the speaker's present point of view, not subordinated to the point of view fixed by the governing Verb. Thus in—

Od. 4. 698 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείζον τε καὶ ἀργαλεώτερον ἄλλο  
μνηστῆρες φράζονται, δὲ μὴ τελέσειε Κρονίων

we have an independent *parenthetical wish*: and in—

Il. 3. 234 νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὄρω . . οὓς κεν ἐν γυνόην κτλ.

5. 303 μέγα ἔργον, δὲ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν (§ 299, f')

a *parenthetical expectation*. In other places, however, the Relative Clause is connected, by implication at least, with the action of the principal Clause, and expresses an *intended* or *expected consequence*. We may distinguish the following cases:

(a) The choice of the Opt. shows *want of confident expectation* of the result intended:

Il. 1. 62 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα, . .  
ὅς κ' εἴποι κτλ. (*with the view that he may tell*: cp.  
7. 342., 21. 336, Od. 5. 166).

7. 231 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰμὲν τοιοὶ οἱ ἂν σέθεν ἀντιάσαιμεν  
καὶ πολέες (= *many of us are ready to meet thee*).

Od. 10. 431 τί κακῶν ἱμείρετε τούτων,  
Κίρκης ἐς μέγαρον καταβήμεναι, ἢ κεν ἅπαντας  
ἢ σὺς ἢ ἔλκυος ποιήσεται ἢ ἔλκοντας,  
οἳ κέν οἱ μέγα δῶμα φυλάσσοιμεν καὶ ἀνάγκη.

Here *ποιήσεται* (which is either a Fut. or a Subj.) expresses the certain immediate result, *φυλάσσοιμεν* the *further* and therefore (in the nature of things) *less certain* consequence.

In this group of Clauses the Opt. always takes *ἄν* or *κέν* (cp. the corresponding Subj., § 282).

(b) The Opt. with *κέν* is especially common after a Principal Clause of *negative* meaning (in which case the consequence is necessarily matter of mere *supposition*): as—

Il. 5. 192 ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἄρματα τῶν κ' ἐπιβαλῖν.

Od. 1. 253 ἢ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποικομένου Ὀδυσῆος  
δεύη, δὲ κε μνηστῆρων ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφείη.

The pure Opt. occurs in Il. 22. 348 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς . . ἀπαλάλκοι.

(c) The Opt. is used if the governing Verb is an Optative, or a Secondary Tense: *e.g.*—

Il. 14. 107 νῦν δ' εἴη δὲ τῆσδ' γ' ἀμείνονα μῆτιν ἐνίσποι.

Od. 6. 113 ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔγροίτο, ἴδοι τ' εὐώπιδα κούρην,  
ἣ οἱ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ἡγήσαιο.

9. 331 αὐτὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους κλήρῳ πεπαλάσθαι ἄνωγον  
ὅς τις τολμήσειεν κτλ. (*for the man*) *who should &c.*

In the last instance the Clause approaches the character of a Dependent Interrogative, and therefore of an Object Clause. Similarly, after Verbs that imply *asking*—

Il. 3. 316 κλήρους . . πάλλον . . ὀπότερος κτλ. (*cast lots for which of the two &c.*).

14. 507 πάπτηνεν δὲ ἕκαστος δπη φύγοι κτλ.

And with πεύθεσθαι, ἐρεῖνω, &c. Od. 9. 88., 10. 100, 109., 19. 463.

305.] **Relative Clauses—Conditional.** When the event to which the condition attaches is matter of *wish* or mere *expectation*, or is in the *past* time, the condition is generally expressed by the Optative. Hence we find the Optative—

(a) After an Optative of *wish* in the principal Clause:—

Il. 3. 299 ὀπότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημύνεται,  
ὥδ' σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὥς ὅδε οἶκος.

Od. 1. 47 ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

(b) After an Optative of *expectation*:

Il. 9. 125 οὐ κεν ἀλῆϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ φ' τόσσα γένοιτο  
*he will not be poor to whom such things come.*

12. 228 ὥδ' χ' ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος δὲ σάφα θυμῷ  
εἰδείη τεράων καὶ οἱ πειθοίαιτο λαοί  
*so will a diviner answer, who knows &c.*

Od. 4. 222 ὅς τὸ καταβρόξειεν . .  
οὐ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν.

(c) After a Present or Future, in one or two places where the time is purposely vague:

Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσῶ, ἣ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι  
= *I am ready to be angry with any other who &c.*

19. 510 καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοίτοιο τάχ' ἔσσεται ἡδέος ὥρη,  
ὅν τινα γ' ὕπνος ἔλοι κτλ.

The Opt. avoids assuming that the case will ever occur.

The reading is very doubtful in Il. 5. 407 ὅττι μάλ' οὐ θηναῖς δὲ ἀθανάτοισι μάχοιτο, the Ambrosian and some others having μάχηται.

(d) When the principal Verb is in a past Tense; the Relative Clause generally expressing *indefinite frequency*, iteration, &c.: as—

Il. 2. 188 ὅν τινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
τὸν δ’ ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε.

15. 22 ὃν δὲ λάβοιμι | ῥίπτασκον τεταγὼν κτλ.

Od. 22. 315 παύεσκον μνηστῆρας ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

In these uses, and generally, the Opt. is pure. Exceptions are—

Od. 4. 600 δῶρον δ’ ὅττι κέ μοι δοίης κειμήλιον ἔστω

(where the Opt. may be substituted for the Subj. for the sake of courtesy, to avoid assuming the certainty of the gift), and—

Od. 21. 161 ἡ δέ κ’ ἔπειτα  
γῆμαιθ’ ὅς κε πλεῖστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι.

Clauses formed by a Relative and the *pure* Optative are strictly parallel to the Conditional Clauses formed by a Relative and the *pure* Subjunctive, such as χαίρει δέ μιν ὅς τις θείῃῃ, or βέλτερον ὅς φεύγων προφύγῃ (§ 283, a). In both groups of Clauses the reference is *indefinite*; but with the Subj. the instances must be thought of as *real future* instances, and consequently the governing Verb must not imply that they are *past* or *imaginary*. For the exceptions to this rule, see § 298.

It may happen that the condition is expressed by the Subj. (because regarded as certain to be fulfilled), while the main action is uncertain, and therefore put in the Opt.: as—

Il. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἂν με γένος γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φάντες  
μῶthon ἀτιμήσαιτε πεφασμένον, ὃν κ’ ἐὺ εἴπω.

20. 250 ὀπποῦν κ’ εἴπῃσθα ἔπος, τοῦν κ’ ἐπακούσῃς.

But the general rule is to let the subordinate Clause follow the Mood of the governing Verb: hence the so-called ‘Attraction’ of the Optative.

306.] Clauses with ὥς, ὅπως, ἵνα and the Opt. are either Final or Object Clauses (not Conditional, as with the Subj., § 285, 3).

(1) In Final Clauses the Opt. may be used either (a) to indicate that the consequence is not immediate or certain (the governing Verb having a present or future meaning), or (b) because the governing Verb is an Opt., or (c) a Secondary Tense. Thus we have—

(a) With a Present, &c. in the principal Clause; especially when the Clause bears a *negative* meaning (so that the occasion is necessarily *imaginary*):

Il. 1. 343 οὐδέ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω,  
ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχέοντο Ἀχαιοί.

Od. 2. 52 οἱ πατὴρς μὲν ἐς οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι  
Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ’ αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιο θύγατρα.

But also after an affirmative Clause:

Od. 23. 134 ἡγείσθω φιλοπαίγμονος ὀρχηθμοῦ,  
ὥς κέν τις φαίῃ γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων  
= so that any one who happens to hear may think &c.

Od. 17. 249 τόν ποτ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νηὸς εὐσσέλμοιο μελαίνης  
ἄξω τῇλ' ἰθάκης, ἵνα μοι βίον πολὺν ἄλφοι  
(ποτέ indicates a *distant* occasion).

13. 401 κινζῶσω δέ τοι ὅσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' ἔοντε,  
ὡς ἂν ἀεικέλιος πᾶσι μνηστῆρσι φανείης  
(perhaps however we should read φανήης).

24. 532 ἴσχεσθε . . ὥς κεν . . διακρινθεῖτε (qu. διακρινθῆτε).

(b) After an Optative, either of *wish* or of *expectation* :

Od. 14. 407 τάχιστα μοι ξνδον ἑταῖροι  
εἶεν, ἵν' ἐν κλισίῃ λαρόν τετυκοίμεθα δόρπον.

15. 537 τῷ κε τάχα γνώης . . ὥς ἂν τίς σε . . μακαρίζοι.

So à fortiori after an Optative that implies *prohibition*—

Od. 3. 346 Ζεὺς τό γ' ἀλεξήσσει . . ὥς ὑμεῖς . . κίετε  
Zeus avert that you should go &c.

(c) After a Past Tense—a use of which it is needless to give examples.

Regarding the use of ἄν and κέν, it is to be observed that—

1. The Opt. with ἵνα and ὅπως is always pure.

2. The Opt. with ὥς takes ἄν or κέν in a few places, where there is clear reference to a single occasion, as in Od. 2. 52 (quoted above), Il. 19. 331, Od. 17. 362 ; and in the combinations ὥς ἄν τις (Od. 15. 538), ὥς κέν τις (Od. 23. 135).

(2) The corresponding Object Clause with ὥς is seen in—

Il. 2. 3 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα  
τιμήσει' ὀλέσαι δὲ κτλ.

9. 181 πειρᾶν ὥς πεπίθαιεν (*bade them try how to persuade*).

•And similarly with ὅπως :

Il. 21. 137 ὥρμηνεν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως παύσειε (so 24. 680).

Od. 8. 344 λίσσετο δ' αἰεὶ  
Ἥφαιστον κλυτοεργὸν ὅπως λύσειεν Ἄρηα.

In Od. 14. 329 ὅπως νοστήσῃ κτλ., we should read νοστήσει', as is shown by the parallel passage—

Od. 19. 298 ὅπως νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν

where the Opt. is secured by the metre. In Il. 2. 4 the reading τιμήσει' is supported by the Ven. A., which has τιμήσῃ<sup>εί</sup>, and the Scholia (τιμήσει εὐκτικόν Schol. A. B.) : but all other authorities have τιμήσῃ, and all have ὀλέσῃ.

307.] **Clauses with ἕως and ὅφρα.** These also are Final in character: *i. e.* the Conjunction has the meaning *till the time that*, hence (commonly) *in order that*,—not *while*, *so long as*.

The notion of *time* is distinct in—

Od. 12. 437 νωλεμέως ἐχόμεν ὄφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσσω  
*until it should vomit forth again* (so 17. 298., 20. 80).

Od. 23. 151 εἶρυσθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπερὲς εἰς ἵκοιτο  
*till he should come* (so 5. 386., 9. 376).

It is indistinct, or lost, in the ordinary use of ὄφρα, as—

Il. 6. 170 δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγει φ' πενθερῷ ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο  
 and with ἕως in Od. 4. 799 πέμπε δέ μιν . . εἰς Πηνελόπειαν . .  
 παύσειε κλαυθμοῖο.

The corresponding form of Object Clause with these Conjunctions may be traced in one instance of each, viz. Il. 4. 465 λελιγμένος ὄφρα τάχιστα τεύχεα συλήσειε, and Od. 19. 367 ἀρώμενος εἰς ἵκοιο. Here, after a Verb of *wishing*, the meaning *until* passes into the simple *that*.

With ἕως and ὄφρα the Opt. is nearly always pure: but we have ὄφρ' ἄν in Od. 17. 298 (*until*), 24. 334: and ἕως κεν in—

Od. 2. 77 τόφρα γὰρ ἄν κατὰ ἄστν ποτιπνυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ  
 χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη  
 where there is a stress on the *particular* time contemplated.

There is only one place where ὄφρα with an Opt. follows a Fut. or Subj., viz. Il. 7. 339 πύλας ποιήσομεν . . ὄφρα . . ὁδὸς εἴη. But the example is open to doubt, partly because there may be a Subj. εἴη (see § 80), partly because the line also occurs (7. 349) where the governing Verb is an Imperfect, and therefore it may have been wrongly inserted in v. 339. It is true that the Opt. is found after the Future with other Conjunctions, to express remoteness or uncertainty; but a word which literally means *till the time that* is not quite so likely to have been used to express a *remote* end or consequence.

308.] **Clauses with ὅτε, ὁπότε, &c.** Most Clauses of this kind are essentially—

(1) Conditional. The Verb of the principal Clause may be—

(a) An Optative of *wish*: as—

Il. 21. 428 τοιοῦτοι νῦν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώεσσιν ἀρωγοί,  
 εἴεν ὅτ' Ἀργείοισι μαχοίετο (cp. Il. 18. 465, &c.).

(b) An Optative of *expectation*: e.g.

Od. 13. 390 καὶ κε τριηκοσίοισιν ἐγὼν ἀνδρεσσιν μαχοίμην  
 σὺν σοί, πότνα θεά, ὅτε μοι πρόφρασσ' ἐπαρήγοις.

Il. 14. 247 Ζηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγωγε Κρονίουρος ἄσπον ἰκοίμην,  
 οὐδὲ κατευνήσαιμ' ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε κελεύοι.

(c) A Future: in one place, viz. Il. 13. 317 αἰπὺ οἱ ἐσσεῖται . . νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλοι κτλ., where the speaker does not wish to imply the fulfilment of the condition.

In Od. 24. 343 ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἕασιν, ὁπότε δὴ Διὸς ὤραι ἐπιβρίσειαν the Present ἕασιν is open to suspicion, because all the rest of the description is in the past tense; with which the Opt. is in harmony.

In Il. 4. 263 ἔστηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πείειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγοι the Opt. is read by most MSS. It may be regarded as an Opt. of the *remoter* event (§ 305, c), depending on πείειν, which is an Inf. of *purpose*. La Roche reads ἀνάγη.

(d) A Past Tense, generally of an event which happens repeatedly or habitually: as—

Il. 1. 610 *ἐνθα πάρος κοιμᾷθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἰκάνοι.*

21. 265 *ὅσσάκι δ' ὀρμήσειε κτλ. as often as he started &c.*

Od. 8. 87 *ἦ τοι ὅτε λήξειεν . . ἔλεσκεν* (iterative).

So with *ὅτε* after *πρίν*, in Il. 9. 486 *οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες . . πρίν γ' ὅτε δῇ . . ἄσαιμι* = *you would only . . when &c.*: cp. § 297.

In this group of uses the Opt. is pure, except in—

Il. 9. 524 *οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπενθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι*

where the *κέν* may be accounted for by the change from the Plural to the Singular; cp. § 283, *note* 3.

(2) After a Past Tense of a Verb of *waiting* ὁπότε with the Aorist Opt. forms a kind of Object Clause: as Il. 7. 415 *ποτιδέγμενοι ὁππότε' ἄρ' ἔλθοι* *waiting for (the time) when he should come*; so Il. 9. 191., 18. 524, and (after *μένοντες*) 4. 334.

309.] **Clauses with ἐπεὶ.** The few examples of this use show the same varieties as with *ὅτε*, except that after another Opt. *ἐπεὶ* takes *ἄν*: viz. in—

Il. 9. 304 *νῦν γάρ χ' Ἔκτορ' ἔλοισ, ἐπεὶ ἄν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι.* So *ἐπὶν* in Il. 24. 227 (Opt. of *wish*), Od. 4. 222. It is also found without *ἄν* or *κέν*, in the statement of a supposition, Od. 24. 254 *τοιούτῳ δὲ ξοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιο φάγοι τε, εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς*: and in the iterative use, Il. 24. 14.

310.] *πρίν.* The peculiar way of expressing a condition by a Negative followed by *πρίν* (§ 297) is transferred to the past, the Subj. becoming an Opt., in—

Il. 21. 580 *οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν πρὶν πειρήσασθαι* 'Achilles.

#### *The Optative with εἰ, &c.*

311.] **Optative with εἰ—Wish.** It will be convenient to begin with examples of this form of expression, although it is a question (§ 318) whether they are true Subordinate Clauses.

Il. 15. 569 *Ἀντίλοχ', οὗ τις σείο νεώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν, οὔτε ποσὶν θάσσων οὔτ' ἄλκιμος ὥς σὺ μάχεσθαι· εἰ τινά που Τρώων ἐξάλμενος ἄνδρα βάλοισθα.*

More frequently a wish is introduced by *εἰ γάρ* or *αἶ γάρ*, as in—

*αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλών, κτλ.*

Such a wish is sometimes used as a form of asseveration, as—

Il. 18. 464 αἶ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσχεῖος ᾧδε δυνάμην  
 ῥόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἱκάνοι,  
 ὥς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται

i. e. 'as surely as I wish I could save him from death': so Il. 8. 538 (εἰ γάρ), Od. 9. 523, &c.: and ironically—

Od. 21. 402 αἶ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν,  
 ὥς οὗτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανέσασθαι.

Here also we must place the wishes expressed by εἴθε or αἶθε, which have generally the character of hopeless *regret*: as εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι κτλ.

Note that in the *Odyssey* *wish* is not expressed by εἰ except in the combinations εἰ γάρ and εἴθε.

A *wish* is often followed by a Clause expressing an expected consequence of its fulfilment; e. g.—

Il. 2. 371 αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ . .  
 τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος.

Od. 7. 331 Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἶθ' ὅσα εἶπε τελευτήσειεν ἅπαντα  
 'Ἀλκίνοος' τοῦ μέν κεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν  
 ἄσβεστον κλέος εἴη.

For other examples see § 318, 4. So we should probably punctuate—

Il. 13. 485 εἰ γὰρ ὀμηλική γε γενοίμεθα τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ·  
 αἰψά κεν ἡε φέροιτο μέγα κράτος ἡε φερόμην.

It is important to observe here that the combination of a Clause of *wish* with a Clause in the form of a Conditional Apodosis is not confined to examples with εἰ: see § 318, 2.

312.] **Optative with εἰ—Conditional Protasis.** The distinction between *wish* and *supposition* in the case of Clauses with εἰ is mainly a question of punctuation; which must be decided by the general sense of the context. If the 'Apodosis' follows closely, the Clause with εἰ is necessarily subordinate, and instead of an independent *wish* we have a mere *supposition*, made in order to lead up to the Clause of *consequence*: as—

Od. 1. 163 εἰ κείνόν γ' ἰθάκηδε ἰδοίαιτο νοστήσαντα,  
 πάντες κ' ἄρησάϊατ' ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι κτλ.

Here, although the first line expresses what the speaker would gladly see, it is better to take it as in form a supposition, or Conditional Protasis. This interpretation is required by the context in some places: as—

Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντα ἀκούσαι,  
 πολλά κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι.

Od. 16. 105 εἰ δ' αὖ με πληθὺν δαμασαίαιτο κτλ.



When the Clause with *εἰ* follows the other, the Opt. expresses supposition, or at most concession : as—

Il. 22. 20 ἢ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἰ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη.

Od. 8. 138 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης  
ἄνδρα γε συγγεῖναι, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός εἴη  
*no matter if he is very strong (= even if he should be).*

The combination *ὥς εἰ* (or *ὥς εἰ τε*) expresses *comparison* ; the principal Clause being in a past Tense, as—

Il. 2. 780 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἰ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιο  
(cp. Il. 11. 467., 22. 410, Od. 9. 314., 10. 416, 420., 17. 366).

Or negative—

Il. 11. 389 οὐκ ἀλέγω ὥς εἰ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πᾶσι ἄφρων.

The use of *εἰ* with the Opt. in the iterative sense (*if ever, whenever*), which is common in later Greek, is not Homeric : the only passage which might be quoted as an example is—

Il. 24. 768 ἀλλ' εἰ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτει . .  
ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρυκες.

313.] **Optative with *εἰ* κεν—Conditional Protasis.** This is a comparatively rare form ; it can generally be explained in accordance with the other uses of *κέν* :

Il. 5. 273 εἰ τούτῳ κε λάβοιμεν ἀροίμεθά κε κλέος ἐσθλόν  
*if (as I propose) we take them, we should &c.*

9. 141 εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιϊκόν κτλ.  
*if (as a further step) we reach Argos &c.*

23. 591 ἵππον δέ τοι αὐτὸς  
δώσω, τὴν ἀρόμην· εἰ καὶ νῦ κεν οἴκοθεν ἄλλο  
μείζον ἐπαιτήσειας, ἄφαρ κέ τοι αὐτίκα δοῦναι  
βουλοίμην *if (after that) you demand more &c.*

Od. 2. 76 εἰ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἂν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη  
*if (as I say is better, see v. 74) you devour, then &c.*

See also Il. 2. 123., 8. 196, 205, Od. 2. 246., 12. 345., 13. 389., 19. 590. And with the Clause with *εἰ* following the other—

Il. 6. 49 τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσταιτο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
εἰ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

So Il. 1. 60., 10. 381 ; cp. Od. 7. 314, and the use of *οὐδ' εἰ κεν* *not even in case*, Il. 9. 445., 19. 322., 22. 220.

314.] **Opt. with *εἰ*—Final and Object Clauses.** These are generally found after a past Tense in the Principal Clause ; *e.g.*—

Il. 2. 97 κήρυκες βοδῶντες ἐρήτυον, εἰ ποτ' αὐτῆς  
σχολίαιτ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ κτλ (*in view that they should &c.*)

Od. 4. 317 ἤλυθον, εἰ τῶά μοι κληιδόνα πατρός ἐνίσποις  
*I have come in the hope that you may tell &c.*

With Verbs of *seeking, trying, desiring, &c.* the Clause with εἰ has the character of an Object Clause: as—

Il. 4. 88 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζήμενῃ εἰ πον ἐφεύροι  
*seeking in the hope of finding (= seeking to find).*

With Verbs of *telling, knowing, seeing, thinking, &c.* the Clause with εἰ serves as Object. Examples of this idiom are almost confined to the Odyssey; *e.g.*—

Od. 1. 115 ὁσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθῶν  
 μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείῃ  
*i.e. 'with the thought in his heart, whether his father would come and scatter the suitors:'* cp. 2. 351., 5. 439., 9. 317, 421.

Od. 12. 112 εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες  
 εἴ πως τὴν ὁλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν  
*tell me as to the hope that I may escape &c.*

In three places the Clause follows a Primary Tense:

Od. 14. 119 Ζεὺς . . οἶδε . . εἰ κέ μιν ἀγγέλαιμι ἰδῶν.

20. 224 ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον ὁτομαι εἴ ποθεν . . θείῃ.

Il. 11. 792 τίς δ' οἶδ' εἰ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν δρίναις;

The pure Optative is used in all the places quoted, except the two in which εἴ κεν follows οἶδε (Il. 11. 792, Od. 14. 119). In these the structure is the same as in the corresponding *independent* Clauses.

#### *History of the Subjunctive and Optative.*

315.] **Uses in Independent Clauses.** The uses of the Subj. and Opt. in independent Clauses have been shown to fall in each case into two main groups. In one set of meanings the Mood expresses *desire on the part of the speaker*; to this belong the Subj. of *command* and *prohibition*, and the Opt. of *wish*. In the other the Mood is a kind of Future; the Subj. being an emphatic or confident Future (like our Future with *shall*), the Opt. a softened Future, expressing expectation, or mere admission of possibility (the English *may* or *should*).

These two sets of meanings may be called the 'quasi-Imperative,' and the 'quasi-Future.' We must remember however that they are not always clearly separable, but are connected by transitional or intermediate uses: such as (*e.g.*) the Subj. which expresses *necessity* (§ 277), and the Opt. of *concession* (§ 299, d).

316.] **Uses in Subordinate Clauses.** Passing over for the present the question whether the quasi-Imperative or the quasi-Future use is to be regarded in each case as representing the *original* meaning of the Mood, we proceed to consider the uses in Subordinate Clauses. Here the main distinction is that between 'Final' and 'Conditional,' if these terms are used with some latitude: especially if we rank with the Final Clauses not only those which distinctly express the *end* or purpose of an action, but also all Clauses which are referred to the time of the

governing Verb. It is true that this distinction does not always apply; e.g. to the Subj. in—

Δαναῶν δλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητάων,  
οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες δλονται·

or to the Opt. in—

ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείζον . .  
μηστῆρες φράζονται, δ μὴ τελέσειε Κρονίων.

For there the Relative Clause is not really subordinate to the Verb of the Principal Clause: it is in sense a *parenthesis*, and is construed accordingly as an independent Sentence. Again, in—

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' δλώλη κτλ.  
φρασσόμεθ' ἡ νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ' ἡε μένωμεν.  
δεΐδιε γὰρ μὴ λαμδὸν ἀποτμήσειε κτλ.

and generally in *Object* Clauses, the Subordinate Clause does not express *end*; but the time from which it is regarded as spoken is fixed by the governing Verb, in the same way that the time of a true Final Clause is fixed by the action of which it gives the end. For the present purpose, accordingly, there are two kinds of Clause to be considered, (1) Final and Object Clauses, and (2) Conditional Clauses.

Regarding the meaning of the Subjunctive and Optative in Final Clauses there can be little doubt. The Subj. in most instances follows either a First Person (Present or Future), or an Imperative; that is to say, it expresses the immediate purpose with which the speaker announces his own action, or commands the action of others. Hence, by a natural transference, it comes to express the purpose of another person (viz. the Subject of the Principal Clause). Similarly the Opt., whether as the Mood of *wish* or of *expectation*, comes to express a wish or expectation not felt, but spoken of; and moreover, by virtue of its character as a softened or less confident Future, it naturally expresses a purpose that does not lie within the speaker's own sphere of action or direct influence.

It should be observed, however, that the shifting of the point of view from which a purpose is regarded is comparatively rare in Homer: see §§ 280, 281, 285, 286. This shifting is of course a criterion of a fully formed Subordinate Clause.

In Conditional Clauses, on the other hand, the condition or supposition is not subordinated to the time of the governing Verb, but is made from the *present* point of view of the speaker. The question arises: What is the original force of the Subj. and Opt. in this use?

The answer seems to be that the Subj. is used in its quasi-Imperative sense, the Opt. as an Opt. of *wish* or *concession*. Both these ways of expressing a supposition are natural enough, as may be shown by parallels from other languages. We say (e.g.) 'let it be so,' meaning 'if it is so': and 'were he here' both in expressing wish, and with the meaning 'if he were here.' Moreover, as is plain in these English uses, the choice of the Mood does not ultimately depend, as is sometimes said, on the greater or less *probability* of the supposition being true, but on the *tone* in which it is made—on the degree of  *vividness*, as Mr. Goodwin says, with which it is expressed (Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 50, 2). That is to say, the difference between εἰ ἔρχεται, εἰν ἔλθῃ, εἰ ἔλθῃ, is not a question between *he comes*,—*he shall come*,—*he may come*, but rather between *I suppose him to come*,—*I will have you suppose him to come*,—*I pray you to suppose him to come*.

This account of the matter is confirmed by the fact that *negative* Conditional Clauses take μή, not οὐ: in other words they are forms of *prohibition*, not *denial*. Thus (e.g.) δς μὴ ἔλθῃ literally means, not 'who *will not come* (οὐκ ἂν ἔλθῃ), but

who *must* not come, *i. e.* 'whom we must not suppose coming'; and similarly  $\delta\varsigma \mu\eta \xi\lambda\theta\omicron\iota$  'whom we do not choose to suppose coming.'

It may be objected that, if the ground of the use of  $\mu\eta$  were the quasi-Imperative sense of the Mood, we should have  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with the Indicative. But there is no difficulty in supposing that  $\mu\eta$  was extended to the Indicative on the analogy of the (probably more familiar) Clauses with the Subj. and Opt.; just as  $\mu\eta \acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  is an extension from the common use of  $\mu\eta$  in wishes, and as in Final Clauses  $\mu\eta$  is used with the past Tenses of the Indicative. And this view is strongly supported by the circumstance that in fact  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with the Indicative occurs several times in Homer, in places to which the ordinary explanation (that  $\omicron\upsilon$  goes closely with some one word) does not apply: *e. g.*—

Il. 15. 162  $\epsilon\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\omicron\iota \omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\sigma' \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\tau\lambda.$  (so 178).

20. 129  $\epsilon\iota \delta' \text{'}\text{Αχιλλεύς} \omicron\upsilon \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon \kappa \epsilon \kappa\upsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \delta\mu\phi\grave{\eta}\varsigma$

24. 296  $\epsilon\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\iota \omicron\upsilon \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota \epsilon\delta\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \kappa\tau\lambda.$

Od. 2. 274  $\epsilon\iota \delta' \omicron\upsilon \kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon \gamma' \epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota} \gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$

See also Il. 4. 160, Od. 12. 382., 13. 143. On the other hand, in the very few examples of  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with a Subj., the  $\omicron\upsilon$  goes closely with the Verb, viz. Il. 3. 289 ( $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ ), 20. 139 ( $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\iota\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota$ ). On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the Subj. and Opt. in Conditional Clauses represent the tone of *requirement* or *desire* (respectively) in which the speaker *asks us to suppose* the condition to be true.

**317.] Original meaning.** The question whether the use of the Subj. as an emphatic Future was derived from its use to express Will, or *vice versa*, and the distinct though singularly parallel question whether the Optative originally expressed *wish* or *supposition*, take us back to a very early period in the history of Indo-European speech. The two Moods are found in the same uses (generally speaking) in Homer and in the Veda: the formation of these uses therefore belongs in the main to the period before the separation of the different languages, —to the period, indeed, when the original parent language was itself in course of formation. The problem therefore is one on which comparison of the earliest forms of the known Indo-European languages can hardly throw any light. It is as though we were asked to divine whether the use of *shall* in commands (*thou shalt not*—) or in predictions (*ye shall see me*) is the older, without being allowed to compare the uses of the word in Old English, German, &c. Perhaps, however, the fact that the Endings of the Subj. are generally the same as those of the Present and Future Indicative creates a slight probability against regarding it as an Imperative. The use of the Subj. for the Imperative of the First Person proves nothing on the other side, because a true First Person Imperative is in the nature of things impossible.

Similarly the use of the Secondary Endings in the Optative points to the conclusion that it was originally a kind of Past Tense. The loss of the Augment, being common to Greek and Sanscrit, would have to be referred to a very early period, but is not therefore incredible. The tendency to use a past Tense in wishes, and in some kinds of suppositions, may be amply illustrated. On the other hand it may be said that the *simplest* use of the Optative is that in which it expresses wish:  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  means *may it be!* but an additional word is necessary to turn this into  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$  *it may be*. This argument must be allowed to have considerable weight, since it is likely *a priori* that the simplest use of a form will approach most nearly to the *primitive* use; but it is not quite conclusive. We may suppose that  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  originally meant *it might be*, and was often used to

express a wish: whereas γένοιτ' ἄν (*it might be in that case*) could not express wish, but only supposition. Under such circumstances the tendency would be to avoid ambiguity by generally confining the 'pure' γένοιτο to wishes.

An argument against Delbrück's theory, that the Opt. originally expressed *wish*, may perhaps be found in the use of the pure Opt. with οὐ (§ 299, f). If the meaning passed gradually, as he supposes, from wish to expectation, we should expect to find μή retained (as in the Conditional Clauses). It may be observed, too, that in the case of the Subj. the tendency is to drop the quasi-Future uses, and retain those which are quasi-Imperative; see § 322.

318.] **Conditional Protasis with εἰ.** The derivations that have been proposed for the Particle εἰ or αἰ are too uncertain to furnish any ground for determining its original meaning. It shows no trace of a *temporal* sense; and the form εἰτα, which might be thought to be the corresponding Demonstrative (cp. ἔπει—ἔπειτα) is not found in Homer. Curtius is disposed to identify εἰ with Lat. *si*, Oscan *svai*, from the Stem *sva* (σφε-). This derivation, however, does not suggest any theory as to the manner in which the Conditional Protasis may be supposed to have been formed. The question arises for us on the passages in which εἰ with the Opt. is used to express a wish. Thus in εἰ τις καλέσειε *I pray some one to call* it is usual to take the Clause as Conditional, with a suppressed Apodosis (καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι or the like). Or we may follow L. Lange in holding that the Clause is not Subordinate at all, the Particle εἰ being originally a kind of affirmative Interjection, used to introduce expressions of wish and supposition; and we can thus explain the ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence as made up of two originally independent Clauses, viz. (1) a *wish* or *supposition*, introduced by εἰ, and (2) an assertion of the consequence to be expected from its being realised.

The latter of these views has *a priori* the advantage of deriving the complex from the simple: and it is supported by Homeric usage. We find in Homer—

- (1) Wish, standing alone:

ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε βέζοι.

- (2) Wish, followed by an independent Clause expressing expectation of a consequence:

Od. 15. 180 οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θείῃ, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης  
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὥς εὐχετοφίμην.

Il. 13. 55 σφῶϊν δ' ὥδε θεῶν τις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ποιήσειεν,  
αὐτῶ θ' ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς καὶ ἀναγέμεν ἄλλους·  
τῷ κε καὶ ἐσσύμενόν περ ἐρωήσαιτ' ἀπὸ νηῶν.

4. 93 ἦ βᾶ νύ μοι τι πίθοιο, Λυκάονος νιὲ δαΐφρον·  
τλαίης κεν κτλ.

So Il. 14. 107., 21. 428., 22. 285, Od. 8. 465., 14. 193, &c. With these we may compare isolated cases in which the expression of wish takes a different form:

Il. 3. 52 οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνειας ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον;  
γνοίης χ' οἶον φανὸς ἔχεις θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν.

Od. 17. 242 τόδε μοι κρήνατ' ἐέλδωρ,  
ὡς ἔλθοι μὲν κείνος ἀνὴρ, ἀγάγοι δέ ἐ δαίμων·  
τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαῖας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας.

- (3) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γάρ, εἴθε, &c., but without 'Apodosis':

Il. 4. 189 αἰ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη, φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε.

11. 670 εἴθ' ὥς ἠβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,  
ὥς ὀπότε κτλ.

- (4) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γάρ, εἴθε, &c., followed by a Clause of Consequence:

Il. 7. 157 εἴθ' ὥς ἠβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη·  
τῷ κέ τάχ' ἀντήσειε κτλ.

Od. 15. 536 αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τελέσειε. Κρονίων·  
γνοίης χ' οἷα ἐμὴ δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται.

- (5) Supposition, with εἰ, followed by a Clause of expectation:

Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ἢ· Ἔκτορ πάντας ἀκούσαι,  
πολλὰ κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι.

The similarity in these examples is manifest. The type in the first four sets consists of a Clause of Wish, either standing alone or followed by a Clause of Consequence. As the Clauses are independent in (2), so they must be in (4): and if the Clause with the Opt. and κέν is not the grammatical Apodosis to the Clause with εἰ, then there is no *grammatical Apodosis*. If so, there is no reason to supply an Apodosis in (3). Again, (5) only differs from (4) in punctuation, so to speak: the two Clauses are taken together, instead of being separated by a distinct pause.

On this theory, then, the Clause of Wish introduced by εἰ is not an incomplete Sentence, derived from a Complex Sentence by omission of the Apodosis, but is one of the elements from which the Complex Sentence was itself developed. And regarding εἰ we have to suppose that it was originally used to introduce a Clause of Wish, whether followed by an 'Apodosis' or not, and was confined by degrees to the Conditional 'Protasis': the use of εἴθε and εἰ γάρ being a survival of the earlier and simpler syntax.

319.] **Final Clauses with εἰ.** This view of the original force of εἰ makes it easier to explain the use of εἰ in Final Clauses, such as εἴμι εἰ κε πίθηται, lit. *I go* —(*suppose*) *he shall listen*. The meaning here is essentially different from that of the Conditional sentence *I go if he listens*; and on the ordinary hypothesis, that the Clause with εἰ originally expressed a condition, it is difficult to account for the two uses. If however εἰ merely indicates a *hope* or *supposition*, it is intelligible that the Clause should admit of the Conditional or the Final sense, as the context may determine.

320.] **Order of the Clauses.** A further argument on the same side may be founded on the observation that a Conditional Clause introduced by εἰ in most cases precedes the Principal Clause. The reverse order is mostly found where the condition is a kind of afterthought, as in Clauses introduced by εἰ περ ἂν *even if*, οὐδ' εἰ κεν *not even if*, and the like. Most Relative Clauses, on the other hand, follow the Principal Clause, and this may be regarded as the normal order—the Relative 'referring' to an 'antecedent' Noun or Pronoun.

In this point a slight difference is observed between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Lange has shown that the number of instances in which a Conditional εἰ-Clause with the Opt. precedes is, in the *Iliad* 22, in the *Odyssey* 15. As the *Iliad* is longer than the *Odyssey* in the ratio 5 : 4, this shows a slight difference in favour of the *Iliad*. Again, the instances in which the Clause follows are, in the *Iliad* 15, in the *Odyssey* 26; giving the *Odyssey* an advantage (when the length of the poems has been taken into account) represented by 13 : 6. It is also worth notice that (as Lange has pointed out) the form εἰ περ ἂν is confined to the *Iliad*, occur-

ring 4 times; also that οὐδ' εἰ κεν occurs 7 times in the Iliad, but only once in the Odyssey. That is to say, in the Iliad the inversion of the order is oftener marked by the use of a special form.

321.] The formula εἰ δ' ἄγε, with the varieties εἰ δ' ἄγετ' (Il. 22. 381) and εἰ δέ (Il. 9. 46, 262), is often used in Homer to introduce an Imperative or Subjunctive (§ 275). It has generally been supposed to be elliptical, standing for εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἄγε, or the like. And εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις is actually found with an Imperative in a few places: Il. 19. 142 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἐπίμεινον, Od. 16. 82., 17. 277 (cp. 3. 324). It has been pointed out, however, by Prof. L. Lange, in his dissertation on this question,\* that εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις is only found where it introduces a distinct *second alternative*. Thus in Od. 16. 82 the context is: 'I will send the stranger wherever he desires; or if you choose (εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις) take him into your house.' So Od. 3. 323 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν σὺν νηϊ . . εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πεζὺς κτλ. But with εἰ δ' ἄγε this is not the case. We find it at the beginning of a speech; as—

Il. 6. 376 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι, δμωαί, νημέρτεα μυθήσασθε.

Od. 2. 178 ὦ γέρον, εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν μαντεύεο κτλ.: also Il. 16. 667., 17. 685.

Od. 12. 112., 22. 391., 23. 35.

Or in the Apodosis of a Conditional sentence, as—

Od. 4. 831 εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι, θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες αὐδῆς,

εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι κτλ.: so Il. 22. 379–381.

Or to express an appeal which is *consequent* upon something just said: as—

Il. 1. 301 τῶν οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις ἀνελὼν δέκοντος ἐμείο·

εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι (ay, come now and try): cp. Il. 8. 18.

1. 523 ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται ὄφρα τελέσω·

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανέυσσομαι (so come, I will nod my head).

23. 579 εἰ δ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς δικάσω, καὶ μ' οὐ τινά φημι

ἄλλον ἐπιπλήξειν Δαναῶν· ἰθεὶς γὰρ ἔσται·

'Ἀντίλοχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε δεῦρο . . ὀμνυθί κτλ.

come I will be judge myself . . so come, Antilochus, take this oath &c.: see also Od. 1. 271., 9. 37., 21. 217., 24. 336.

Hence, as Lange argues, it is much more probable that εἰ does not express condition, but has an interjectional character (cp. Latin *eia age*): and if so it offers a perfect parallel to the use with the Opt. of Wish (§ 311). We obtain a 'survival'—a use of εἰ with the Imper. and the Subj. in *Simple Clauses*—bearing the same relation to the Conditional Protasis with the Subj. (εἰ ἔλθῃ *let him come*) which we have supposed εἰ with the Opt. of Wish (εἰ ἔλθοι *may he come*) to bear to the Conditional Protasis with the Opt.

322.] **Homeric and Attic uses.** The main difference between Homer and later writers in regard to the Moods may be said to be that the later uses are much more restricted. Thus the Subj. is used by Homer in Principal Clauses of every kind—Affirmative and Negative, as well as Prohibitive, Interrogative, &c. In Attic it is confined to the Prohibitive use with μή, and the idiomatic 'Hortatory' and 'Deliberative' uses.

Again, in Subordinate Clauses the important Homeric distinction between the 'pure' Subj. and the Subj. with εἰν or κέν is almost wholly lost in Attic. In

\* De formula Homerica εἰ δ' ἄγε commentatio, Lipsiae 1873.

Clauses of Conditional meaning, whether Relativ, Temporal, or introduced by *εἰ*, the Subj. with *ἄν* has become the only generally allowable construction: the pure Subj. being confined to a few instances in poetry. With the Optative, on the other hand, an equal uniformity has been attained by the loss of the use with *ἄν* or *κέν*. In short, of the four distinct Homeric constructions—

1. *ὅς ἐλθῇ* (*ὅτε ἐλθῇ, εἰ ἐλθῇ, &c.*)
2. *ὅς ἄν* (or *ὅς κεν*) *ἐλθῇ* (*ὅτ' ἄν ἐλθῇ, ἰὼν ἐλθῇ, &c.*)
3. *ὅς ἐλθοί* (*ὅτε ἐλθοί, εἰ ἐλθοί, &c.*)
4. *ὅς ἄν* (or *ὅς κεν*) *ἐλθοί* (*ὅτ' ἄν ἐλθοί, ἰὼν ἐλθοί, &c.*)

the language dropped the first and last: with the result that as *ἄν* always accompanied the Subj. and was absent from the Opt., it ceased to convey a distinct meaning, independent of the meaning given by the Mood. In other words, the use became a mere idiom. The change, though apparently slight, is very significant as an evidence of linguistic progress: for it is in such *minutiae* that real familiarity with a language is most certainly distinguished from a merely imitative or conventional use of it.

In regard to Final Clauses the most noticeable point is the use of the Relative with a Subjunctive. In this respect Homeric Greek agrees with Latin: while in later Greek the Subj. was replaced, generally speaking, by the Future Indicative. It is also worth observing here that in Homer, as has been said (§ 316), the Final Clause in the great majority of instances expresses the speaker's own purpose, not a purpose which he attributes to a person spoken of: see §§ 280, 281, 285, 286. In other words, the subordination of the Clause to the governing Verb does not often go so far as to put the Third Person for the First (*e.g.* *φράσεται ὥς κε νέηται* = *he will consider—how am I to return*'). The further license by which a past purpose is thought of as if still present—so that the Subj. is used instead of the Opt.—is not Homeric (§ 298).

#### *Modal Uses of the Indicative.*

323.] **The Indicative** is primarily the Mood of *assertion*: from which it is an easy step to the use in Negative and Interrogative sentences. It is also used in Greek (as in other languages) to express mere *supposition*: thus we have *εἰ* in a Conditional Protasis with all Tenses (*εἰ ἦν, εἰ ἔστι, εἰ ἔσται*), where there need be no implication either for or against the truth of the supposition thus made. Further, the Indicative may be used in certain cases in a Conditional Apodosis, expressing an imaginary *consequence*. Again, it may be used in Final and Object Clauses referring to the past or to future. All such uses, in which the Indicative does not *assert*, may be called *Modal Uses*.

The tendency of language appears to be to extend the Modal Uses of the Indicative, and consequently to diminish the range of the other Moods. It is found possible, and more convenient, to show the modal character of a Clause by means of Particles, or from the drift of the context, without a distinct Verbal form. It will be seen, on comparing the Homeric and Attic usage, that the Indicative has encroached in several points upon the other Moods.



324.] **Conditional Clauses (Apodosis).** The Secondary Tenses, or Tenses of *past time* (Aor. Impf. and Plupf.), are used with *ἄν* or *κέν* to express a supposed consequence: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνακτος  
ὀρνυμένου· ὑπὸ κεν ταλασίφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν  
*fear would have seized even the stout-hearted.*

This way of speaking of a conditional event ordinarily implies that the condition on which it depended was not fulfilled. For if (*e.g.*) the assertion *ἦλθεν he came* is true, we can hardly ever have occasion to limit it by saying *ἦλθεν ἄν*, lit. *he came in that case*. Hence a Past Tense with *ἄν* or *κέν* naturally came to be used where the event in question had not happened, owing to the non-fulfilment of the condition.

Sometimes, of course, the event is not sufficiently definite to suggest anything as to its happening or not: *e.g.* in—

Il. 16. 638 οὐδ' ἄν ἔτι φράδμων περ ἀνὴρ Σαρπηδόνα διόν  
ἔγνω (not even a shrewd man would have known Sarpedon)

there is no implication that some one *did* know him.

Again, the rule does not apply to events that occur *repeatedly*, or on no particular occasion; for there is no contradiction in saying of such an event that it happened when a condition was fulfilled. Hence the use in the *iterative* sense (as Hdt. 3. 119 *κλαίεσκε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρόσκετο*, Thuc. 7. 71 *εἰ τινες ἰδοῖεν . . ἀνεθάρσσαν τε ἄν κτλ.*). This use, however, can hardly be shown to be Homeric. In Od. 2. 104 *ἔνθα κεν ἡματιή μὲν ὑφαίνεσκειν* has slender authority, most MSS. reading *ἔνθα καί*. Another doubtful instance is—

Od. 18. 263 ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
ἔκριναν μέγα νείκος κτλ.

where the commentators (Fäsi, Ameis, Merry) take *ἔκριναν* as a 'gnomic' Aorist. On this view the use of *κέν* has no parallel in Homer.

An exceptional use of a different kind is—

Od. 4. 546 ἡ γάρ μιν ζῶν γε κινήσει, ἢ κεν Ὀρέστης  
κτείνειν ὑποφθάμενος.

Here *κέν* marks the alternative (§ 283, n. 2): *either you will find him alive or (in the other case) Orestes has killed him* (i. e. *must have killed him*). Thrown into a Conditional form the sentence would be: 'if you do not find him alive, then Orestes has killed him.'

The Imperfect in this use may express either a continuous action which *would have occurred* at some past time, or an action (continuous or momentary) which *would have been occurring* at the moment of speaking.

This, at least, is the later usage. Mr. Goodwin holds that in Homer the Imperfect Indicative never refers to the time of speaking (Greek Moods and Tenses, § 49, 2, N. 1): but the following is perhaps an instance:—

Od. 4. 174 καὶ κέ οἱ Ἀργεῖ νάσσα πάλιν . .

\* \* \* \*

178 καὶ κε θάμ' ἐνθάδ' ἰόντες ἐμισγόμεθ', οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας  
ἄλλο διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε  
πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν.

Here the Impf. *ἔμоргόμεθα* takes in the present time: *we should* (from that time till now) *have been meeting*.

The Impf. without *ἄν* or *κέν* may express what *ought to have been*, if the meaning of *fitness, obligation, &c.* is given by the Verb or Predicate. Thus we have Od. 20. 331 *κέρδιον ἦεν* *it would have been better*. So in Attic with *ἐχρήν, ἴδει*, and similar words.

The Opt. with *ἄν* or *κέν*, as we have seen (§ 300, c), is not unfrequently used in Homer with the same meaning as the Aor. or Impf. Indicative. The latter is the only construction in later Greek; so that this is one of the points in which the use of the Indicative gained on that of the Optative.

325.] **Past Tense by 'Assimilation.'** When a Past Tense relating to an event which has not happened is followed by a Subordinate Clause, the Verb of the Subordinate Clause may also be in a Past Tense (the event which it expresses being equally imaginary): as—

Il. 6. 345 *ὥς μ' ὄφελ' ἦματι τῷ . .*  
*οἷχσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα,*  
*ἔνθα με κύμ' ἀπόρσε κτλ.*

and so v. 350 *ἀνδρὸς ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον . . ὅς ἦδη κτλ.*, and Od. 1. 218: also the use with *πρίν*, Od. 4. 178 *οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας ἄλλο διέκρινεν . . πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν* *nothing would have parted us before the dark cloud of death had wrapped us round*.

See Kühner, § 399, 6, a. This idiom is the same in principle as the use of Past Tenses in Final Clauses (Kühner, § 553, 7), which is common in Attic with *ἵνα* and *ὥς*: as Soph. O. T. 1393 *τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν ἔκτεινας εὐθύς, ὥς εἰδεία μή ποτε κτλ.* *that so I might never have shown &c.* When the context has once shown that we are dealing with a purely imaginary event, the Indicative serves to carry on the train of suppositions. The Opt. would suggest a *real* purpose, and thus would be at least ambiguous.

326.] **Future Indicative.** The following points have to be noticed:

1. Homer not unfrequently uses *κέν* with the Future, the effect being (as with the Subj.) to indicate a limitation or condition: as—

Il. 1. 139 *ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται* *and he (if I do so) will be angry*.  
 522 *ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αὖτις ἀπόστιχε μή τι νοήσῃ*  
*"Ἡρῇ· ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται (to me, as my part).*  
 4. 176 *καὶ κέ τις ᾧδ' ἐρέει* *in such case men will say*.

This use of *κέν* is chiefly found after *δέ*, as Il. 1. 139., 6. 260., 8. 419, &c.: and in Relative Clauses, as Il. 12. 226., 17. 241., 22. 70. Od. 5. 36., 8. 318., 16. 438. Cp. the use of *κέν* with the Subj., § 275, b.

The Future with *ἄν* is very rare: see Il. 9. 167., 22. 66.

2. The use of the Future with the force of a *gentle Imperative* has been ascribed to Homer, but without sufficient ground. Where it appears to take the place of an Imperative it will be found in reality to express the *indifference* of the speaker; as—

Il. 6. 70 ἄλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμεν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκηλοι  
νεκροὺς ἅμ πεδίου συλήσετε τεθνηῶτας  
*then you can (if you like) strip the dead of their arms.*

The forms *οἴσεται* and *ἄξετε*, which are sometimes given as instances of this use, do not belong to the Future, but are Imperatives of an Aorist (§ 41).

3. The Future is occasionally found in *Final Clauses* with nearly the force of the Subj.: viz. with the Conjunctions *ὅπως* (in Od. 1. 57 θέλγει ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται *charms so that he may forget Ithaca*), and *ὅφρα*, as—

Il. 8. 110 Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοις ἰθύνομεν, ὅφρα καὶ Ἔκτωρ  
εἴσεται κτλ. (so Il. 16. 242, Od. 4. 163., 6. 218).

So with *μή*, Il. 20. 301 *μή πως καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται*.

The Future with *κέν* in Relative Clauses sometimes appears to express *end*, as in Il. 1. 174 *πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι*: cp. 2. 229., 10. 44, 282., 23. 675., 24. 154, Od. 14. 333.

In such places, however, as in the corresponding uses of the Subj. (§ 282), and Opt. (§ 304), it is difficult to say how far the notion of *end* is distinctly expressed: in other words, how far the future action is subordinated to that of the main Verb.

The use of the Future in *Object Clauses* (common in Attic after Verbs of *striving*, &c.) may perhaps be seen in Il. 12. 59 *μενοίνεον εἰ τελέουσι*, also Od. 5. 24., 13. 376.

It is sometimes impossible to decide whether a form is a Future or an Aorist Subj.: e.g. in Od. 1. 269 *σὲ δὲ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα δῖππος κε μνηστῆρας ἀπώσσει*, where the Verb may be either a Future, as in the places now quoted, or a Subj., according to the commoner Homeric construction.

Mr. Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, § 44, 1, N. 1) holds that in these constructions the Future differs from the Subjunctive only by being a more *vivid* form of statement. The instances are hardly numerous enough for a good induction; but a comparison of other uses of the Subj. does not bear out Mr. Goodwin's view. In general, as we have seen, the Subj. is akin to the Imperative, and therefore expresses the speaker's *purpose* directly, by its own force; whereas the Fut. Ind. properly expresses *sequence*, and so comes indirectly to imply purpose. Thus *θέλγει ὥς λήθεται* literally means 'charms so that he *shall* forget': *θέλγει ὅπως λήσεται* 'charms so that he *will* forget.' Hence the Subj. is naturally the more direct and vivid Mood. The same conclusion seems to follow from the rule that *ὅπως* and *ὅφρα* may be used with a Future, but not *ὥς* or *ἵνα* (Goodwin, *ibid.*). For *ὥς* in the manner *that* fits a direct purpose better than *ὅπως* in some such manner *that*, or *ὅφρα* till the time *that*. It would seem probable, then, that in Final Clauses the Future is a less emphatic and positive form of expression. And the Homeric instances do not prove the contrary. Thus when Achilles prays (Il. 16. 242), 'embolden him so that Hector may know,' the Future may well convey a shade of indifference, as though Hector's knowledge were the natural conse-

quence rather than the direct object. And so in Il. i. 175 *οὐκ ἐμὲ τιμήσουσι* *who will (I presume) honour me.*

4. In Clauses with *εἰ* the Future is chiefly used (1) to make suppositions about definite events or issues: as—

Il. 12. 248 *εἰ δὲ σὺ δῖοι ἥτορ ἀφείξαι, ἢ τί νιν' ἄλλον*  
*παρφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν ἀποτρέψεις κτλ.*

So Il. i. 294., 2. 387., 5. 350., 13. 375., 15. 162, Od. 2. 115, &c. And with *κέν*—

Il. 15. 213 *αἶ κεν ἄνευ ἐμέθεν . . πεφιδήσεται κτλ.*

It is also used (2) to express a *present* intention or necessity:

Il. 14. 61 *ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,*  
*εἰ τι νόος ῥέξει (if wit is to be of any avail).*

17. 418 *εἰ τοῦτον Τρώεσσι μεθήσομεν (if we are going to &c.).*

We may compare the Conditional Relative Clause—

Il. 23. 753 *ὄρνυσθ' οἷ καὶ τοῦτον ἀέθλου πειρήσσεθαι*  
*rise, ye that will make trial of this contest.*

Other instances of this use of the Future to express *present* conditions are given by Mr. Goodwin (§ 49, 1, N. 3). Regarding the use in *future* conditions, he holds that the Future is a more *ivid* form than the Subj. Thus there would be three degrees of vividness, (1) *εἰ* with the Future, (2) *ἐάν* with the Subj., (3) *εἰ* with the Opt. The view taken above (§ 316) of the nature of the Moods in Conditional Clauses points rather to the conclusion that while the Subj. gives vividness or emphasis, and the Opt. has the opposite character (expressly *avoiding* a positive tone), the Indicative makes a supposition in a neutral manner. Accordingly it is generally found in Homer when the supposition is of an obvious or familiar kind.

### *The Imperative.*

327.] The Homeric uses of the Imperative present little or no difficulty. We may notice the use in *concession*, ironical or real:

Il. 4. 29 *ἔρδ', ἀτὰρ οὗ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι.*

The forms *ἄγε* and *ἄγετε* are often combined with other Imperatives for the sake of emphasis: and sometimes *ἄγε* is treated as indeclinable, and used where the context requires a Plural; as—

Il. 2. 331 *ἀλλ' ἄγε μίμνετε πάντες κτλ.* (so i. 62., 6. 376, &c.).

Similarly *ἴθι* is a kind of Interjection in Il. 4. 362 *ἀλλ' ἴθι, τὰντα δ' ὀπισθεν ἀρυσόμεθ' κτλ.*: and so we have *βάσκει ἴθι* (like *εἴπ' ἄγε*). And *δεῦτε* *hither!* is evidently an Imperative: cp. Il. 14. 128 *δεῦτ' ἵομεν πόλεμόνδε*. The corresponding 2 Sing. doubtless enters into the formation of *δεῦρο*; but it is not clear how that word is to be analysed.

328.] **Prohibition.** The Aorist Imperative is very rarely used with *μή*: examples are—

Il. 4. 410 *τῶ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίῃ ἐνθεο τιμῇ*  
 (so Od. 24. 248 *σὺ δὲ μὴ χόλον ἐνθεο θυμῷ*).

18. 134 *σὺ μὲν μή πω καταδύσαιο μῶλον Ἀργεος.*

For the rule which is the complement of this one, forbidding the use of the Present Subj. with μή, see § 278 *fn.*

Regarding the origin of this curious idiom a very probable conjecture has recently been made by Prof. Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 120). In the Veda, it has been shown by Grassmann, the prohibitive Particle *md* is never found with the forms of the Imperative proper, but only with the so-called 'spurious Con-junctive.' Hence it may be inferred that the Imperative was only used originally in *positive* commands, not in prohibitions. Again, it appears that in Sanscrit the Imperative is nearly confined to the Present Tense: and in Greek the forms of the First Aor. Imper. (κλέψον, Mid. κλέψαι) are certainly of late origin. The fine distinction which is made, in the Imperative as well as in other Moods, between the continuous action expressed by the Present Stem and the momentary action expressed by the Aorist belongs to the specific development of Greek. Accordingly Delbrück suggests that the extension of the Imperative to express prohibition took place at a time in the growth of Greek syntax when the Aorist Imperative had not come into general use: and hence that it was only carried into the Present Tense. In other words, the form μή κλέπτε came into use in pre-historic Greek as an extension of the positive κλέπτε: while μή κλέψῃς, which represents an older form of prohibition, kept its ground (side by side with the new μή κλέπτε) because the form κλέψον did not then exist. This account of the idiom seems much more probable than any attempt to explain it on psychological grounds.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PARTICLES.

329.] Under the term *Particles* it is convenient to group together a number of words that are mainly used to show the relations between other words, and between Clauses. In respect of this office they are akin to the various syllables or letters used as Endings: and with them go to constitute what are called the 'formal elements' of the language, in contradistinction to the roots or stems which compose its 'matter.'

The Particles which connect successive Clauses in any way form the *Conjunctions*. As such they may be distinguished, according to the nature of the connexion which they indicate, as *Copulative* (καί, τέ, ἤδέ, &c.), *Adversative* (δέ, ἀλλά, αὐτάρ), *Dis-junctive* (ἤ—ἤ), *Conditional* (εἰ, ἄν, κέν), *Illative* (ἄρα, δι, οὖν), *Causal* (γάρ), &c.

Those Particles, again, which affect single Clauses may either serve to show the character of the whole Clause (as Affirmative, Interrogative, Conditional, &c.), or to influence particular words in it. We cannot, however, make a satisfactory classification of

the Particles on the basis of these uses, because some of them are employed in several distinct ways: and moreover they enter into various combinations in which they often acquire new meanings. It will be best therefore to take them separately, beginning with the most familiar.

## καί.

330.] The uses of καί are in the main the same in all periods of Greek. It is (1) a Copulative Conjunction, conveying the idea of *addition* to what has preceded: Ζηνὶ φῶς ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις *to Zeus and the others besides*: ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ κτλ. *thus he spoke and thereupon &c.*: and (2) a strengthening or emphasising Particle meaning *also, even, just*: as—

Π. 1. 63 ἦ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον *or even a dream-prophet.*

3. 176 τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα *which is the very reason that I am wasted with weeping.*

It is especially used with words that imply *comparison*, increase or diminution, extension of time or the reverse, &c.; as καὶ ἄλλος *another* (not this only), καὶ αὐτός *himself* (as well as others): καὶ πάλαι *long ago* (not merely now), καὶ αὖθις *another time* (if not now), καὶ μάλα, καὶ λίην (in a *high* degree, not merely in an *ordinary* degree): so with Comparatives, καὶ μείζον, καὶ ῥίγιον, &c. Both terms of a comparison may be strengthened in this way; as—

Π. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν κτλ.

Notice, too, the use at the beginning of an Apodosis, esp. with Adverbs of *time*, as—

Π. 1. 477 ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς,  
καὶ τότε' ἔπειτ' κτλ.

καὶ precedes the word which it emphasises, but is sometimes separated from it by other Particles, enclitic Pronouns, &c.; as Π. 1. 213 καὶ ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα (not merely compensation but) *three times as much*: 2. 292 καὶ γάρ τίς θ' ἔνα μῆνα μένων *a man who stays even one month*. So 7. 281 καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες (= ἴσμεν καὶ πάντες).

καὶ εἰ and εἰ καὶ. The combination καὶ εἰ indicates that the *whole* condition is an extreme one: *even on the supposition that*—. But with the order εἰ καὶ the καὶ emphasises particular words: εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι *even if he is* (I will go so far as to say) *very strong*. Hence εἰ καὶ usually implies that the supposition is more or less true.

## τέ.

331.] The enclitic τέ has two main uses which it is essential to distinguish; besides one or two special uses of less importance.

(a) As a Conjunction *τέ* connects clauses and single words. It is especially used when a new fact or new object is to take its place *pari passu* with what has been already said: *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι to dogs and birds as well: αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο οἱ τ' αὐτῷ which were a bane to all the Trojans, and to himself* (equally). This meaning is given still more distinctly by the Correlative *τέ—τέ*: thus we have the pairs *ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, δῆμὸς τε πόλις τε, κλαγγὴ τ' ἐνοπῇ τε, ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε, &c.* and the pairs of Clauses expressing *simultaneous* action, such as—

λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἀποινα.

ἀψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὦχρός τε μιν εἴλε παρείας.

The combinations *τέ—καί* and *τέ—ἤδέ* (or *ἰδέ*) are also common in Homer, and not sensibly different in meaning from *τέ—τέ*: as—

ῥῆμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μῆρῳ.

As to the *place* of *τέ* the general rule is that it follows the first word in the Clause. Hence *τέ* (esp. when standing first in the pair *τέ—τέ*) does not always follow the word which it couples: *e.g.* Il. 6. 317 ἐγγύθι τε Πριάμοιο καὶ Ἑκτορος *near both Priam and Hector*; Il. 5. 878 σοὶ τ' ἐπιπείθονται καὶ δεδμημέσθα ἕκαστος (cp. 2. 198., 7. 294-5).

The use of *τέ* as a Particle of *transition* (to begin a fresh sentence after a pause) is not Homeric, though common in later Greek. This may indicate that the use as a connecting Particle was originally confined to the Correlative *τέ—τέ*. (Delbr. iv. p. 145.)

332.] (b) In its other use—which is distinctively Homeric—*τέ* serves to mark an assertion as *general* or *indefinite*. Hence it is found in *gnomic* passages: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

9. 509 τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐξαμένοιο.

Od. 6. 185 μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

Il. 16. 688 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσω νόος ἢ περ ἀνδρῶν.

19. 221 αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος (cp. Od. 1. 392).

In *similes* it is very common, and is often repeated in the successive Clauses: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 482 ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἰγίρος ὥς,  
ἦ ρά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο πεφύκη  
λείη, ἀτὰρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι  
τὴν μέν θ' ἀρματοπηγὸς ἀνὴρ αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ  
ἐξέταμ', ὄφρα κτλ. (cp. 5. 136-9., 15. 271-5, &c.).

So where the meaning is frequentative:—

Od. 4. 102 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόφῳ φρένα τέρπομαι (cp. 5. 65., 12. 64).

Il. 19. 86 καὶ τέ με νεικέεσκον (20. 28, Od. 5. 331, &c.).

So Il. 1. 521 *νεικεῖ, καὶ τέ μέ φησι κτλ.* and *says* (habitually) *that* I &c.: cp. 9. 410, Od. 1. 215., 4. 387., 17. 25. Hence it is used of *names*, as Il. 1. 403 *ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες (καλέουσι)*, 2. 814., 5. 306, &c. And of characteristic attributes, as—

Il. 2. 753 οὐδ' ὃ γε Πηνεῖω συμμίσγεται . .  
ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἦδ' ἔλαιον.

It may be laid down as a general rule that *τέ* in the combinations *μέν τε, δέ τε, καὶ τε, γάρ τε, ἀλλὰ τε*, and the like, is not a Conjunction, and does not affect the meaning of the Conjunction which it follows.

In a Complex Conditional sentence of gnomic character the *τέ* is often used in both members, as—

Il. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

Under this head comes the use with the Article and the different forms of the Relative, a use which has been already discussed in the chapter on the Pronouns (see §§ 263, 266, 272 n.). It was there pointed out that *τέ* is used when the Relative Clause serves to describe a *class*, as—

ἄγρια πάντα, τὰ τε τρέφει οὔρεσιν ὕλη.  
ρέϊα δ' ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος φ τε Κρονίων κτλ.

or to express a permanent characteristic, as—

γῆρας καὶ θάνατος, τὰ τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλουται.  
χόλος, ὃς τ' ἐφέγκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι.  
Λωτοφάγων, οἷ τ' ἄνθινον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

So *ὥς τε, ὅτε τε, ἵνα τε, ἔνθα τε, ὅσος τε, οἷός τε, &c.* Of these *ὥς τε* (or *ὥστε*) and *οἷός τε*, with the adverbial *ἄτε* and *ἐφ' ᾧ τε*, are the only forms in which this use of *τέ* has remained in Attic Greek. *ἐπεὶ τε*, which is regular in Herodotus, is rare in Homer.

It has been supposed that the *τέ* in these uses originally had a connecting force, so that *ὃς τε* was = *and he*; just as Lat. *qui* is often = *et is*. But this hypothesis is refuted by the circumstance that although other forms of the Relative may be explained as = *and he*, that explanation never applies to *ὃς τε*. Distinguishing between the Relative Clauses which add a new particular to our knowledge of a *definite* antecedent (*Κάλχας ὃς ἦδη Calchas—he knew &c.*), and those which define an *indefinite* antecedent (*the man who—*), we see that the meaning *and he* only suits the former, and that *τέ* is chiefly used in the latter.

The Indefinite *τις* is not unfrequently strengthened in its meaning (*any one*) by *τέ*:—

Il. 3. 12 τόσσον τίς τ' ἐπιλεύσσει ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λῶαν ἴησιν.

14. 90 σίγα, μή τίς τ' ἄλλος . . ἀκούσῃ (so Od. 19. 486).

So *καὶ γάρ τίς τε, καὶ μὲν τίς τε*, and in Relative Clauses, *ὃς τίς τε, ὅτε τίς τε, ὥς τίς τε &c.*: also *ἦν τίς τε* (Od. 5. 120). Note however that the *τέ* does not unite closely with *τίς* (as in Latin *quisque, &c.*).



The uses of *τέ* may sometimes be distinguished by its *place*. Thus the Conjunction *τέ* comes before *ἀρα*, as Il. 2. 522 οἷ τ' ἀρα *and who* ὅς. (cp. εἰ τ' ἀρα, οὐτ' ἀρα); and before *τις*, as Il. 8. 7 μήτε τις κτλ. Both uses may even occur in the same Clause, as Il. 24. 337 ὥς μήτ' ἀρ τις ἴδῃ μήτ' ἀρ τε νοήσῃ.

Of the places in which *τέ* appears to be used of single or definite facts, some at least may be corrected without difficulty. Thus Il. 6. 367 οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδα (so Od. 10. 190, &c.) was originally οὐ γάρ φοῖδα. For Od. 20. 252 ἐν δέ τε οἶνον there was an ancient variant ἐν δ' ἀρα οἶνον; and so perhaps in Od. 10. 317. In Il. 16. 96 for τοὺς δέ τ' ἔαν we should perhaps read τοὺς δ' ἔδαν. In Il. 23. 277 ἀθάνατοί τε γάρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δ' ἔπορ' αὐτούς the *τέ* is a Conjunction (*τέ*—*δέ* being occasionally found): otherwise we should have the order ἀθάνατοι γάρ τ' εἰσί.\*

Some isolated Epic uses remain to be noticed:—

(1) After an Interrogative in the combination τ' ἀρα, τ' ἀρ: as—

Il. 1. 8 τίς τ' ἀρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

18. 188 πῶς τ' ἀρ ἴω μετὰ μῶλον; (so πῇ τ' ἀρ Il. 13. 307).

Od. 1. 346 μήτερ ἐμή, τί τ' ἀρα φθονέεις κτλ.

The ancient grammarians regarded *τάρ* as a single enclitic Particle (Herodian ap. Schol. Il. 1. 65). As the force of the *τέ* seems to have merged in the compound, this is probably right: just as γ' ἀρ having become a single Particle is written γάρ. If so, we must also recognise the form *ταρα*.

(2) With ἦ in strong Affirmation: as ἦ τ' ἐφάμην *I did indeed think*. This may originally belong to the same head as the indefinite use: ἦ τε = *surely anyhow*. But a distinct force of the *τέ* is no longer perceptible.

(3) With the Disjunctive ἢ, after a Comparative: as Od. 16. 216 ἀδυνώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί.

So in Il. 4. 277 μελάντερον ἥτε πῖσσα (*blacker like pitch*) the true reading may be ἥ τε πῖσσα. This was suggested by Bekker (Hom. Bl. I. p. 312), though not adopted by him. On the other hand Buttmann (Lexil. s. v.) takes ἥτε as used = *than*, and would read ἥτ' in Od. 16. 216.

On ἦ τε—ἦ τε *either—or*, see § 340 *fn*.

(4) After οὐδέ and μηδέ: as—

Il. 1. 406 τὸν καὶ ὑπέδεισαν μάκαρες θεοί, οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν.

2. 179 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, μηδέ τ' ἐρώει.

There is generally some marked parallelism between the words of the two Clauses: Il. 15. 709 τόξων . . οὐδέ τ' ἀκόντων, 17. 42 ἀπειρητος . . οὐδέ τ' ἀδῆματος, 22. 300 ἐγγύθει . . οὐδέ τ' ἀνευθεν, 23. 622 παλαίσεις οὐδέ τ' ἀκοντιστὸν ἐσθύσει, 23. 730 κίνησεν . . οὐδέ τ' ἄειρεν, 24. 52 κάλλιον οὐδέ τ' ἄμεινον, Od. 12. 198 φθογγῆς . . οὐδέ τ' ἀοιδῆς. The remaining instances are, οὐδέ τ' ἔασε (Il. 11. 437., 21. 596), οὐδέ τ' ἔλγγε (Il. 21. 248). In most, if not all, instances it is at least possible to read οὐδ' ἔτ', μηδ' ἔτ' (for ἔτι): cp. Il. 12. 106, Od. 12. 198., 24. 401.

\* The account now given of the uses of *τέ* was suggested (in substance) by Dr. Wentzel, whose dissertation (*Ueber den Gebrauch der Partikel τέ bei Homer*, Glogau 1847) appears to have been overlooked by subsequent writers.

The Latin *que*, which is originally identical with *τέ*, shows the same separation into two main uses. In the use as a Conjunction the agreement is close. It is less so in the other use, chiefly because *τέ* in Homer is still a distinct word, whereas *que* in Latin is confined to certain combinations, viz. *at-que*, *nam-que* (cp. *καί τε, ἀλλά τε, γάρ τε*, &c.), *ita-que*, the Indefinite *quisque* (with the corresponding forms *ubique*, *quandoque*, *uterque*, &c.) and the Relative *quicunque*. The two uses are also united in the Sanscrit *ca*, which as a connecting Particle agrees closely with *τέ*, and is also found after the Indefinite *kas*, especially in the combination *yáḥ kác ca* (3s τίς τε). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 144.

## δε.

333.] The Adversative *δε* properly indicates that the new Clause stands in some *contrast* to what has preceded. Ordinarily, however, it is used in the continuation of a narrative (*i. e.* to show that the new fact is not *simultaneous*, as *τέ* would imply). It often serves also to introduce a parenthesis or subordinate statement: *e. g.*—

νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακὴν, δλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,  
οὐνεκα κτλ.

Here a prose writer would say *δλεθρίαν*, or *ᾧστε ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας*, or *ὅψ' ἧς οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπώλλυντο*, &c. So—

Ἀντίλοχος δὲ Μύδωνα βάλ', ἥνιχον θεράποντα,  
ἔσθλόν Ἀτμνιάδην, ὃ δ' ὑπέστρεφε μῶνυχας ἵππους,  
χερμαδίῳ ἀγκῶνα τυχῶν μέσον.

*I. e.* 'struck him as he was turning the horses.'

*δε* is nearly always the *second* word in the Clause. It is occasionally put after (1) a Preposition and Case-form, as *ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν*, or (2) an Article and Adjective, as *τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' κτλ.*; but not after other combinations. Hence *καὶ δε*, as *Il. 7. 113 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς* and *even Achilles* (never *καὶ—δε*, as in later Greek).

334.] *δε* of the Apodosis. While *δε* serves in general to mark the beginning of a new independent Sentence, there are certain uses, especially in Homer, in which it appears to connect a principal Clause with a Relativ or Conditional Protasis. This is occasionally found where there is an opposition of some kind between the two members of the Sentence: *e. g.*—

*Il. 4. 261* εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
δαιτρὸν πίνωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας κτλ. (so *Il. 2. 245*).

*5. 260* αἱ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῦδος ὀρέξῃ  
ἀμφοτέρω κτεῖναι, σὺ δὲ . . ἐρυκακέειν κτλ.

*Od. 7. 108* ὅσσον Φαίηκες περὶ πάντων Ἰδριες ἀνδρῶν  
νῆα θοὴν ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἐλαυνέμεν, ὧς δὲ γυναῖκες  
ἰστὸν τεχνήσσαι (cp. *Il. 5. 592.*, *14. 178*, *405.*, *18. 62*).

And with *μέν* in the Protasis—

Il. 2. 188 *δυνίνα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
τὸν δ' ἀγαοῖς ἐπέεσσιν κτλ.*

Much more commonly, the Clause which δέ 'of the Apodosis' introduces is opposed to a preceding Principal Clause (from which of course it is separated by the Protasis): as—

Il. 5. 436 *τρίς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,  
τρίς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαινήν ἀσπίδ' Ἀπόλλων'  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,  
δαινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.*

Here the last line contains an opposition not so much to the Protasis *ἀλλ' ὅτε κτλ.* as to the first Apodosis *τρίς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε κτλ.* So in many places the δέ of an Apodosis appears merely to repeat the δέ (or equivalent Particle) with which the whole sentence was introduced: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 57 *οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν . .  
τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.*

137 *εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσωιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐλωμαι.*

16. 198 *αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντας ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν Ἀχιλλεύς  
στήσεν ἐν κρίνας, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.*

Od. 3. 473 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε κτλ.*

So Il. 2. 718., 4. 213., 7. 149, 314., 9. 301, 511, &c., Od. 7. 47, 185., 9. 311., 10. 112, 365, &c.

When the Protasis is not introduced by any Particle, there may nevertheless be an implied opposition such as to account for the appearance of δέ in the Apodosis \* Thus we have in Il. 1. 188–194 *ὡς φάτο, Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ κτλ.* . . *εἰς ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε . . ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη κτλ.*, *i.e.* Achilles deliberated whether he should kill Agamemnon, *but while he was deliberating* Athene came. The words *εἰς ὃ κτλ.* are a kind of Asyndeton, equivalent to *αὐτὰρ ὥς ταῦθ' κτλ.*: *cp.* Il. 10. 507., 11. 411., 15. 539., 17. 106, Od. 4. 120., 5. 365, 424. The idiom is also found with *ὅφρα* (Il. 4. 220, Od. 10. 125), and *εὔτε* (Il. 6. 392., 12. 373, Od. 3. 9., 17. 359).

It has been observed that when the Protasis is a Relative Clause, δέ of the Apodosis is generally found after a Demonstrative. The only exceptions to this rule are, Il. 9. 510 *ὅς δέ κ' ἀνήγηται . . λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ.*, and Il. 23. 319 *ἀλλ' ὅς μὲν θ' ἱπποῖσι . . ἱπποὶ δὲ πλανῶνται κτλ.* (Schömann, Opusc. Acad. ii. p. 97.)

335.] **Enclitic δέ.** There are two uses which may be noticed under this heading:—

(1) The δέ of *δ-δε*, *τόσσοσ-δε*, *τοῖόσ-δε* is properly an Enclitic (as the accent shows).

\* This was pointed out by Nägelsbach in his *Anmerkungen zur Ilias* (p. 261 and p. 271 ff. ed. 1834). The Excursus which contains his discussion of the point is omitted in the later editions.

The form τοῖς-δεσσι or τοῖς-δεσσι may be a trace of an inflected Pronoun akin to δέ (related to it perhaps, as τίς to τέ); or it may be merely a form created by the analogy of other Datives in -εσσι, -εσι.

(2) The δε which is suffixed to Accusatives expressing *motion* to is generally treated as an Enclitic in respect of accent: as οἰκόνδε, πόλεμόνδε. The ancient grammarians, however, wrote δέ as a distinct orthotone word, hence οἶκον δέ, πόλεμον δέ &c. (but οἶκαδε, φύγαδε were made exceptions).

It seems likely that the -δε of these two uses is originally the same. The force in both cases is that of a *local* Adverb. Whether it is to be identified with the Conjunction δέ is a further question.

ἀλλά, αὐτάρ, ἀτάρ, αὖ, αὖτε.

336.] The remaining Adversative Particles do not need much explanation.

ἀλλά and αὐτάρ are used (like δέ) in *apodosis*, especially after a Clause with εἰ περ: as—

Il. I. 81 εἰ περ γάρ γε . . ἀλλά τε (cp. 8. 153., 19. 164).

22. 390 εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ . . αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κτλ.

αὐτάρ and ἀτάρ express a slighter opposition than ἀλλά, and accordingly are often used as Particles of transition, *e.g.* in such formulae as ὥς οἱ μὲν . . αὐτὰρ κτλ. A similar use of ἀλλά may be seen with Imperatives; as ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, and the like. It is evident that the stronger Adversative is chosen where greater *liveliness* of tone is to be conveyed.

337.] αὖ and αὖτε (*again, on the contrary*) have nearly the same force as αὐτάρ, but do not begin the sentence: hence νῦν αὖ, τίς δ' αὖ, τίπτ' αὖτε, &c. Originally, doubtless, αὖ meant *backwards*, but in Homer this sense is only found in the form αὖτις: though perhaps it survives in the sacrificial word αὐέμυσαν.

The form δμως is later, the Homeric word being ἔμψης.

δμως is usually read in Il. 12. 393 δμως δ' οὐ λήθετο χάρμης, and Od. 11. 565 ἐνθα χ' ὅμως προσέφη. In both places however the Scholia indicate that the word was anciently circumflexed by some authorities.

ἦ.

338.] The Particle ἦ at the beginning of a sentence gives it the character of a strong *affirmation*:

Il. I. 240 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἵξεται *be sure that one day &c.*  
So, with an ironical tone,

Il. I. 229 ἦ πολὺν λῶϊόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρύν Ἀχαιῶν  
δῶρ' ἀποιρεῖσθαι κτλ.

It is often used *interrogatively*, esp. in questions of surprise, indignation, irony, &c.: as—

Il. 2. 229 ἦ ἔτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδεύεαι κτλ.

15. 504 ἦ ἔλπεσθ' ἦν νῆας ἔλη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ  
ἐμβαδὸν ἵζεσθαι κτλ (*do you really hope &c.*).

Od. 2. 312 ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ὥς κτλ. (*is it not—? = surely it is*): cp. § 358, c.

Occasionally, in short parenthetical sentences, ἦ has a *concessive* force, *it is true that*, hence *and yet*, *although*: as—

Il. 3. 214 παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος,  
οὐδ' ἀφαρμαρτοεπής· ἦ καὶ γένει ὑστερος ἦεν.

11. 362 ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔφυγες θάνατον, κύον· ἦ τέ τοι ἄγχι  
ἦλθε κακόν (so 18. 13, and cp. ἦ μὴν in Il. 7. 393).

22. 280 ἦ τοι ἔφησ γέ (= *though you said so*), cp. § 346.

The question whether ἦ (or ἦ) can be used to introduce a Dependent Interrogative depends upon a few passages. Bekker favours ἦ in this use, and reads accordingly, e.g. Il. 1. 83 οὐδὲ φράσαι ἦ με σαώσεις. The majority of the editors recognise it in three or four places:

Il. 8. 111 εἴσεται ἦ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται κτλ.

Od. 13. 415 ὄχρετο πεισόμενος μετὰ σὸν κλέος, ἦ που ἔτ' εἴης.

16. 137 ἄλλ' ἔγωγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,  
ἦ καὶ Λαέρτη αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγελος ἔλθω.

19. 325 πῶς γὰρ ἐμεῦ σὺ, ξεῖνε, θαήσεται, ἦ τι γυναικῶν  
ἀλλὰ πᾶσι περίεμι;

In all these places, however, there is manuscript support for εἰ, and so La Roche reads in the two last. For the use of εἰ with the Subj. see § 294, with the Opt. § 314. It is difficult to derive the general use of ἦ which Bekker supposes either from the emphatic ἦ, or from the disjunctive ἢ or ἦ (Hom. Bl. p. 59). In any case there is no sufficient ground for deserting the MSS.

ἦ is often combined more or less closely with other Particles: as ἦ τε (§ 332, 2), ἦ μάν, &c. (§§ 343-5), ἦ τοι (or ἦτοι), ἦδη (for ἦ δῆ), and the correlative ἦμὲν—ἦδέ. In these combinations ἦ strengthens the other Particle. Note that—

ἦμὲν—ἦδέ are used of slightly opposed things, especially when *alternation* is implied: as—

Od. 2. 68 λίσσομαι ἦμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἦδὲ Θέμιστος,  
ἦ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἦμὲν λύει ἦδὲ καθίξει.

i.e. 'assembles and dissolves again in turn' (Lat. *tum—tum*).

Cp. Il. 8. 395 ἦμὲν ἀνακλίνει . . ἦδ' ἐπιθεῖναι: and so probably Il.

6. 149 ἦμὲν φύει ἦδ' ἀπολήγει.

ἦδέ is also used (= *and*) without a preceding ἦμὲν: but not to begin a fresh sentence. Cp. § 331 *fin.* for the similar use of τε.

339.] ἦ after τί, ἐπεὶ. It is a question whether we should write τῆ, ἐπειή, or τί ἦ, ἐπεὶ ἦ, as is done by the most recent

editors. The form ἐπεὶ ἦ is supported by the fact that it is chiefly found in the combination ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ κτλ. (Il. 1. 169., 4. 56, 307, &c.); also with μάλα (Il. 1. 156 ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ κτλ., Od. 10. 465), and καί (Il. 20. 437, Od. 16. 442). The case is different with τί; we must surely write τίη δὲ σὺ (Il. 6. 55., 14. 264, &c.), not τί ἦ δὲ.

The ancient grammarians recognise a difference, their rule being that η after ἐπεὶ is circumflexed, after τί acute (La Roche H. T. p. 267). Trypho, however, wrote τίη as one word; while in Attic we are told that it was accented τῆ (ibid.). Whether the η in either case is identical with the Affirmative ἦ seems very doubtful. It is at least a distinct use, marked by a different place in the sentence.

With τίη is to be placed the emphatic Nom. τύν-η *thou*, a form which occurs in the Iliad only (cp. the Doric ἐγών-η).

ἦέ, ἦ.

340.] ἦέ and ἦ are used in Homer as equivalent forms of the same Particle: which is (1) Disjunctive (=or) and (2) used after Comparatives (=than).

The use of the Correlative ἦέ (ἦ)—ἦέ (ἦ)=*either—or* is also common in Homer: as Il. 1. 504 ἦ ἔπει ἦ ἔργω: 3. 239 ἦ οὐχ ἐσπέσθην . . ἦ δεύρω μὲν ἔποντο κτλ.

When a question is asked in a disjunctive form, the second member of the sentence is introduced by ἦε or ἦ (i.e. the accent of the Particle ἦέ, ἦ is thrown back):

Il. 13. 251 ἦέ τι βέβληαι, βέλεος δέ σε τείρει ἀκωκή,  
ἦέ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἔμ' ἦλυθες;

Od. 4. 632 Ἀντίνο', ἦ ῥά τι ἴδμεν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἦε καὶ οὐκί;

So when the first part of the question is not introduced by a Particle; Il. 10. 534 ψεύσομαι ἦ ἔτυμον ἐρέω; *shall I speak falsehood or the truth?* Od. 1. 226 εἰλαπίνῃ ἦε γάμος; Indeed the first half of the sentence need not be interrogative; as Od. 21. 193 ἔπος τί κε μυθησαίμην, ἦ αὐτὸς κεύθω; *I would say a word; or shall I keep it to myself?* (so Il. 14. 190., 23. 465).

One of the members of a disjunctive question may be itself Disjunctive: e.g.—

Il. 6. 377 πῇ ἔβη Ἀνδρομάχη λευκώλενος ἐκ μεγάρου;  
ἦέ πῃ ἐς γαλόων ἦ εἰνατέρων ἐϋπέπλων,  
ἦ ἐς Ἀθηναίης ἐξοίχεται κτλ.

Here ἦ εἰνατέρων offers an alternative for γαλόων, but the main question is between these two alternatives on one side and ἐς Ἀθηναίης κτλ. on the other.

Most editors of Homer recognise an *interrogative* use of the form ἦε, but erroneously.\* The questions in which ἦε is found

\* This has been well shown by Dr. Praetorius, in a dissertation to which I am largely indebted (Der homerische Gebrauch von ἦ (ἦε) in Fragesätzen, Cassel 1873).

are all *disjunctive*, so that we must write  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$ — $\eta\epsilon$  (Il. 6. 378., 13. 251., 15. 735., 16. 12, 13–17, Od. 1. 408., 2. 30., 11. 399). In—

Od. 13. 233  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  γῆ;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  δῆμος;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν;

$\eta\acute{\iota}$  ποῦ  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  νήσων εὐδελέλος,  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  ἀκτὴ |  $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta'$  κτλ.

$\eta\acute{\iota}$  *που* means *surely methinks*: the sense being, 'what land is this? It must be some island or else promontory.' Hence we should read  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$ , not  $\eta\epsilon$  (as Ameis, &c.).

$\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\eta$  = *than* is found after Comparatives; also after Verbs implying comparison, as βούλομαι *I prefer*, φθάνω *I come sooner*.

The correlative  $\eta$  τε— $\eta$  τε appears in three places, viz. Il. 9. 276  $\eta$  τ' ἀνδρῶν  $\eta$  τε γυναικῶν (where it seems to be =  $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ — $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ), 11. 410  $\eta$  τ' ἐβλητ'  $\eta$  τ' ἐβαλ' ἄλλον, and 17. 42  $\eta$  τ' ἀλατῆς  $\eta$  τε φόβοιο (where however Aristarchus read  $\eta\delta'$ — $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ). The single  $\eta$  τε occurs with the meaning *or* in Il. 19. 148  $\eta$  τ' ἐχέμεν πάρα σοί: with the meaning *than* in Od. 16. 216 (§ 332, 3). Considering the general difficulty of deciding between  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  and  $\eta$  in the text of Homer, we cannot regard the form  $\eta$  τε as resting on good evidence: see the next section.

341.] **Dependent Interrogative Clauses.** A Disjunctive question after a Verb of *asking, saying, knowing, &c.* is generally expressed by the Correlatives  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  ( $\eta$ )— $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ): as—

Od. 1. 174 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ,  
 $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  νέον μεθέπεις,  $\eta$  καὶ πατρώϊός ἐσσι κτλ.

Il. 2. 299 τλήτε φίλοι καὶ μέλαινα' ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὅφρα δαῶμεν,  
 $\eta$  ἐτεὸν Κάλχας μαντεύεται,  $\eta\epsilon$  καὶ οὐκί.

Other examples have been given in the account of the Subjunctive (§ 280) and the Optative (§ 302). In general it will be seen that these Dependent Clauses are the same in form as the corresponding direct questions.

In a very few instances the first member of a sentence of this kind is without  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  ( $\eta$ ): viz.—

Od. 4. 109 οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν | ζῶει δ' γ'  $\eta$  τέθνηκε (cp. 837., 11. 464).

So Il. 10. 544 εἴπ' ἄγε . . ὅππως τοῦσδ' ἵππους λάβητον, καταδύντες δμίλον Τρώων,  $\eta$  τίς σφωε πόρεν κτλ.

The combination  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ — $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ) is often found in the MSS. of Homer; see Il. 2. 367., 8. 532, Od. 4. 28, 712, 789., 16. 238, 260., 17. 308., 18. 265., 24. 217. La Roche (following Bekker) reads  $\eta$ — $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ) in all these places.

The common texts have in one place  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε— $\eta\epsilon$ ,

Il. 2. 349 γνῶμεναι  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε ψεύδος ὑπόσχεσις  $\eta\epsilon$  καὶ οὐκί.

In this instance, if the reading is right, there is a slight irregularity: the speaker beginning as if he meant to use  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε— $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε, and changing to the familiar  $\eta\epsilon$  καὶ οὐκί. But the best MSS. have  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε— $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  τε.

A change of construction may also be seen in Od. 24. 235–8 μερμήριξε . . κύσσαι καὶ περιφύναι . .  $\eta$  πρῶτ' ἐξερίοιτο *he debated about embracing &c., or should he first ask &c.*

μάν, μήν, μέν.

342.] The three words μάν, μήν, μέν agree so nearly in meaning and usage that they are probably to be regarded as etymologically connected, if not merely varieties of the same original form. They express strong affirmation (= *surely, indeed, &c.*), and thus acquire two main uses: (1) the concessive use, preparing us for a Clause with an Adversative δέ, αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, &c.: and (2) the use in the second of two Clauses with the meaning *yet, nevertheless*.

343.] μάν is only found in the *Iliad*. It has an affirmative and generally a hortatory or interjectional force: as in ἄγρει μάν *may come!* (Il. 5. 765., 7. 459), and ἦ μάν, οὐ μάν, used when a speech begins in a tone of surprise, triumph, or the like; as—

Il. 2. 370 ἦ μὰν αὖτ' ἀγορή νικᾶς, γέρον, υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.

12. 318 οὐ μὰν ἀκληεῖς Λυκίην κατά κοιρανέουσιν  
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες (cp. 4. 512).

The force of an emphatic *yet* appears in—

Il. 8. 373 ἔσται μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὖτε φιλὴν γλανκώπιδα εἶπη  
and in ἀλλ' οὐ μάν (Il. 5. 895., 17. 448, &c.), μὴ μάν (Il. 8. 512, &c.).

344.] μήν with a hortatory force occurs (*e.g.*) in Il. 1. 302 εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι *do but try*. In the combination ἦ μήν it is pointedly concessive, admitting an objection or reply: as Il. 7. 393 ἦ μὴν Τρῶές γε κέλονται *that notwithstanding that the Trojans bid him*: Il. 9. 57 ἦ μὴν καὶ νέος ἐσσί *true that you are young*. In καὶ μὴν it emphasises the new fact introduced by καί: Il. 19. 45 καὶ μὴν οἱ τότε γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν ἴσαν *observe that even these went &c.*

345.] μέν is very common in Homer. An instance of a simply affirmative use may be found in Il. 1. 234 ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄρους φύσει *which will surely never put forth leaves or shoots*. Generally it marks an opposition, either (1) to a following Clause—a use which is common to all periods of Greek,—or (2) to what precedes, with the meaning *yet, however*, for which Attic writers use μήν, as—

Il. 1. 603 οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος *nor yet of the phorminx*.

2. 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν.

Od. 15. 405 οὐ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μέν.

Similarly, ἦ μέν is a strong affirmation (= Attic ἦ μήν), as—

Il. 7. 97 ἦ μὲν δὴ λῶβῃ τάθε γ' ἔσσεται (9. 252, 348., 16. 362, Od. 14. 160).

Similarly we have μὴ μέν (in negative oaths, as Il. 10. 330, &c.),



and καὶ μὲν (= *yes and, yes too*), answering to the later καὶ μὴν : also ἀτὰρ μὲν (= *ἀλλὰ μὴν*).

From this second meaning is derived the use of μὲν with a *resumptive* Article or Relative, which is common in Homer : as in Od. 6. 2-13 αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη βῆ ῥ' ἐς Φαιήκων κτλ. (then follows a digression about the Phaeacians, ending) Ἀλκίνοος δὲ τὸν ἦρχε, θεῶν ἀπο μήδεα εἰδώς· τοῦ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς δῶμα *now it was to his house that she went* &c. Here μὲν marks the slight contrast between the digression and the main thread of the story.

#### τοί.

346.] The enclitic τοί seems properly to express a *restricted* affirmation, generally qualifying a preceding statement : *at least, yet surely*, &c. It is especially used where a speaker wishes to imply that he is saying as little as possible : as Il. 4. 405 ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι : 8. 294 οὐ μὲν τοι δση δύναμις γε πάρεστι παύομαι : cp. 5. 873., 6. 211., 10. 250, Od. 2. 280, &c. So again in maxims, Od. 2. 276 παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες κτλ. *few children, it must be said*, &c. : Il. 23. 315 μῆτι τοι δρυτόμος κτλ. *it is by understanding, after all, that the woodman* &c. : Od. 9. 27 οὐ τοι ἐγωγε ἧς γαίης δύναμαι κτλ. *I cannot, when all is said*, &c. : Od. 8. 329, &c.

τοί is combined in Homer with Adversative Particles, as αὐτὰρ τοι, ἀλλὰ τοι (Il. 15. 45, Od. 18. 230) ; and with the Affirmative ἦ in ἦ τοι (or ἦτοι), which expresses a restricted concession (Il. 1. 140, 211., 5. 724, &c.). But the combinations καίτοι *and yet*, μέντοι *but yet*, τοῖνυν *so then*, are post-Homeric : and so is the Disjunctive ἤτοι *either, or*.

τοί has the first place in the sentence in the compound τοιγάρ, which is used to begin speeches ; as Il. 1. 76 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω *so then I will speak*. It is generally used with the First Person, and has a kind of apologetic force (= *I will say, since I must speak*). In Attic it survives in the compounds τοιγάρτοι, τοιγαροῦν : and the same meaning is commonly expressed by τοῖνυν.

It has sometimes been thought that τοί is originally the same as the Dat. of σύ, meaning 'I tell you' or the like. The orthotone τοιγάρ (or τοί γάρ, as some MSS. read) is difficult to explain on this view. It has also been explained as the Locative of τό : cp. the Dat. τῷ = *in that case, therefore*. Or it may be from the same stem as τίς and τί (as Kühner holds, § 507). Cp. ποί (δή σου) = *somehow, thence surely*. But these conjectures do not reach a high degree of probability.

#### ἄρα, γάρ.

347.] The Adverb ἄρα properly means *fittingly, accordingly* (root ἀρ- *to fit*). The forms ἄρ and ῥά are merely varieties produced by apocope, in hasty pronunciation. Of these ἄρ retains its accent, but ῥά, the shortest form, is enclitic.

The ordinary place of ἄρα is at the beginning of a Clause which expresses what is *consequent* upon something already said. But occasionally it follows a Participle in the same Clause, as in the formula *ἦ τοι δ γ' ὧς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο* (p. II. 2. 310., 5. 748).

It is to be observed, however, that ἄρα may indicate a *reason* (as well as a consequence): that is to say, we may go back from a fact to the *antecedent* which falls in with and so *explains* it. *E.g.* II. 1. 429 *χωόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν ἐϋζώνοιο γυναικός, τὴν ῥα . . ἀπηύρων* *whom (and this was the reason of his anger) they had taken away.* So in the combinations *ὅς ῥα, ἐπεὶ ῥα, ὅτι ῥα, οὐνεκ' ἄρα = because (and this is the explanation):* also in *γάρ ῥα*, as II. 1. 113 *καὶ γὰρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα.*

ἄρα is also found in the first of two correlative Clauses; as—

*εἰ τ' ἄρ' δ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἰ θ' ἐκατόμβης.*

*ὅς δ' αὖ γ' ὧς μὴτ' ἄρ τις ἴδῃ μὴτ' ἄρ τε νοήσῃ.*

The parallel form of the sentence enables us to regard the first Clause, by anticipation, as falling in with and completing the second.

The Attic ἄρα is unknown to Homer. Whether it is identical with ἄρα seems doubtful. It is worth while noticing that (as Hartung points out, I. p. 455) ἄρα answers in usage to the Homeric combination *ἦ ῥα* (*is it then—?*).

348.] The Causal Particle γάρ is originally a compound of γέ and ἄρα, but the two elements have so completely united into a new whole that the fresh combination γάρ ῥα is found in Homer.

γάρ serves to indicate that the Clause in which it is used is a *reason* or *explanation*, usually of something just mentioned or suggested: as *τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, κτλ.* Thus it follows the *sequence of thought*—by which we go back from a consequent to an antecedent—whereas ἄρα more commonly indicates the sequence of the facts themselves.

Compare the double use of *ὅς, ὅτι, ὅ τε* (1) to express a cause, (2) to express a consequent used as an argument (cp. *τοίου γὰρ καὶ πατρός, δ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάσεις*, and other examples in § 269). To understand the ordinary use of γάρ, we have only to suppose that when a speaker was going back upon an *antecedent* fact, he generally used the combination γέ ἄρα (γ' ἄρ, γάρ), rather than the simple ἄρα. The principle of this usage is that a causal relation may be indicated by a distinction of emphasis, such as γέ would express (as indeed γέ alone sometimes has a distinctly *causal* force).

As subordinate or exceptional uses, we have to note the following:—

1. The use of γάρ to introduce a mere explanation, which became very common in Attic (*e.g.* Thuc. 1. 8 *μαρτύριον δέ· Διήλου γὰρ κτλ.*) and may be traced back to Homer. Thus—

Π. 8. 147 ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει·  
Ἐκτῶρ γάρ ποτε φήσει κτλ.

This idiom—by which the Clause with γάρ becomes a kind of Object-Clause, in apposition to a Pronoun—may be compared with the use of *δτι* and *οὖνεκα* with the meaning *that*, instead of *because*: see §§ 268, 269. In both cases the language does not clearly distinguish between the *ground* of a fact (being properly a separate and prior fact), and a mere *analysis*, or statement of circumstances in which a fact consists.

2. The inversion (as it may be regarded) by which the Clause with γάρ precedes the fact explained; as—

Π. 2. 802 Ἐκτορ, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἐπιτέλλομαι ὧδέ γε ῥέξαι·  
πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστν μέγα Πριάμου ἐπικούροι,  
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσαι πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων·  
τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαινέτω κτλ. (Π. 7. 328–331.,  
17. 221–7, Od. 1. 337).

Here the speaker begins by stating something that leads up to his main point. This use of γάρ is also found in combination with adversative Conjunctions, as—

Π. 12. 326 νῦν δ' ἔμπηγς γὰρ Κῆρες ἐφειστᾶσιν θανάτοιο . .  
ἴομεν κτλ. (cp. 7. 73., 17. 338., 24. 223).

Od. 14. 355 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι  
μαίεσθαι προτέρω· τοὶ μὲν πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαινον.

ἀλλὰ—γάρ also occurs without a subsequent Clause:

Od. 10. 201 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες·  
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισι  
(so Π. 7. 237–242).

Here it has the force of 'but be that as it may,' 'but the truth is' (Riddell, Dig. § 147). That is, ἀλλὰ—γάρ meets what has preceded not by a simple opposition, but by going back to a *reason* for the opposite: which may be enough to convey the speaker's meaning.

In these uses of γάρ the peculiarity is more logical than grammatical. The γάρ (or rather the *ἄρα* contained in it) indicates that the Clause gives a *reason* or *explanation*, but the consequent or thing to be explained has not been already mentioned.

With δέ—γάρ and ἀλλὰ—γάρ it is incorrect (as Riddell shows, *l.c.*) to treat the Clause with γάρ as a parenthesis (writing *e.g.* νῦν δ'—ἔμπηγς γάρ κτλ.). The Clause so introduced is always in opposition to the preceding context, so that the δέ or ἀλλὰ has its full force. This opposition naturally prevents γάρ in such cases from giving an *explanation* of the preceding context (unless the explanation is ironical): hence γάρ after ἀλλὰ or δέ generally refers to something that follows, or that is not expressed at all.

3. After the Relative *ὅς*, *ῆ*, *ὅ*: as—

Π. 12. 344 ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μάλλον· ὃ γάρ κ' ὄχ' ἀριστον ἀπάντων  
εἶη (so Π. 23. 9, Od. 24. 190).

Od. 1. 286 (Μενέλαος) δὲ γὰρ δεύτατος ἦλθεν (cp. 17. 172).  
So with ὥς γάρ = *for thus*, and ἵνα γάρ (Il. 10. 127).

These are generally regarded as instances of the original use of δὲ as a Demonstrative (§ 265). But it is at least as probable that they exhibit the original use of γάρ (= γὰρ ἄρα). It will be seen that δὲ γάρ may always be replaced by δὲ ἄρα or δὲ ῥα without changing the sense.

4. In abrupt *questions*, and expressions of *surprise*: as—

- Il. 1. 123 πῶς γάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί;  
*why, how are the Greeks to give you a prize?*  
18. 182 Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἦκε;  
1. 293 ἦ γάρ κεν δειλὸς τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καλεσώμην κτλ.  
*why, I should be a coward &c.*

So in the formulae of *wish*, εἰ γάρ, αἶ γάρ, &c.

In all such cases the γάρ seems to be mainly interjectional. Properly it implies that the speaker is taking up the thread of a previous speech, and as it were continuing the construction: the new Clause being one that gives a reason, or affects to do so ironically. Particles so used easily acquire an irrational character. We may compare the use of δέ and τ' ἄρα in questions, ὥς in expressions of *wish*, ἀλλὰ before an Imperative (§ 336): also the English use of *why, well*, and similar pleonasms.

οὖν, δὴ, νύ, θήν.

349.] οὖν is not an Illative Particle in Homer; it does not express *inference*, or even *consequence* (like ἄρα). Its use is to affirm something with reference to other facts, already mentioned or known; hence it may generally be represented by a phrase such as *after all, be this as it may, &c.* E.g.—

Il. 2. 350 φημὶ γὰρ οὖν *for I do declare that &c.*

Od. 11. 350 ξείνος δὲ τλήτω, μάλα περ νόστοιο χαρίζων,  
ἐμπης οὖν ἐπιμείναι ἐς αὔριον (*nevertheless to wait*).

Like ἄρα, it is used to emphasise correlative Clauses, but only with the negative οὔτε—οὔτε and μήτε—μήτε: as—

Od. 6. 192 οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθήτος δηνήσεαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.

Il. 16. 97 αἶ γὰρ . . μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων . . μήτε τις Ἀργείων, κτλ.  
(so Il. 8. 7., 17. 20., 20. 7, Od. 1. 414., 2. 200.,  
11. 200., 16. 302., 17. 401).

The combination γ' οὖν (not to be written γοῦν in Homer) occurs only twice, with the meaning *in any case*:—

Il. 5. 258 εἰ γ' οὖν ἕτερός γε φύγησι *if one of the two does (after all) escape*.

16. 30 μὴ ἐμέ γ' οὖν οὐτός γε λάβοι χόλος  
(cp. 19. 94 κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδῃσεν).

As an emphatic Particle of *transition* οὖν is found in μὲν οὖν (Il. 9. 550, and several times in the Odyssey), much more frequently

in the combinations *ἐπεὶ οὖν*, *ὥς οὖν*. In these an approach to the illative force may perhaps be observed.

350.] *δὴ* is properly a *temporal* Particle, meaning *now*, at length (Lat. *jam*): hence it implies arriving at a result, as *ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην* from the time that the point was reached when they quarrelled: *εἰ δὴ* if it has come to this that, and so if finally, if really. With Superlatives it expresses that the highest stage has been reached, as Il. 1. 266 *κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι κτλ.* these were quite (finally) the mightiest. So in questions, *πῶς δὴ* how has it come to be that—; and prohibitions, *μὴ δὴ* do not go so far as to—.

*δὴ* may begin a sentence in Homer, as Il. 15. 437 *Τεύκρε πέπον*, *δὴ νῶϊν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἑταῖρος*: and often in the combinations *δὴ τότε* (*tum vero*), and *δὴ γάρ*. The original meaning is best seen in these forms (where *δὴ* is emphatic), and in *ἦ δὴ* (for *ἦ δὴ*), and *ἐπειδὴ*.

As *δὴ* is one of the words which unite with a following vowel, so as to form one syllable, it is sometimes written *δ'*, and so is liable to be confused with *δέ*. This occurs especially in the combinations *δὴ αὖ*, *δὴ αὐτός*, *δὴ οὕτως*: as Il. 1. 131 *μὴ δὴ οὕτως*, I. 340 *εἰ ποτε δὴ αὐτε*, IO. 385 *πῇ δὴ οὕτως*, 20. 220 *δς δὴ ἀφνειότατος κτλ.* So in *εἰ δ' ἄγε* the sense generally requires *δὴ*: see § 321.

Note that *δῆτα*, *δῆθεν* (cognate or derivative forms) are post-Homeric; as also are the combinations *δῆπου*, *καὶ δὴ*.

351.] *νύ* is obviously a shortened form of *νῦν* *now*. It is used as an affirmative Particle (like *δὴ*, but somewhat less emphatic), especially in combinations such as *ἦ βὰ νυ*, *καὶ νύ κε*, *οὐ νυ*, *μή νυ*, *ἐπεὶ νυ*, and after Interrogatives, as *τίς νυ* *who now*, *τί νυ* *why now* (see Od. 1. 59–62).

The form *νύ* is exclusively Epic: *νύν* (*ῥ*), which is used by Attic poets (Ellendt, Lex. Soph. II. p. 183) appears in Il. 10. 105 *ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται*, and Il. 23. 485 *δεῦρό νυν*, *ἣ τρίποδος κτλ.*: but it is probably not Homeric.

In Il. 10. 105 the sense is distinctly temporal, and accordingly we should probably read *νῦν ἐλπεταί*. The temporal sense also suits Il. 23. 485, where moreover there is a variant *δεῦρό γε νυν τρίποδος*, found in the Scholia on Aristophanes (Ach. 771, Eq. 788).

352.] *θῆν* is an affirmative enclitic, giving a mocking or ironical force, like the later *δῆπου* and *δῆθεν* (which is perhaps originally *δὴ θην*): as Il. 2. 276 *οὐ θῆν μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἀνήσει θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ* his bold spirit will not I imagine impel him again: Il. 13. 620 *λείψετε θην οὕτω γε* methinks in this fashion you will leave &c.

πέρ.

353.] The Particle πέρ is evidently a shorter form of the Preposition περί, which in its adverbial use has the meaning *beyond, exceedingly* (§ 185). Accordingly πέρ is *intensive*, denoting that the word to which it is subjoined is true in a high degree, in its fullest sense, &c.: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 353 μῆτερ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυθᾶδιόν περ ἐόντα  
(*cp. μινυθὰ περ, οὗ τι μάλα δῆν*).

23. 79 λάχε γεινόμενον περ *was my fate quite from my birth*.

Od. 1. 315 μή μ' ἔτι νῦν κατέρυκε λιλαιόμενόν περ ὁδοῖο.

8. 187 στιβαρώτερον οὐκ ὀλίγον περ.

Or that the word is used with full confidence and emphasis:—

Il. 2. 236 οἰκαδὲ περ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα  
(= *let us have nothing short of return home*).

8. 452 σφῶϊν δὲ πρὶν περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαῖδιμα γυῖα  
*even beforehand trembling seized your knees*.

13. 72 ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ *gods, surely, are easily known*.

Od. 4. 34 αἱ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς | ἐξοπλίσω περ παύση διζύος.

So with Relatives, *ὅς περ the very one who, ὡς ἔσεται περ* (Attic *ὥσπερ καὶ ἔσται*) *just as it will be*. Also *εἰ περ even if*, and *ἢ περ or ἢ περ even than*.

Usually, however, πέρ implies a sense of opposition; *i.e.* it emphasises something as true *in spite of* a preceding assertion: as *οὐ τι δυνήσσαι ἀχνύμενός περ thou wilt not be able, however much vexed*, *πολλές περ ἐόντες many as they are*, *πίνοντά περ ἔμπης even though drinking*, &c.; and with Substantives, Il. 20. 65 *τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ which even the gods* (gods though they are) *dread*. Less commonly πέρ implies compensation for the absence of something else: Il. 1. 508 *ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μιν τίσον do thou honour him* (since Agamemnon will not); 17. 121 *αἶ κε νέκυν περ Ἀχιλλῆϊ προφέρωμεν γυμνόν· ἀτὰρ τὰ γε τεύχε' κτλ.*

In Homer the intensive καί and πέρ are often used with the same word or phrase: as *καὶ ὀψέ περ even though late*, *καὶ πρὸς δαίμονά περ even though it were against a higher power*, *καὶ πεζός περ ἐὼν though only on foot*: *εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορά περ φιλέεις*, &c. So with *οὐδέ not even*, as *οὐδέ θεοὶ περ not even the gods*, *οὐδ' ὥς περ not even so*, *οὐδέ νυ σοὶ περ not even to you*.

The combination καί περ (or καίπερ) occurs in Homer in one place only, viz. Od. 7. 224 *καὶ περ πολλὰ παθόντα*.

It seems that when καί precedes a word followed by περ, it is always = *even* (not *and*). Hence in Il. 5. 135 *καὶ πρὶν περ μεμαώς* means *even though formerly eager*, and is to be taken with the preceding line, not with the succeeding *δὴ τότε μιν κτλ.* Thus there is no anacolouthon, as is generally assumed.

## γέ.

354.] γέ is used, like πέρ, to emphasise a particular word or phrase. It does not however *intensify* the meaning, or insist on the fact as *true*, but only calls attention to the word or fact, distinguishing it from others: *e.g.*

Il. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

Here γέ shows that the word χόλος is chosen in order to be contrasted with κότος. So too—

Il. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἔς γε μίαν βουλευόμεν οὐκ ἔτ' ἔπειτα  
(if we could ever *agree*, instead of *contending*).

Again, where an idea is repeated—

Il. 5. 35 εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἔς πόλεμον πωλήσῃαι, ἢ τέ σ' ὅτω  
ρίγῃσειν πόλεμόν γε κτλ.

Cp. also Il. 1. 299 ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες *since you have but taken away what you gave* (where we should rather emphasise δόντες): Od. 4. 193 οὐ τοι ἔγωγε τέρπον' ὀδυρόμενος . . νεμεσῶμαι γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίειν κτλ. *I do not take pleasure in lamenting, but yet I do not say that I complain of a man weeping* &c.: 9. 393 τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστὶ *that is the strength of iron* (in particular): 10. 93 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἀέξετο κῦμά γ' ἐν αὐτῷ, οὔτε μέγ' οὔτ' ὀλίγον, λευκὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ γαλήνῃ *no wave at all* (nothing that could be called a wave) *rose in it*, &c.

γέ sometimes emphasises a word as a strong or appropriate one, or as chosen under the influence of feeling (anger, contempt, &c.). As examples may be quoted, Od. 9. 458 τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλος γε . . ῥαίωιτο κτλ.: 17. 244 τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαΐας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας: Il. 7. 198 ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νῆϊδά γ' οὕτως ἔλπομαι κτλ. So in the phrase εἰ ποτ' ἔην γε, though the exact meaning is doubtful.

γε is common with the Article (§ 257, 2) and the Personal Pronouns (so that it is usual to write ὄγε, ἔγωγε as one word), also with ὅδε, οὗτος, κείνος, and the corresponding Adverbs ὅδε, τότε, &c. It serves chiefly to bring out the contrast which these Pronouns more or less distinctly imply. Similarly with words implying comparison, as ἄλλος and ἕτερος, πρῶν, πάρος, &c. When a special emphasis is intended, Homer usually employs πέρ, as Od. 1. 59 οὐδέ νυ σοὶ περ ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἦτορ *not even are you moved* (who are especially bound to care for Ulysses).

In a Conditional Protasis (with ὅς, ὅτε, εἰ, &c.), γέ emphasises the condition as such: hence εἰ γε *if only, always supposing that*; cp. Od. 2. 31 ἦν χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἴποι, ὅτε πρότερός γε πύθοιτο *which he would tell you, if and when he had been first to hear it*. On the other hand, εἰ περ means *supposing ever so much*, hence *if really*

(Lat. *si quidem*). So when *πρίν* expresses a condition (§ 297) it takes γέ, as Il. 5. 288 *πρίν γ' ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα κτλ.*

οὐ, μή.

355.] οὐκί, οὐκ, οὐ. The full form οὐκί occurs in the formula *ἢ καὶ οὐκί or else not* (Il. 2. 238, &c.), and one or two similar phrases: Il. 15. 137 *ὅς τ' αἰπὺς ὅς τε καὶ οὐκί*, and Il. 20. 255 *πόλλ' ἔτεά τε καὶ οὐκί*.

The general use of οὐ is to *deny* the predication to which it is attached (while *μή forbids or deprecates*). In some instances, however, οὐ does not merely negative the Verb, but expresses the *opposite* meaning: οὐ φημι is not *I do not say*, but *I deny, refuse*; and so οὐκ ἐῷ *I forbid*, &c. (Krüger, § 67, 1, 1).

The uses of οὐ in Subordinate Clauses, and with the Infinitive and Participle, will be best treated along with the corresponding uses of μή (§§ 359, 360).

According to Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 147) the negative Particle was treated originally like the Prepositions, i. e. it was placed immediately before the Verb, and closely connected with it: as in the Latin *ne-scio, ne-queo, nolo*, and in some parallel Slavonic forms. The same relation appears in the accent of οὐ φημι, and in the use of οὐ in the combinations οὐκ ἐθέλω, οὐκ ἐάω, &c., where general rules would require μή (§ 359).

356.] οὐδέ, μηδέ. These forms are generally used as negative *connecting* Particles (*but not, and not*). Sometimes however they have a strengthening or emphatic force, corresponding to the similar use of καὶ in affirmative sentences; as Il. 5. 485 *τὴν δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις you stand still (yourself), and (what is more) do not call on the others to fight*. So καὶ ὅς *even he*, οὐδ' ὅς *not even he*, &c.

οὐδέ is originally an emphatic form (like the later οὐδέ τις—a new formation from the same materials). In Homer the Neut. οὐδέν is occasionally found, sometimes as an emphatic Adverb, = *not at all*, as Il. 1. 244 *ὃ τ' ἀριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδέν ἔτισας* (so Il. 1. 412., 16. 274., 22. 332, 513., 24. 370, Od. 4. 195., 9. 287): sometimes *nothing at all* (Nom. and Acc.), as Od. 9. 34 *ὥς οὐδέν γλυκύνον no single thing is sweeter* (cp. 18. 130., 22. 318). The adjectival use is found with ἕπος (Od. 4. 350., 17. 141), also in Il. 10. 216 *τῇ μὲν κτήρας οὐδέν ὁμοῖον*, and perhaps Il. 24. 370 *οὐδέν σοί γ' ὄφελος* (where οὐδέν may be adverbial). A trace of the Gen. Neut. appears in the Compound οὐδενός-ῳρος *worth nothing* (Il. 8. 178). The Masc. occurs only in the phrase τὸ δὲ μένος οὐδενὶ εἶκον (Il. 22. 459, Od. 11. 515).

The form *μηδέ* is entirely post-Homeric.

357.] Double negation. This characteristic feature of Greek is caused by the tendency to *repeat* the negative Particle with any word or phrase to which the negation especially applies: as Il. 1. 114 *ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐθέν ἔστι χερσίων, οὐ δέμας κτλ. since she is not*



*inferior—not in form &c.* The emphatic οὐδέ and μηδέ are chiefly used in this way: as οὐ μὰν οὐδ' Ἀχιλεὺς κτλ. *no, not even Achilles &c.*; Od. 8. 176 οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως οὐδὲ θεὸς τεύξειε *nor could even a god make one otherwise*: Od. 8. 280 τὰ γ' οὐ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο, οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων: Il. 2. 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἄναρχοι ἔσαν: Il. 6. 58 μηδ' ὄν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἔοντα φέροι μηδ' ὅς φύγοι.

358.] μή is commonly used (as we should expect) with the Moods expressive of *command* or *wish*, viz. the Imperative Subjunctive and Optative. These uses having been already discussed (§§ 278, 281, 299, 303, &c.), it only remains to notice some idiomatic uses in which μή is found with the Mood of simple *assertion* or *denial*.

With the Indicative μή is used in Homer—

(a) In the phrase μὴ ὤφελον (or ὠφελον) *would that I had not &c.* Logically the μή in this idiom belongs to the following Infinitive (cp. § 355).

(b) In *oaths*, to express solemn or impassioned denial:

Il. 10. 329 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,  
μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχῆσεται ἄλλος κτλ.  
(*I swear that no one else shall ride &c.*)

15. 36 ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα . . .  
μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
πημαίνει κτλ.

In this use μή denies by *disclaiming* (as it were) or protesting against a fact supposed to be within the speaker's power (= *far be it from me that &c.*).

(c) After ἦ, to express incredulity, &c.:

Od. 6. 200 ἦ μή ποῦ τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν  
(*surely you do not suppose it is any enemy!*)

9. 405 ἦ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει;  
ἦ μή τίς σ' αὐτὸν κτείνει δόλῳ ἢ ἐ βίῃφι;  
(*surely no one is driving off your sheep? &c.*)

This is the common type of 'question expecting a negative answer,' viz. an impassioned denial uttered in a hesitating or interrogative tone. Compare the quasi-interrogative use of ἦ (§ 338) to indicate surprise or indignation.

(d) After Verbs of *fearing* which relate to a past event:

Od. 5. 300 δεῖδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν.

Here, as with the Subj. (§ 281, 1), the Clause with μή passes into an Object-Clause. The difference is that the Indicative shows the event to be past; so that the Clause expresses literally a

refusal to believe what the speaker nevertheless 'fears' to be true.

So perhaps Od. 13. 216 *μή τί μοι ὄχονται* *I fear they are gone*: but the better reading is *ὄχωνται*, the Subj. being understood, as in Il. 1. 555 *μή σε παρείπη* *lest she have persuaded thee* (i.e. prove to have persuaded); cp. the Opt. in Od. 21. 395 *μή κέρα ἴως ἴδοιεν* *lest worms should (be found to) have eaten* (§ 303, 1). Cp. also Matth. xvi. 5 *ἐπελάβοντο ἄρτους λαβεῖν* *they found that they had forgotten* (Field's *Otium Norvicense*, Pt. 3, p. 7).

The essence of these idioms is the combination of the imperative *tone*—which shows itself in the Particle—with the Mood proper to simple assertion. The disposition to resort to the form of *prohibition* in order to express strong or passionate *denial* may be seen in the occasional use of the Optative with *μή* in *deprecating* a supposition (§ 299, *e*), and of the Subj. with *μή* in *oaths*, as Od. 12. 300., 18. 56.

The use of the Indicative with *μή* may have been derived from forms of prohibition which originally used the Subj. or Opt., the change being due to the sense of the speaker that the fact in question was really certain: cp. the Modal uses noticed in §§ 324–326, and the remark in § 323 as to the tendency in favour of the Indicative.

The use of the Past Indicative after Verbs of *fearing* is closely parallel to the use in Final Clauses, noticed in § 325. While the Clause, as an expression of the speaker's mind about an event—his fear or his purpose—should have a Subj. or Opt., the sense that the happening of the event is matter of *past fact* causes the Indicative to be preferred.

359.] **Conditional Clauses.** The rule which prescribes *μή* as the negative Particle to be used in every Clause of Conditional (or quasi-Conditional) meaning does not hold universally for Homer. In Homeric Conditional Clauses—

(*a*) When the Verb is a Subjunctive or Optative *μή* is used: the very few exceptions being confined to *οὐκ ἐθέλω* (Il. 3. 289., 15. 492) and *οὐκ ἔάω* (Il. 20. 139), which are treated almost as Compounds.

See § 355, and cp. the use of *οὐκ ἐθέλω* in Final Clauses, as Il. 5. 233 *μή . . ματήσεται οὐδ' ἐθέλητον* κτλ.

(*b*) With the Relatives *ὅς*, *ὅσος*, &c. and an Indicative *οὐ* is generally used; as—

Il. 2. 143 *πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν.*

Od. 3. 348 *ὥστε τευ ἡ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνεῖμονος ἤε πενιχοῦ, ᾧ οὐ τι χλαῖναι* κτλ. (a general description).

Il. 2. 338 (*παισὶν ἐοικότες*) *νηπιάρχους, οἷς οὐ τι μέλει* κτλ. (so 7. 236., 18. 363).

The only instance of *μή* is Il. 2. 301 *ἐστὲ δὲ πάντες μάρτυροι, οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι*, where the speaker wishes to make an *exception* to what he has just said.

(c) With *εἰ* and the Indicative *οὐ* is used when the Clause with *εἰ* precedes the Principal Clause: as—

Il. 4. 160 *εἰ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε κτλ.*, and similarly in Il. 9. 435., 15. 213, Od. 19. 85, and the (eight) other places quoted in § 317. But when the Clause with *εἰ* follows the other, *μή* is used, as in the numerous sentences of the form—

Il. 2. 155 *ἔνθα κεν . . νόστος ἐτύχθη | εἰ μὴ κτλ.*

The only instance in which the rule fails seems to be—

Od. 9. 410 *εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τις σε βιάζεται οἶον ἔδντα,  
νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πῶς ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλλέασθαι.*

Here *μή τις* may be used rather than *οὐ τις* in order to bring out more clearly the misunderstanding of the *Οδῦς* of Polyphemus.

This curious law was pointed out by A. R. Vierke, in a valuable dissertation *De μή particulae cum indicativo conjunctae usu antiquiore* (Lipsiae, 1876). With regard to the ground of it, we have seen (§ 320) that a Clause with *εἰ* in most cases precedes the apodosis; and that this is probably the original order. When it is inverted it may be that the use of *μή* instead of *οὐ* has a prohibitive character, as though the condition were added as an afterthought, in *bar* of what has been already said. In any case the inversion throws an *emphasis* on the Clause, which would account for the preference for *μή*; see § 358.

360.] **Infinitive and Participle.** It appears from comparison with the forms of negation in the oldest Sanscrit that the negative Particles were originally used only with *finite Verbs*. The negation of a Noun was expressed by forming it into a Compound with the prefix *an-* or *a-* (Greek *ἀν-*, *ἀ-*): and the Infinitives and Participles were treated in this respect as Nouns. The first exception to this rule in Greek was probably the use of *οὐ* with the Participle—a use which is well established in Homer.

*οὐ* with the Infinitive is used in Homer (as in Attic) after Verbs of *saying, thinking, knowing, &c.* (§ 237); as Il. 16. 61 *ἦ τοι ἔφην γε οὐ πρὶν μνηστῆρ' ἀπαυδάμεν κτλ.*: Od. 5. 342 *δοκέεις δέ μοι οὐκ ἀπινύσσειν.*

This use however is to be compared with that noticed above (§ 355), in which an *οὐ* which belongs in sense to the Infinitive is placed before the governing Verb; as *οὐ φησὶν δάσειν* *he says he will not give*. Sometimes the Homeric language seems to hesitate between the two forms, or to use them indifferently: compare (e.g.) Il. 12. 106 *οὐδ' ἔρ' ἔφαντο σχήσεσθ' κτλ.* and (a few lines further) v. 125 *ἔφαντο γὰρ οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοὺς σχήσεσθ' κτλ.* Occasionally the negative is used with the Verb and repeated with the Infinitive:

Il. 17. 641 *ἔπει οὐ μὲν δέομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι* (cp. 12. 73).

Od. 3. 27 *οὐ γὰρ δέω | οὐ σε θεῶν δέκητι γυνέσθαι κτλ.*

It may be conjectured that the use of *οὐ* with the governing Verb is the more ancient; while the use with the Infinitive is certainly the more logical.

361.] *μή* with the Infinitive and Participle. The Homeric uses of this kind are few and simple in comparison with those of later Greek.

The Infinitive when used for the Imperative (§ 241) naturally takes *μή* instead of *ού*: as Il. 4. 42 *μή τι διατρίβειν τὸν ἔμὸν χόλον, ἀλλά μ' ἔᾶσαι*.

An Infinitive which stands as Object of a Verb of *saying*, &c. takes *μή* when it expresses *command* or *wish*: as Il. 3. 434 *παύεσθαι κέλομαι μηδὲ κτλ. I bid you stop and not &c.* (so 9. 12): Od. 1. 37 *ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς μήτ' κτλ. we told him before not to &c.* So Od. 9. 530 *ὁδὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα . . ἰκέσθαι grant that Ulysses may not come*.

Again, a dependent Infinitive takes *μή* in *oaths*, as Il. 19. 176 *ὀμνύετω . . μὴ ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι κτλ. let him swear that he never &c.*, cp. v. 258 *ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς . . μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κόρῃ Βρισηΐδι χεῖρ' ἐπενείκαι*. So generally after Verbs of *asseveration*, as Il. 14. 45 *ὥς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησεν . . μὴ πρὶν κτλ. threatened that he would not &c.*; Il. 18. 500 *ὁ δ' ἀναλνέτο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι denied that he had received anything*. This use of *μή* is evidently parallel to the use with the Indicative, § 358. Compare also Il. 19. 22 *οἱ' ἐπεικέες ἔργ' ἔμεν ἀθανάτων μηδὲ βροτὸν ἄνδρα τελέσσαι*, where the *μή* may be emphatic (*such as we must not suppose any mortal to have made*).\* Or this may be an instance of the use of *μή* in Relative Clauses containing a *general description* (§ 359, δ).

The use of *μή* with the Participle appears in one Homeric instance:—

Od. 4. 684 *μὴ μνηστεύσαντες μὴδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμιλήσαντες ὕστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν*.

Here *μή* belongs to *ὀμιλήσαντες*, and expresses a *wish*: 'may they (after their wooing) have no other meeting, but sup now for the last time.' For the parenthetical *μνηστεύσαντες* and the repetition of the negative with *ἄλλοτε*, cp. the parallel place Od. 11. 613 *μὴ τεχνησάμενος μὴδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιο*.

#### AN, KEN.

362.] So much has been said in the last chapter about the uses of *αν* and *κέν* in combination with the different Moods that it is hardly necessary to add anything here. It may be convenient however to recapitulate shortly the results arrived at.

1. The primary use of *αν* and *κέν*, from which the special uses may be more or less easily derived, is to show that the speaker

\* This would be akin to the later use with Verbs of *belief*. As to the Verbs which take *μή* see Prof. Gildersleeve in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. I. p. 49.

is thinking of *particular* instances or occasions. The Homeric use of *τέ*, as we have seen (§ 332), is precisely the opposite, viz. to mark a sentence as applicable *generally* or in an *indefinite* number of instances.

It is to be observed accordingly that in Homer *άν* and *κέν* are hardly ever used in the same Clause with *τέ*, except in the combinations *ή τ' άν*, *ή τέ κεν*. Similarly the use of *άν* and *κέν* with the Relatives which contain an *Indefinite* Pronoun, as *ὅπως* and *ὅποτε*, is comparatively rare: see §§ 285, 306.

2. In Simple Sentences, and in the apodosis of Complex Sentences, *άν* and *κέν* express limitation by circumstances or *conditions*. This applies to the common uses with the Opt., and with Past Tenses; also to the Homeric uses with the Subj. (§ 275), and Fut. Ind. (§ 326). But the Subj. and Opt. are 'pure' when used in their quasi-Imperative sense, and in *unconditional* negation (*οὐδέ γένηται and never will be*), and rhetorical questions (*πῶς τ' ἔρ' ἴω how am I to go?*) which are equivalent to negation.

3. In Final Clauses which refer to the Future, the use of *άν* or *κέν* prevails (§§ 282, 285, 288, 293, 304). But with certain Conjunctions (especially *ὥς*, *ὅπως*, *ἵνα*, *ὅφρα*) it is liable to considerable exceptions; see §§ 285-9, 306-7. When the purpose spoken of is not an *actual* one (but either past or imaginary), the Verb is generally 'pure.'

4. In Conditional Clauses the Subj. and Opt. generally take *άν* or *κέν* when the governing Verb is a Future, or in a Mood which implies a *future* occasion (Imperative, Subjunctive, Optative with *άν* or *κέν*). On the other hand in similes, maxims, and all references to *frequent* or *indefinite* occasions, *άν* and *κέν* are not used.

5. In several places the pure Subj. is used after a Future, to show that the speaker avoids contemplating particular occasions: see § 283, a, § 289, 1. a, § 292, a.

6. Exceptions of the opposite kind—in which *άν* or *κέν* is used although the reference is *indefinite*—are chiefly found (1) in Clauses which restrict or qualify a general supposition already stated, and (2) where a distinction or contrast is implied. As examples of the former, compare—

Il. 3. 26 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει εἴ περ ἂν αὐτὸν  
σεύωνται κτλ. (*even in the case when &c.*).

21. 24 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει δὲ κε λάβησι.

Od. 21. 293 οἶνός σε τρώει μελιγδής, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
βλάπτει, ὅς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλη κτλ.

Il. 3. 65 οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἔσσι θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,  
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν κτλ. (*i. e. the real gifts of the gods*).

Il. 9. 524 οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπενθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι.

19. 259 Ἐρινύες, αἳ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν  
ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπιόρκον ὁμόσση.

Od. 19. 566 οἱ ῥ' ἔνυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδῃται.

There is an evident tendency in the language to extend the use of *ἀν* or *κέν* beyond its original limits,—that is, to state *indefinite* cases as if they were *definite*. The change is analogous to that which is seen in the use of the Indicative in a *general* Conditional Protasis: in which use, as Goodwin says, 'the speaker states the supposition as if it were particular and not general' (*Moods and Tenses*, § 51, N. 3). The use of the Indicative in *similes* is of the same kind (cp. *ἀν* and *κέν* in the two first examples above): and it is especially to be observed that, as Delbrück has pointed out (*Synt. Forsch.* I. p. 135), the most important point of comparison is usually expressed by the Subjunctive, while details and subordinate incidents are given in the Indicative: as—

Il. 4. 482 δ' ἔ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἰγείρος ὥς,  
ἥ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμένῃ ἔλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκη  
λείη, ἀτὰρ τέ οἱ ὅζοι ἐπ' ἀποράτῃ πεφύασι.

The loss of the Homeric use of *τέ* is another example of the tendency in the language to abandon the fine but cumbrous distinction between *general* and *particular* statement.

The use of *κέν* to mark *contrast* may be seen in—

Il. 11. 408 οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,  
ὅς δέ κ' ἀριστεύῃσι κτλ.

So we find *ὅς δέ κεν* in Il. 19. 167, Od. 14. 126, and even *ὅς μὲν τε*—*ὅς δέ κεν*, Il. 9. 508 ff., 23. 319 ff.; whereas *ὅς δέ τε* does not occur.

7. The anomalous use of *ἀν* and *κέν* may sometimes be due to the influence of familiar combinations: *e.g.* *ὅτ' ἀν* (cp. especially the use in *similes*, § 289, 2, a), *εὐτ' ἀν* (§ 290), *ἐπεὶ κεν* (§ 296).

8. The use of *ἀν* with the Infinitive occurs once in Homer, in a piece of *oratio obliqua* (Il. 9. 684, cp. v. 417). The use with the Participle is wholly post-Homeric.

363.] **Difference of *ἀν* and *κέν*.** Up to this point it has been assumed that the two Particles are practically equivalent. It will be proper, however, before leaving the subject to bring together the differences of usage which have been pointed out between them, and to consider whether any difference of *meaning* can be detected or inferred.

1. *κέν* is much commoner than *ἀν* in Homer; the respective numbers in the Iliad being 621 and 155, or 4 : 1.\*

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\* Statistics as to *κέν* are given by Hinrichs, *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Æolicis* (Jena, 1875), as to *ἀν*, by Leo Meyer (see the next note).

2. In *Negative Clauses* there is a marked preference for *ἄν*. In the *Iliad* *ἄν* is found with a negative 53 times (being one-third of the whole number of instances), *κέν* is similarly used 33 times (about one-twentieth). The difference is especially to be noticed in the Homeric use of the Subj. as a kind of Future (§§ 275, 276). In Affirmative instances of this use *κέν* is frequent, *ἄν* very rare: in Negative instances *ἄν* only is found.

3. *ἄν* is very rarely used with the Relative. Thus in the large class of Conditional Clauses with *ὅς* (ὅστις, &c.) and the Subj. there are more than 100 instances with *κέν*, against four or five with *ἄν*. Again, in Final Relative Clauses *κέν* is common, both with the Subj. (§ 282) and the Opt. (§ 304); *ἄν* is never found with the Subj., hardly ever with the Opt. (the only clear instance being Il. 7. 231 τοῖοι οἱ ἄν σέθεν ἀντιάσασιν).

On the other hand *ἄν* is frequently used with certain Temporal and Final Conjunctions, viz. ὅτε, ὁπότε, εὔτε, ὅφρα, ὥς, also with εἰ and ἐπεὶ (in the forms ἦν, ἐπὶν).

4. *κέν* is often used in two or more successive Clauses of a Sentence: e.g. in both protasis and apodosis, as—

Il. 1. 324 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσω, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι κτλ.

5. 273 εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθα κε κλέος ἐσθλόν.

In Disjunctive Sentences, as—

Il. 18. 308 στήσομαι, ἥ κε φέρῃσι μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φεροίμην.

Od. 4. 692 ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρῃσι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίῃ.

And in parallel and Correlative Clauses of all kinds:—

Il. 3. 41 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη.

23. 855 ὅς μὲν κε βάλῃ . . ὅς δέ κε μηρίνθοιο τύχῃ, κτλ.

Od. 11. 110 τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἐάσῃ νόστου τε μέδῃαι,  
καὶ κεν ἔτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην κακὰ περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε  
εἰ δέ κε σῶνται κτλ.

*ἄν*, on the other hand, is especially used in the *second* of two parallel or connected Clauses, as—

Il. 19. 228 ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν ὅς κε θάνῃσι . .

ὅσσοι δ' ἄν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῦ λίπωνται κτλ.

Od. 19. 329 ὅς μὲν ἀπηνῆς αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδῇ . .

ὅς δ' ἄν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἔη κτλ.

So Il. 21. 553 εἰ μὲν κεν . . εἰ δ' ἄν κτλ., and in a negative apodosis, Il. 2. 488 πλεθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ κτλ. (§ 276, β), Il. 14. 247 Ζηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἄν κτλ.: also Il. 3. 288 ff. εἰ μὲν κεν—εἰ δέ κε—εἰ δ' ἄν (the last being an alternative to the second).

The only instance of *ἄν* in two parallel Clauses is—

Od. 11. 17 οὐθ' ὁπότε ἄν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα

οὐθ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀψ' ἐπὶ γαίαν κτλ.

and there we may read *ὅποτε στείλῃσι*, obtaining the regular Homeric use of the Subj. in *general statements* (§ 289, 2, α).

Instances of *ἄν* in the first of two such Clauses are very rare. In three places we have the combination *ὅρρ' ἄν μὲν κεν* (Il. 11. 187, Od. 5. 361., 6. 259), cp. also Od. 15. 513 *ἄλλως μὲν σ' ἄν ἔγαγε κτλ.*, where *ἄλλως* means *under other circumstances (not now)*.

The use of *ἦν* and *ἐπὶν* is worth notice here. *ἦν* is nearly always used either in Final Clauses, or when the condition is put *after* the Principal Clause: once or twice in Adversative Clauses (*ἦν δὲ—, ἀτὰρ ἦν—*), and in the form *ἦν περ γάρ*, cp. *εἰ δ' ἄν* and *εἰ περ ἄν*. So *ἐπὶν* is used either (1) after the Principal Clause or (2) in the form *αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν*.

5. There are several indications of the use of *ἄν* as a more *emphatic* Particle than *κέν*. Thus the combination *ἦ τ' ἄν surely in that case* occurs 7 times in the Iliad, *ἦ τέ κεν* only twice. Compare the force of *καὶ ἄν* in—

Il. 5. 362 *ὅς νῦν γε καὶ ἄν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο*

Od. 6. 300 *ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωρ' ἐστί, καὶ ἄν πᾶσις ἡγήσαιτο.*

So Il. 14. 244 *ἄλλον μὲν κεν . . ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι, καὶ ἄν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα Ὀκεανοῦ* *I would put any other to sleep, even Oceanus &c.*

Cp. also *τότ' ἄν* (*then indeed, then at length*), in—

Il. 18. 397 *τότ' ἄν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ.*

22. 108 *ἔμοι δὲ τότ' ἄν πολὺν κέρδιον εἶη κτλ.*

24. 213 *τότ' ἄν τιτὰ ἔργα γένοιτο.*

Od. 9. 211 *τότ' ἄν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέσθαι φίλον ἦεν.*

The general effect of these differences of usage between the two Particles seems to be that *ἄν* is used either in an *adversative* sense—with a second or opposed alternative—or when greater *emphasis* has to be expressed. Thus while the force of *κέν* might be given approximately by such words as *then, in that case* (and that of *κέν—κέν* by *in one case—in another case*), *ἄν* might be translated *then indeed, then rather, even in that case, in that other case, &c.*

This account of the matter is in harmony with the predominance of *ἄν* in negative sentences. When we speak of an event as *not happening* in certain circumstances, we almost necessarily think of the *opposite* circumstances, those in which it will happen; as *οὐκ ἄν τοι χρᾶσις κίθαρις* *the lyre will not avail you* (viz. *in battle—whatever it may do elsewhere*).

The *accent* of the Particles must not be overlooked as a confirmation of the view now taken. Evidently *ἄν* is more likely to convey *emphasis* than the enclitic *κέν*. We may find an analogy in the orthotone and adversative *δέ*, which stands to *τέ* and the correlated *τέ—τέ* somewhat as we have supposed *ἄν* to stand to *κέν* and *κέν—κέν*.



364.] Original meaning of *dv*. The original identity of the Greek *dv* with the Latin and Gothic *an* has been recently maintained with much force and ingenuity by Prof. Leo Meyer of Dorpat. The following are some of the chief points of his dissertation.\*

The Latin *an* is used by the older poets in the second member of a disjunctive question, either direct, as, *egone an illo injurie facimus?* or indirect, as, *utrum scapulae plus an collus calli habeat nescio* (both from Naevius). The use in single questions is a derivative one, and properly implies that the question is put as an alternative: as—

Plaut. Asin. 5, 1, 10 credam istuc, si te esse hilarum videro. AR. An tu me tristem putas? *do you then think me (the opposite, viz.) sad?*

Amph. 3, 3, 8 derides qui scis haec dudum me dixisse per jocum. SO. an illut joculari dixisti? *equidem serio ac vero ratus.*

In these places † we see how *an* comes to mean *then on the contrary, then in the other case, &c.* So in Naevius, *eho an vicimus?* *what then, have we conquered?*

In Gothic, again, *an* is used in questions of an adversative character: as in Luke x. 29 *an hvas ist mis nehvundja* ('he willing to justify himself, said): and who is my neighbour?' John xviii. 37 *an nuh thiudans is thu* 'art thou a king then?'

These instances exhibit a close similarity between the Latin and the Gothic *an*, and suggest the possibility of a Disjunctive Particle (*or, or else*) coming to express recourse to a second alternative (*if not, then—*), and so acquiring the uses of the Greek *dv*. This supposition, as Leo Meyer goes on to show, is confirmed by the Gothic *aiththau* and *thau*, which are employed (1) as Disjunctive Particles, *or, or else*, and (2) to render the Greek *dv*, chiefly in the use with the Past Indicative. Thus we have:—

Matth. v. 36 ni magt ain tagl hveit aiththau svart gataujan *thou canst not make one hair white or black.*

Matth. ix. 17 aiththau distaurnand balgeis (*neither do men put new wine into old bottles*) *else the bottles break.*

John xiv. 2 niba veseina, aiththau qvethjau *if it were not so, I would have told you* [= it is not so, *else* I would have told you].

John xiv. 7 ith kunthedeith mik, aiththau kunthedeith &c. *if ye had known me, ye should have known &c.*

The Gothic *thau*, again, is used to translate *¶* in double questions, as Matth. xxvii. 17 *whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas or (thau) Jesus?* and after a Comparative (= *than*): frequently also in a Conditional Apodosis, esp. to translate *dv* with Past Tenses, as—

Luke vii. 39 sa ith vesi praufetus ufkunthedi thau *this man, if he were a prophet, would have known.*

Sometimes also with the Present (where there is no *dv* in the Greek),—the meaning being that of a solemn or emphatic Future:

Mark xi. 26 ith jabai jus ni afletith, ni thau . . afletith *if ye do not forgive neither will . . forgive* (οὐδὲ . . ἀφήσει).

Matth. v. 20 ni thau qvimith (*except your righteousness shall exceed &c.*) *ye shall in no case enter &c.* (οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε).

\* 'AN im Griechischen, Lateinischen und Gothischen, Berlin 1880.

† Taken from Draeger's *Historische Syntax*, I. p. 321, where many other examples will be found.

This use evidently answers to the Homeric *ἄν* or *κέν* with the Subj. and Fut. Ind.: *ni thau qvimiti* = *οὐκ ἄν ἐλθῇτε*, *ni thau afētith* = *οὐδέ κεν ἀφήσει*.

If now we suppose that *ἄν*, like *aiththau* and *thau*, had originally two main uses, (1) in the second member of a Disjunctive sentence (= *else, or else*), and (2) in the Conditional Apodosis (= *in that case rather*), we can explain the Gothic and Latin *an* from the former, the Greek *ἄν* from the latter. The idiomatic 'ellipse' in *ἡ γὰρ ἄν . . ὑστὰτα λωβήσαιο* *else you would outrage for the last time* will represent an intermediate or transitional use. We can then understand why *ἄν* should often accompany Negatives, and why it should be used in the *latter* Clause of a sentence. The main difference of the two uses evidently is that in the first the Clauses are co-ordinate, in the second the Clause with *ἄν* is the apodosis or principal Clause. Thus the two uses may be said to be related to each other as the two uses of *δέ* (1) as an adversative Conjunction, (2) *in apodosis*.

The use of *ἄν* in Final Clauses may be illustrated by that of *thau* in Mark vi. 56 *bēdun ina ei thau . . attaitōkeina varekāloun aūrōn ina kán . . āpōrrai* *that they might touch if it were but &c.* With *iva, &c.* *ἄν* may have had originally the same kind of emphasis as *κάν* in this passage: 'that in any case,' 'that if no more at least &c.' The use in a Conditional Protasis following the Principal Clause may be compared with Luke ix. 13 *niba thau . . bugjaima* (*we have no more except we should buy* (= unless indeed we should buy)).

365.] The Particle *κέν* is generally identified with the Sanscrit *kam*; the exact meaning of which, however, appears to be unknown (Delbr. IV. p. 144). It is found in Æolic (in the same form as in Homer), and in Doric (in the form *κά*). Some writers even hold that it is properly Æolic, and passed into the Homeric poems, with other archaic forms, from an early Æolic literature.\*

Without entering upon the question of the existence of Æolic forms in Homer, it will be enough to point out here that the use of a Particle such as *κέν* stands upon very different ground from the other peculiarities which would now be counted as Æolic. The ancient grammarians ascribed nearly everything un-Attic in Homer to admixture of dialect; but this was due to their inability to conceive of language as subject to gradual change. It may be going too far to deny altogether the existence of a foreign or non-Ionic element in Homer, but in all probability it is to be found, if at all, in isolated words and phrases. That a Particle which is essential to the syntax in hundreds of passages should be a mere piece of literary tradition or imitation seems impossible.

It has been maintained indeed that *ἄν* and *κέν* are exactly synonymous, and therefore cannot have been used together in the same spoken dialect. But the abundance of Particles in Greek is such that we cannot be surprised at the difficulty of making a distinction of meaning in this case. Compare the analogous Gothic *aiththau* and *thau*; also the redundancy of negatives in some languages, as Latin *non* and *haud*, French *pas* and *point*.

\* So G. Hinrichs, *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Æolicis*, pp. 148, 166. See also Bergk's *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 130, n. 214.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## METRE AND QUANTITY.

*The Hexameter.*

366.] The verse in which the Homeric poems are composed—the *heroic hexameter*—consists of six *feet*, of equal length, each of which again is divided into two equal parts, viz. an accented part or *arsis* (on which the rhythmical beat or *ictus* falls), and an unaccented part or *thesis*. In each foot the *arsis* consists of one long syllable, the *thesis* of one long or two short syllables; except the last *thesis*, which consists of one syllable, either long or short.

The fifth *thesis* nearly always consists of two short syllables, thus producing the characteristic — ∪ ∪ — ∞ which marks the end of each hexameter.

The last foot is probably to be regarded as a little shorter than the others, the time being filled up by the pause at the end of the verse. The effect of this shortening is heightened by the dactyl in the fifth place, since the two short syllables take the full time of half a foot.

367.] **Diaeresis and Caesura.** Besides the recognised *stops* or pauses which mark the separation of sentences and clauses there is in general a slight pause or break of the voice between successive words in the same clause, sufficient to affect the rhythm of the verse. Hence the rules regarding *Diaeresis* and *Caesura*.

By **Diaeresis** is meant the coincidence of the division between words with the division into feet. The commonest place of *diaeresis* in the hexameter is after the fourth foot: as—

ἡρώων αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια | τεῦχε κύνεσσιν.

This is called the *Bucolic Diaeresis*.

**Caesura** (τομή) occurs when the pause between two words falls within a foot, so as to 'cut' it into two parts. The *caesura* which separates the *arsis* from the *thesis* (so as to divide the foot equally) is called the *strong* or *masculine caesura*: that which falls between the two short syllables of the *thesis* is called the *weak* or *feminine* or *trochaic caesura*.

The chief points to be observed regarding *caesura* in the Homeric hexameter are as follows:—

1. There is nearly always a caesura in the third foot. Of the two caesuras the more frequent in this place is the trochaic (τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον), as—

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα | πολύτροπον δὲ μάλα πολλά.

The strong caesura, or 'caesura after the fifth half-foot' (τομή πενθήμερης), is rather less common: as—

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, | Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

In the first book of the Iliad, which contains 611 lines, the trochaic caesura of the third foot occurs in 356, and the corresponding strong caesura in 247.\*

On the other hand, there must be no diaeresis after the third foot; and in the few cases in which the third foot lies wholly in one word there is always a strong caesura in the fourth foot (τομή ἐφθήμερης), as—

ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιτελθῆται | μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ

Ἥρη τ' ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων | καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

The division between an enclitic and the preceding word is not sufficient for the caesura in the third foot: hence in Od. 10. 58 we should read—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' | ἐπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτήτος

not σίτοιό τε πασσάμεθ' (as La Roche).

The remaining exceptions to these rules are—

Il. 1. 179 οἶκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισι,

which is an adaptation of the (probably conventional) form σὺν νηὶ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι (v. 183). We may help the rhythm by taking νηυσὶ τε σῆς closely together, so as to avoid the break in the middle of the line.

Il. 15. 18 ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε τ' ἐκρέμωι ὑψόθεν, ἔκ τε ποδοῖν.

We may read ὅτε τε κρέμωι: but possibly the peculiar rhythm is intentional, as being adapted to the sense.

2. Trochaic caesura of the fourth foot is very rare, and is only found under certain conditions, viz.—

(1) when there is a strong caesura in the fifth foot; as—

πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἐνθ' ἴθυσε | μάχη πεδίοιο,

(2) when the caesura is preceded by an enclitic or short monosyllable (such as μέν, δέ, &c.); as—

καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλωμι Διὸς γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι,

(3) when the line ends with a word of the form υ — — — υ; as—

αὐτὰρ δ μούνοος ἔην μετὰ πάντε κασιγνήτησι.

The commonest form of this kind of caesura (especially in the

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\* In this calculation no lines are reckoned twice, short monosyllables being taken either with the preceding or the following word, according to the sense.

Iliad) is that in which the two former alleviations are both present; as—

Θερσίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής.

The first fifteen books of the Iliad contain eleven instances of trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, of which seven are of this form.

In Il. 9. 394 the MSS. give—

Πηλείς θήν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα | γαμέσσεται αὐτός.

But we should doubtless read, with Aristarchus,—

γυναῖκά γε μάσσεται αὐτός.

Similarly we should probably read τὰ δέ μ' οὐκ ἄρα μέλλον ὀνήσειν (Il. 5. 205, &c.), instead of ἐμελλον: and conversely θαλερὴ δ' ἐμαλνετο χαίτη (Il. 17. 439), and βαφαὶ δ' ἐλέλυντο ἱμάντων (Od. 22. 186), instead of μαλνετο, λέλυντο. In Od. 5. 272 we may perhaps treat ὅψι δόντα as one word in rhythm. But it is not easy to account for the rhythm in Od. 12. 47 ἐπὶ δ' οὐατ' ἀλείψαι ἑταίρων.

The result of these rules evidently is that there are two chief breaks or pauses in the verse—the *caesura* in the third foot, and the *diaeresis* between the fourth and fifth—and that the *forbidden* divisions are the diaeresis and caesura which lie nearest to these pauses. Thus—

Best caesura     - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ | ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - -

Worst diaeresis - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ | - ˘ - ˘ - -

Again—

Best diaeresis     - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ | - ˘ - -

Worst caesura     - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ | ˘ - ˘ - -

368.] **Spondaic verses.** The use of a spondee in the fifth place occurs most commonly in verses which end with a word of four or more syllables, as—

στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

Ἄρעי δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

It is also found with words of three long syllables, as—

τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

And once or twice when the last word is a monosyllable: νωμῆσαι βῶν (Il. 7. 238) ἐστήκει μέγας (Il. 19. 117).

A spondee in the fifth place ought not to end with a word. Hence we should correct the endings ἧώ διαν &c. by reading ἧσα, and δῆμον φῆμιν (Od. 14. 239) by restoring the archaic δῆμοο. In Od. 12. 64 the words λῖς πέτρῃ at the end of the line are scanned together.

Words of three long syllables are very seldom found before the Bucolic diaeresis. Examples are:—

Il. 13. 713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίῃ | ὑσμίνῃ | μίμνε φίλον κῆρ

Od. 10. 492 ψυχῇ χρησομένους | Θηβαίου | Τειρεσίαο.

The rarity of verses with this rhythm may be judged from the fact that it is never found with the oblique cases of *ἄνθρωπος* (*ἄνθρώπων* &c.), although these occur about 150 times, and in every other part of the verse: or with *ἄλλήλων* &c., which occur about 100 times.

*Syllabic Quantity—Position.*

369.] The quantity of a syllable—that is to say, the time which it takes in pronunciation—may be determined either by the length of the vowel (or vowels) which it contains, or by the character of the consonants which separate it from the next vowel sound. In ancient technical language, the vowel may be long by its own *nature* (*φύσει*), or by its *position* (*θέσει*).

The assumptions that all long syllables are equal, and that a long syllable is equal in quantity to two short syllables, are not strictly true of the natural quantity in ordinary pronunciation. Since every consonant takes *some* time to pronounce, it is evident that the first syllables of the words *δφis*, *δφρύs*, *δμφή*, *δμβρος* are different in length: and so again are the first syllables of *᾽Ωτος*, *᾽τρυνον*. Again, the diphthongs *η*, *ηυ*, &c. are longer than the single vowels *η*, *ω*, &c., and also longer than the diphthongs *ει*, *ευ*, *οι*, *ου*. In short, the poetical ‘quantities’ must not be supposed to answer exactly to the natural or inherent length of the syllables. The poetical or metrical value is founded upon the natural length, but is the result of a sort of compromise, by which minor varieties of quantity are neglected, and the syllables thereby adapted to the demands of a simple rhythm.

It has been shown, however, that the general rule of Position rests upon a sound physiological basis. ‘The insertion of a consonant may be regarded as equivalent in respect of time to the change of a short vowel into a long one.’ (Brücke, *Die physiologischen Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Verskunst*, p. 70; quoted by Hartel).

370.] **Position.** The general rule is that when a short vowel is followed by two consonants the syllable is long.

Regarding this rule it is to be observed that—

(1) Exceptions are almost wholly confined to combinations of a Mute (esp. a *tenuis*) with a following Liquid. But even with these combinations the general rule is observed in the great majority of the instances.

(2) Most of the exceptions are found with words which could not otherwise be brought into the hexameter: such as *᾽Αφροδίτη*, *᾽Αμφιτρύων*, *βροτῶν*, *τράπεζα*, *προσηύδα*, &c.

(3) The remaining exceptions are nearly all instances in which the vowel is separated by Diaeresis from the following con-

sonants: as *Il.* 18. 122 καὶ τινὰ Τρωϊάδων, 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσείην.

The chief exceptions are as follows\* :—

τρ: in Ἀμφιτρώων, ἐτράφην (*Il.* 23. 84), τετράκυκλον (*Il.* 24. 324), φαρέτρης (*Il.* 8. 323), Ὀτρυντεύς (*Il.* 20. 383-4); and in ἀλλότριος (unless we scan -ίος, -ίου, &c.).

Before τράπε(α, τράινα, τρίτη (τριήκοντα, &c.), τραπέομεν (τράποντο, προ-τραπέ-σθαι, &c.), τράγουσ, τροποῖς, τρέφει (*Od.* 5. 422., 13. 410), τροφοῦ (*Od.* 19. 489), τρέμον (*Od.* 11. 527).

Before a diaeresis, καὶ τινὰ Τρωϊάδων (*Il.* 18. 122).

πρ: in ἀλλοπρόσαλλος (*Il.* 5. 831); before προσήδα, πρόσωπον, προίκτης, πρόσω, and other Compounds of πρό and πρόσ (προκείμενα, προσαΐξας, &c.); also before πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πρὸ ἄστεος, and one or two similar phrases (cp. *Il.* 13. 799., 17. 726).

Before Πριαμίδης (*Il.*), πρίν (*Il.* 1. 97 οὐδ' ὃ γε πρίν κτλ., cp. 19. 313, *Od.* 14. 334., 17. 597); πρῶτος (*Od.* 3. 320., 17. 275), προσφάσθαι (*Od.* 23. 106).

κρ: in δακρύοισι (*Od.* 18. 173), δακρυπλῶειν (*Od.* 19. 122), ἐνέκρυψε (*Od.* 5. 488), κεκρυμμένα (*Od.* 23. 110).

Before Κρονίαν, Κρόνου, παῖς, κραταῖός, Κραταῖς, κράτος μέγα (*Il.* 20. 121), κράνεια, κρυφθόν, κραδαίνω, κρατεντάων, κρεῶν.

Add *Il.* 11. 697 εἴλετο κρινάμενος; *Od.* 8. 92 κατὰ κῆρτα, 12. 99 δέ τε κῆρτι.

βρ: in βροτός and its derivatives, as δβρότη, ἀμφίβροτος: also before βραχίαν.

δρ: in ἀμφι-δρυφής (*Il.* 2. 700), and before δράκων, Δρύας, δρόμους. Also in *Il.* 11. 69 τὰ δὲ δράγματα (unless we read δάργματα, as Hartel suggests).

θρ: in ἀλλόθροος (*Od.* 1. 183, &c.), and before θρόνον, &c. and θρασειάν. Also in *Il.* 5. 462 ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

φρ: in Ἀφροδίτη: and *Od.* 15. 444 ἡμῖν δ' ἐπι-φράσσειε' ὄλεθρον.

χρ: before χρέος or χρέως (*Od.* 8. 353): and in *Il.* 23. 186 ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρεῖν, *Il.* 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσείην.

τλ: in σχετλίη (*Il.* 3. 414), which however may be scanned --.

κλ: in Πάτροκλε (*Il.* 19. 287), ἐκλίθη (*Od.* 19. 470—should perhaps be read ἐτέρωστε κλίθη), προσέκλινε (*Od.* 21. 138, 165—read perhaps πρόσκλινε or ἐκλινε): and before Κλυταιμνήστρη, Κλεοναί, κλύδαν, κληδάν, κλιθῆναι (*Od.* 1. 366). Also, in *Od.* 12. 215 τύπτετε κληιδεσσιν, 20. 92 τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης.

πλ: in the Compounds τειχεσι-πλήτα (*Il.* 5. 31, 455), πρωτό-πλοος, προσέπλαζε (*Od.* 11. 583—read perhaps πρόσ-πλαζε): before Πλάταια, πλέων sailing, πλέων more (*Il.* 10. 252), πλέων full (*Od.* 20. 355). Add Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλείστα (*Il.* 9. 382, *Od.* 4. 127), and *Il.* 4. 329 αὐτὰρ ὁ πλησίον.

χλ: in *Od.* 10. 234 καὶ μέλι χλωρόν, 14. 429 ἀμφὶ δὲ χλαῖναν.

To these have to be added the very few examples of a vowel remaining short before σκ and ξ: viz.

σκ: before Σκάμανδρος, σκέπαρνον (*Od.* 5. 237., 9. 391).

ξ: before Ζάκυνθος (*Il.* 2. 634, *Od.* 1. 246, &c.), Ζέλεια (*Il.* 2. 824, &c.).

A comparison of these exceptions will show that in a sense we are right in attributing them to metrical necessity. There are comparatively few instances in which the two consonants

\* They are enumerated by La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 1-41, with his usual care and completeness.

are not followed by syllables of the quantity  $\cup$  —, necessitating a short vowel before them. The metre, therefore, must be an important element in the case. On the other hand, the extent to which neglect of position is allowed for metrical convenience is limited, and depends on the natural quantity—i. e. the time occupied by the pronunciation—of the consonants in question. Sonant mutes (*mediae*) and gutturals are longer than the others: and of the liquids  $\lambda$  is longer than  $\rho$ . Thus shortening is tolerably frequent before  $\pi\rho$  and  $\tau\rho$ , less so before  $\kappa\rho$ ,  $\pi\lambda$ ,  $\kappa\lambda$ ,  $\theta\rho$ ,  $\chi\rho$ . With other combinations of mute and liquid, as  $\phi\rho$ ,  $\beta\rho$ ,  $\delta\rho$ , and with  $\sigma\kappa$  and  $\xi$ , it seems to be only admitted for the sake of words which the poet was absolutely compelled to bring in: such as 'Αφροδίτη, Δρύας, Σκάμανδρος, Ζάκυνθος, βροτός with its compounds, &c. No exceptions are found before  $\gamma\rho$ ,  $\gamma\lambda$ ,  $\phi\lambda$ ,  $\kappa\nu$ ,  $\kappa\mu$ , or any combination other than those mentioned. In short, the harshness tolerated in a violation of the rule usually bears a direct relation to its necessity. It was impossible to have an Iliad without the names Aphrodite and Scamander, but these are felt and treated as exceptions.

The word ἀνδρότης, which appears in the fixed ending λιπούσ' ἀνδρότητα καὶ ἤβην, should probably be written ἀδρότης. As the original  $\mu\rho$  of βροτός becomes either  $\mu\beta\rho$  (as ἀ-μβροτος, φησί-μβροτος), or  $\beta\rho$  (as νύξ ἀ-βρότη, ἀμφί-βροτος), so  $\nu\rho$  might become  $\nu\delta\rho$  (as ἀνδρός), or  $\delta\rho$ . So perhaps Ἐνναλίφ ἀνδρεϊφόντη should be Ἐνναλίφ ἀδρεϊφόντη ( $\cup \cup -$ ): cp. ἀνδρε-φόνος (Hdn. ap. Eustath. 183, 6).

Neglect of Position is perceptibly commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. Apart from cases in which the necessities of metre can be pleaded, viz. proper names and words beginning with  $\cup$  —, it will be found that the proportion of examples is about 3 : 1. It will be seen, too, that some marked instances occur in Books 23 and 24 of the Iliad. In Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns the rule is still more lax. Thus in Hesiod a vowel remains short before  $\kappa\nu$  (Op. 567, Fr. 95), and  $\pi\nu$  (Theog. 319). In the scanty fragments of the Cyclic poets we find πῆπρωται (Cypria), πᾶτρι (Little Iliad), Ἀγχίσαιο κλυτὸν κτλ. (id.), ἀκριβεία (Ilupersia).

- × 371.] Lengthening before  $\rho$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\delta$ . There are various words beginning with one of these letters (the liquids  $\rho$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , the spirant  $\sigma$ , and the *media*  $\delta$ ), before which a short final vowel is often allowed to have the metrical value of a long syllable. Initial  $\rho$  appears always to have this power of lengthening a preceding vowel; but in the case of the other letters mentioned it is generally confined to certain words. Thus we have examples before—

$\lambda$ , in λίσσομαι, λήγω, λείβω, λιγύς, λιαρός, λιπαρός, λῆς, λαπάρη, λόφος, and occasionally in a few others: but not (*e.g.*) in such frequently occurring words as Λύκιος, λέχος, λείπω.

$\mu$ , in μέγας, μέγαρον, μοῖρα, μαλακός, μέλος, μελή, μᾶστιξ, μόθος: but not (*e.g.*) μάχομαι, μένος, μέλας, μάκαρ, μῦθος.



ν, in νευρή, νέφος, νιφάς, νύμφη, νότος, νητός, νύσσα: once only before a Case of νηῦς (Il. 13. 472): not before νέκυσ, νόος, νέμεσις, &c.

σ, in σεύω, σάρξ; once before σύ (Il. 20. 434), and once before συφεός (Od. 10. 238).

δ, in δέος, δεινός, δει-σας &c. (Stem δει-), δήν, δηρόν (§ 39§). 4

This lengthening, it is to be observed, is almost wholly confined to the syllables which have the metrical ictus: the exceptions are, πολλά λισσομένη (Il. 5. 358, so Il. 21. 368., 22. 91), πυκνὰ ῥωγαλήν (Od. 13. 438, &c.), πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν (Il. 24. 755). Further, it is chiefly found where the sense requires the two words to be closely joined in pronunciation: in particular—

(1) In the final vowel of Prepositions followed by a Case-form: as ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι, ποτὶ λόφον, ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσι, κατὰ μοῖραν, ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, κατὰ μόθον, διὰ νεφέων, ἀπὸ νευρήφιν, κατὰ συφεοῖσιν, κατὰ δεινούς, ἐπὶ δηρόν, and similar combinations.

(2) In fixed phrases: ὥς τε λῖς (Il. 11. 239., 17. 109., 18. 318), κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως (Od. 10. 201, &c.), ἀπήμονά τε λιαρὸν τε (Il. 14. 164, &c.), καλή τε μεγάλη τε, εἰδός τε μέγεθος τε, Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, τρίποδα μέγαν, Πηλιάδα μελῖν, ὥς τε νιφάδες, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε, ὅτε σεύαίτο, οὐ τι μάλα δῆν, and the like.

These facts lead us to connect the lengthening now in question with the peculiar *doubling of the initial consonant* which we see in Compounds, as ἀπο-ρρίπτω, ἐϋ-ρροος, ἀ-ρρηκτος, τρί-λλιστος, ἐϋ-μμελής, ἀγά-ννιφος, ἐπι-σσεύω, εϋ-σσελμος, ἀ-δδεής: and after the Augment (§ 67), as ἐ-ρριψα, ἐ-ρρηξα, ἐ-ρρεον, ἐ-λλίσσετο, ἐ-μμορε, ἐ-ννεον, ἐ-σσενα, ἐ-δδεια. The words and stems in which this doubling occurs are in the main the same as those which lengthen a preceding final vowel: and the explanation, whatever it be, must be one that will apply to both groups of phenomena.

With most of these words the lengthening of a preceding vowel (or doubling of the consonant, as the case may be) is optional. But there is no clear instance in Homer of a short vowel remaining short before the root δφι- or δφεi- (e.g. in the 2 Aor. διον, the 1 Aor. ἔδεια, the Nouns δέος, δεινός, δειλός, even the proper names Δεισῆνωρ, &c.), or the Adverb δῆν. The same may be said of ῥάκος, ῥήγνυμι, ῥύομαι, ῥητός, ῥίπτω, ῥίον, also μαλακός, μελίη, νιφάς. Lengthening is also the rule, subject to few exceptions, with λίσσομαι, λόφος, νέφος, νευρή, ῥνός, ῥόος, ῥάβδος, ῥίζα, and some others (La Roche, *Hom. Unters.* pp. 47 ff.).

372.] **Origin of the lengthening\*.** The most probable account of the matter is that most of the roots or stems affected originally began with *two consonants*,

\* On this subject the chief sources of information are, La Roche, *Homeriche Untersuchungen* (pp. 49-65); Hartel, *Homeriche Studien* (Pt. I. pp. 1-55); and Knös, *De Digammo Homericis Quaestiones* (Pt. III. pp. 225 ff.).

one of which was lost by phonetic decay. Thus initial  $\rho$  may stand for  $\text{F}\rho$  (as in  $\text{F}\rho\eta\gamma\text{-}\nu\mu\iota$ ), or  $\sigma\rho$  (as  $\sigma\rho\epsilon\omega$ , Sanscrit *śraśāmi*):  $\lambda\iota\varsigma$  is probably for  $\lambda\text{F}\iota\varsigma$  (with a shorter Stem than the form seen in  $\lambda\epsilon\text{F-}\omega\nu$ ):  $\nu\upsilon\delta\varsigma$  is for  $\sigma\nu\upsilon\delta\varsigma$  (Sanskrit *śnuśā*):  $\nu\phi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  goes back to a root *snidh* (Goth. *snaiws*, snow):  $\mu\upsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$  is probably from a root *smar*:  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha$  is for  $\sigma\text{F}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha$  (Curt. *s. v.*): and  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  in  $\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ , &c. is for  $\delta\text{F}\epsilon\iota$  (cp.  $\delta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\delta\omega\iota\kappa\alpha$  for  $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\text{F}\omega\iota\kappa\alpha$ ). It is not indeed necessary to maintain that in all these cases (or indeed in any of them) the lost consonant was pronounced at the time when the Homeric poems were composed. We have only to suppose, in most of the cases, that the particular combination in question had established itself in the usage of the language before the two consonants were reduced by phonetic decay to one. Thus we may either suppose (e.g.) that  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\nu$  in the time of Homer was still pronounced  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\nu$ , or that (while  $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\sigma\rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\varsigma$  in most circumstances became  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\varsigma$ ) certain combinations— $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\sigma\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\nu$ , &c.—passed into  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\nu$  (or  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\acute{\delta}\omicron\nu$ ). Similarly, to take an instance of poetical rather than colloquial usage, when the phrase  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \delta\text{F}\eta\nu$  was formed the final  $\alpha$  of  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  was long by position before  $\delta\text{F}$ . But it is not necessary (though allowable) to suppose  $\delta\text{F}\eta\nu$  to be the Homeric form; it is enough to suppose that the phrase was handed down as a whole, from a time when the word was still pronounced  $\delta\text{F}\eta\nu$ . Whether, in case of the loss of  $\text{F}$  in the initial group  $\delta\text{F}$ , the reciter of the poems lengthened the preceding vowel, or doubled the consonant, or left the metre in its defective condition, is a further question (La Roche, *H. T.* pp. 389 ff.).

If any difficulty is felt in supposing that the author (or authors) of the Homeric poems sometimes used two forms of the same word, differing only in their initial consonants, it will be worth while to point out that there are several undoubted examples of this. Moreover, in some instances a second form only appears in combinations of a fixed type. Thus we have the form  $\pi\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , in  $\pi\omicron\tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\text{'A}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\theta\omicron\nu$ , &c.:  $\pi\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , in  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\mu\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\alpha\delta\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \gamma\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ . Similarly a primitive  $\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  survives in  $\epsilon\pi\iota\text{-}\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (also  $\epsilon\pi\iota\text{-}\delta\omega\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$ : and  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  in  $\delta\text{-}\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\delta\epsilon\omega$ . Cp. also the pairs  $\sigma\mu\kappa\rho\acute{\delta}\varsigma$  and  $\mu\kappa\rho\acute{\delta}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\iota\delta\text{-}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  and  $\kappa\iota\delta\text{-}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and  $\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ . It is at least conceivable that in the same way the poet of the Iliad said  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \mu\upsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$  and also  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\mu\upsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\omega\nu$  but  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\text{-}\sigma\mu\alpha\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\eta\nu\ \eta\nu$  at the beginning of a line, but  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \delta\text{F}\eta\nu$  at the end: and so in other cases.

It is true that the proportion of the words (or stems) now in question which can be proved to have originally had an initial double consonant is not very great. Of the liquids, the method is most successful with initial  $\rho$ , which can nearly always be traced back to  $\sigma\rho$  or  $\sigma\rho$ . And among the words with initial  $\nu$  a fair proportion can be shown to have begun originally with  $\sigma\nu$  ( $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\nu\mu\phi\acute{\eta}$ ). The chief exception is  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ ). But with  $\mu$  and  $\lambda$  the etymological explanation more often fails. The two words which furnish the greatest number of instances of lengthening are  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$  (with its derivatives) and  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ : and in these words there is no independent ground for supposing a primitive  $\sigma\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$  or the like.

This difficulty is partly met by the further supposition that the habit of lengthening before initial liquids was extended by analogy, from the stems in which it was originally due to a double consonant to others in which it had no such etymological ground. This supposition is certainly well founded in the case of  $\rho$ , before which lengthening became the rule. It will also serve to account for many isolated cases of lengthening: as  $\text{I}\nu\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  (Od. 3. 327),  $\text{I}\nu\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\eta}$  (Il. 7. 253),  $\tau\acute{\phi}\ \delta\text{'}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\text{'}\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  (Il. 14. 492),  $\delta\tau\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$  (Il. 20. 434): as well as occasional doubling,

as ἔμμεθε (Od. 17. 226., 18. 362), &c. But, as Prof. Hartel points out, it can hardly be applied to μέγας and μέγαρον, before which short vowels are lengthened altogether about 200 times. Had this been the result of extension of usage by analogy, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to these words. We should have found the same phenomenon with every initial μ—which is by no means the case. In such cases, then, we must fall back upon the consideration that the etymological record is necessarily incomplete. All that we can expect, from the nature of the case, is that in a certain number of instances the older forms should survive in dialects, cognate languages, &c. To argue from the instances in which evidence of this kind fails us is in effect to argue from the silence of witnesses whom we have been unable to summon.

\* 373.] **Final ι of the Dat. Sing.** In some cases of apparently irregular lengthening of a final vowel the ground is to be sought, not in the following word, but in the history of a particular grammatical form. Under this head falls the exceptional quantity of the Dat. Sing. in Homer.

It has long been observed that the final ι of the Dat. Sing. is so frequently long that it may be regarded as a 'doubtful vowel.' The examples are especially found in lines and phrases of a fixed or archaic type;

ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐν δεινῷ σάκει ἔλασ' ὀβριμον ἔγχος.

οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέϊ φίλον εἶναι (thrice in the Il.).

τὸ τρίτον αὐθ' ὕδατι (Od. 10. 520., 11. 28).

αὐτοῦ παρ νηὶ τε μένειω (Od. 9. 194., 10. 444).

ῥλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἐς κτλ. (6 times in the Od.).

So in Αἰαντι δὲ μάλιστα, Ὀδυσσῇ δὲ μάλιστα, &c. and the fixed epithet Διὶ φίλος. Considering also that this vowel is rarely elided (§ 376), and that the corresponding Latin ending is ī, it becomes highly probable that the Greek -ι was originally long, or at least that ī as well as ι was originally in use. That this -ι should be found in Homer chiefly in combinations which may have had a traditional sanction and value, is quite in harmony with the general character of the Epic language.\*

\* 374.] **Final α of the Neut. Plur.** The considerations, metrical and etymological, which lead us to recognise -ι in the Dat. Sing. also tell, though not so decisively, in favour of an original -α as the ending of the Neut. Plur. in all Declensions. We have—

\* The priority in this as in so many fine inferences from Homeric usage belongs (as Hartel notices) to H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, IV. pp. 593 ff.).

If the -ι is the representative of the Sanscrit -ε, original αι, then the ι and ι of the Greek Dative answer to the original Dative and Locative Cases. But if the -α of the Greek Infinitive is the Sanscrit Dativā -ε (§ 231), can the same account be given of the Greek -ι?

Π. 5. 745 (= 8. 389) ἐς δ' ὄχεα φλόγεα ποσὶ βήσεται.

8. 556 φαίνεται ἀριπρεπεία, ὅτε κτλ.

20. 255 πόλλ' ἐτεά τε καὶ οὐκί.

21. 352 τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

23. 240 ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται.

24. 7 ὅποσα τολύπενυσε.

Od. 9. 109 ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα.

10. 353 πορφύρεα καθύπερθ'.

12. 396 ὀπταλμὸν ἰε καὶ ὠμά.

14. 343 ῥωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτός.

23. 225 ἀριφραδέα κατέλεξας.

It is worth observing, however, that in the majority of these instances the final *a* is preceded by the vowel *e*, from which it was originally separated by a spirant (ὄχε-σ-α, πορφύρε-γ-α). Cp. Π. 1. 45 ἀμφηρεφέα τε φάρετρην, 5. 576 Πυλαιμένηα ἐλέτην, 5. 827 Ἀρηῃ τό γε, 14. 329 Περσῇδ' πάντων, Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις. As two successive vowels are often found to interchange their quantity (βασιλῆα, βασιλῆα), so perhaps, even when the first vowel retains its metrical value, there may be a slight transference of quantity, sufficient to allow the final vowel, when reinforced by the *ictus*, to count as a long syllable. Cp. § 375, 3.

The scanning *ῆα* (in Π. 4. 321 *εἰ τότε κούρος ῆα νῦν κτλ.*, cp. 5. 887, Od. 14. 352) may be explained by transference of quantity, from *ῆα*.

× 375.] Short syllables ending in a consonant are also occasionally lengthened in arsis, although the next word begins with a vowel: as—

οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἄμα λαῶν θωρηχθῆναι.

αἶθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι κτλ.

χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων φθίμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

The circumstances under which this metrical lengthening is generally found differ remarkably, as has been recently shown,\* from those which prevail where short final vowels are lengthened before an initial consonant. In those cases, as we saw (§ 371), the rule is that the two words are closely connected, usually in a set phrase or piece of epic commonplace. In the examples now in question the words are often separated by the punctuation: and where this is not the case it will usually be found that there is a slight pause. In half of the instances the words are separated by the penthemimeral caesura, which always marks a pause in the rhythm. Further, this lengthening is only found in the syllable with the *ictus*. The explanation, therefore, must be sought either in the force of the *ictus*, or in

\* By Prof. Hartel, in the *Homeric Studies* already quoted, I. p. 10.

the pause (which necessarily adds something to the time of a preceding syllable), or in the combination of these two causes.

In some instances, however, a different account of the matter has to be given: in particular—

(1) In phrases with  $\omega\varsigma$  following the word to which it refers: as *Il.* 2. 190 *κακὸν ὦς* (υ — —), and so *θεὸς ὦς*, *κύνες ὦς*, *δρυῖδες ὦς*, *ἀθάνατος ὦς*, &c. In these instances the lengthening is to be referred to the original palatal  $y$  of the Pronoun (Sansk. *yas*, *yā*, *yad* = *ῶς*, *ῆ*, *ῶ*). It is not likely, indeed, that the actual form *yās* existed in Homeric times: but the habit of treating a preceding syllable as long by Position survived in the particular group of phrases.

(2) In a number of words ending with the syllables *-us*, *-uv*, *-us*, *-uv*, where there is some evidence to show that the vowel was long, or at least 'doubtful,' in Homer.

It has been already pointed out (§ 116, 3) that the *-i* of Feminine Stems was originally long, and that this fact appears clearly in the Homeric scansion of *βλοσυρῶπις* and *ῆις*, the *-us* being long before a vowel even in thesis. So the *i* may have been long in *θεῶπις* (the only evidence being the phrase *θεῶμιν ἐπικειμένους ἀλκίην*): and traces of the same scansion may be seen in the phrases *ἔρις δημοσίου μεμαυῖα*, *Διὶ μήτιν ἀτάλαντος*, although *ἔρις*, *μήτις* are more common. The short *i* of the Gen. *-ios* or *-idos* proves nothing, since *i* is naturally shortened before a vowel: *-ios* becoming *-yos*, then *-ios* or *-idos*.

Final *-us* (Gen. *-uos*) is long in Feminine Substantives (§ 116, 4), as *ἰθύς αἰμή* (θ in thesis, *Il.* 6. 79., 21. 303), *πληθύς* (*Il.* 11. 305), *ἀχλύς* (*Il.* 20. 421), *λύς* (Gen. *-uos*), *βροντός* (*Od.* 18. 407) and other Nouns in *-τός*: also in the Masc. *ἰχθύς*, *νέκυς*, *βότρυν* (*βοτρυδόν*), and perhaps *πέλεκυς* (*Il.* 17. 520). Probably, therefore, the inflexion *-us*, *-uos* points always to original *θ*: and similarly we may conjecture that *-is*, *-ios*, and *-is*, *-idos* point to *ι*.

(3) Where the vowel of the final syllable is preceded by another, especially by a long vowel; as *οἰκῆας ἄλοχόν τε* (*Il.* 6. 366), *Ἀχιλλῆος ὀλοὸν κῆρ* (*Il.* 14. 139), *ὅς λαὸν ἡγειρα* (*Od.* 2. 41), *δμῶες ἐνὶ οἴκῳ* (*Od.* 11. 190), *πλείον ἐλέλειπτο* (*Od.* 8. 475), *χρεῖος ὑπαλύξαι* (with v.l. *χρεῖως*, *Od.* 8. 355): and so in *νῆας* (*α*, *Il.* 2. 165., 18. 260), *νηός* (*Od.* 12. 329), *Τρώες* (*Il.* 17. 730), *βοός* (*Il.* 11. 776), also *Ἄρηα*, *Περσῆα*, and the other examples given in § 374.

In such cases there is a tendency to lengthen the second vowel, as in the Attic forms *βασιλέα*, *Ἀχιλλέα*, &c. In Homer we may suppose that the second of the two vowels borrows some of the quantity of the other, so that *with the help of the ictus* it can form the arsis of a foot. Actual lengthening of the second vowel may be seen in Homer in the form *ἀπ-ήωρος* *hanging loose* (cp. *μετ-ήωρος* and the later *μετ-έωρος*), and the Perfects *μεμαῶτε*, *τεθνηῶτα*, &c.

(4) In the Ending *-οῦν* of the Dual, as *ῥωμοῖν* (*Il.* 13. 511., 16. 560, *Od.* 6. 219), *ἱπποῖν*, *σταθμοῖν*: also in *νῶν*, *σφῶν*. We may compare the doubtful *ι* of *ἡμῖν*, *ὕμιν*, and the two forms of the Dat. Plur. in Latin (*-būs*, *-bīs*). Similarly there are traces of *ι* in *μῖν* (*Il.* 5. 385., 6. 501., 10. 347., 11. 376, &c.). In the

case of -οῖν and -οῖν the account given under the last head would apply.

In a few places it appears as though the 3 Plur. of Secondary Tenses in -ν (for -ντ) were allowed to be long: as ἔφαν δριόντες (Od. 9. 413), καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμενοι (Od. 17. 35, &c.), &c. This is confined (curiously enough) to the *Odyssey* and the *Catalogue of the Ships*. In the latter it occurs seven times: in the *Odyssey* eleven times, in the rest of the *Iliad* once (7. 206).

*Elision, Crasis, &c.*

376.] A final vowel cut off before a word beginning with a vowel is said to suffer *Elision* (ἐκθλιψις): as μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε.

Whether an elided vowel was entirely silent, or merely slurred over in such a way that it did not form a distinct syllable, is a question which can hardly be determined.

The vowels that are generally liable to elision are α, ε, ο, ι. But—

(1) The ο of δ, τό, πρό, and the Genitives in -οιο, -ειο, -αιο, is not elided.

(2) The ι of τί, ἀντί, περί is not elided: regarding τι see § 269.

(3) The ι of the Dat. Sing. is rarely elided, cp. § 373. Exceptions are to be seen in Il. 4. 259 ἦδ' ἐν δαίθ' ὅτε κτλ.; 5. 5 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ κτλ.; and ten or twelve other places. The ι of the Dat. Plur. is often elided in the First and Second Declensions, and in the forms in -οσι of the Third Declension. On the other hand, elision is very rare in the forms in -εσι, -άσι, -ύσι, &c.

The diphthong -αι of the Person-Endings -μαι, -σαι, -ται, -νται, -σθαι is frequently elided: as βούλομ' ἐγώ, κείσονται ἐν προθύροις, πρὶν λύσασθ' ἑτάρους. But not the -αι of the 1 Aor. Inf. Act.; hence in Il. 21. 323 read τυμβοχόης, not τυμβοχοῆσ'.

The diphthong -οι of the Pronouns μοί and σοί or τοι appears to be elided in a few places: Il. 6. 165 ὅς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότῃ μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελοῦση; 13. 481 καὶ μ' οἶψ' ἀμύνετε (cp. Od. 4. 367); 17. 100 τῷ μ' οὐ τις . . νεμεσῆσεται; Od. 1. 347 οὐ νύ τ' αἰδοῖ αἵτιοι; also Il. 1. 170., 9. 673., 10. 544., 23. 310, 579, Od. 1. 60., 23. 21 (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 345).

377.] **Crasis.** When a final vowel, instead of being elided, coalesces with the initial vowel of the next word, the process is termed *Crasis*.

The use of Crasis in Homer is limited. It is seen in οὔνεκα and τοὔνεκα, also in τὰλλα for τὰ ἄλλα (Il. 1. 465, &c.), καὶ αὐτός (in Il. 6. 260., 13. 734, Od. 3. 255., 6. 282—the three last being passages where κ' αὐτός for κε αὐτός is inadmissible),

and *χήμεῖς* for *καὶ ἡμεῖς* (Il. 2. 238). In these cases either Crasis or Elision is required by the metre. Most texts also have *ἄριστος*, *οὐμός* (Il. 8. 360), *οὐτός* for *ὁ αὐτός* (Il. 5. 396), *κάγω*, *τῶμῃ*, *τῆμῃ*: also *προῦ-* for *προ-ε-* (in *προῦφαινε*, *προῦχούσας*, &c.). But since the full forms *ὁ ἄριστος*, &c. are equally allowed by the metre we cannot but suspect that the spelling with Crasis may be due to later usage. The forms *κάκεινος*, *κάκεισε*, &c. (for *καὶ κείνος*, &c.) are certainly wrong, as *ἐκείνος* is not the Homeric form.

378.] **Synizesis** is the term used when the two coalescing vowels are written in full, but 'sink together' (*συνιζάνω*) into one syllable in pronunciation.

The Particle *δή* unites with the initial vowel of a following vowel, especially with *αῦ*, *αὐτός* and *οὕτως* (§ 350); also with *Ἀντιμάχοιο* (Il. 11. 138), *ἀφνειότατος* (Il. 20. 220), *ἄγρην* (Od. 12. 330).

Synizesis is also found with *ῆ*, in the combination *ῆ οὐχ* (Il. 5. 439, &c.), *ῆ εἰς ὃ κεν* (Il. 5. 466), *ῆ εἰπόμεναι* (Od. 4. 682): and with *ἐπεὶ οὐ* (Od. 4. 352, &c.), and *μὴ ἄλλοι* (Od. 4. 165).

The remaining instances are—

Il. 2. 651 *Ἐνναλίφ ἀνδρείφοντῃ*: see § 370, *note*.

Il. 89 *ἀσβέστῃ οὐδ' ἰδὼν λάθην Ἀτρεΐος*: where we may perhaps read *ἀσβέστῃ οὐδ' ἴδω λάθ' Ἀτρεΐος*.

Il. 458 *ὕει ἔμψ ὠκυμόρφ*, for which one or two MSS. give *υῖ ἔμψ*.

Od. 1. 226 *εἰλαπίνῃ ἥδ' ἡγάμος κτλ.*

Il. 1. 277 *Πηλεΐδῃ ἔθελ'*, and Od. 17. 375 *ᾧ ἀρίγνωτε* are somewhat different.

In Od. 7. 261., 14. 287 *ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὀγδοὺν μοι* we may either scan *ὀγδοῦν* or read *ὀγδόατον*, with Synizesis of *δὴ* (as Dindorf proposes).

Other examples of Synizesis are to be found in the monosyllabic pronunciation of *εα*, *εο*, *εω*, both in Verbs (§ 57) and Nouns (§ 105, 3). It will be seen that in the cases now in question (apart from some doubtful forms) an E-sound (*η* or *ει*) merges in a following *α* or *ο*.

The term Synizesis may also be applied to the monosyllabic pronunciation of the vowels in *πόλιος* (scanned *υ* - in Il. 2. 811., 21. 567), *πόλιος* (*υ* - in Od. 8. 560, 574), *Αἰγυπτιῇ* (Od. 4. 229), &c., *σχετλίῃ* (Il. 3. 414), *Ἰστρία* (Il. 2. 537). It has been thought that in these cases the *ι* was pronounced like our *y*: but this is not a necessary inference from the scansion. In Italian verse, for instance, such words as *mio*, *mia* count as monosyllables, but are not pronounced *myo*, *mya*. The corresponding Synizesis of *υ* is generally recognised in the word *Ἐνναλίφ* (commonly scanned *va* in the phrase *Ἐνναλίφ ἀνδρείφοντῃ*): but see § 370 *ad fin.*

### *Hiatus.*

379.] **Hiatus** is a term which is used by writers on metre in more than one sense. It will be convenient here to apply it to

every case in which a word ending with a vowel or diphthong is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, and the two vowel-sounds are not merged together (as by elision, crasis, &c.) so as to form one syllable for the metre.

It would be more scientific, perhaps, to understand the word *Hiatus* as implying that the two vowels are separated by a break or stoppage of vocal sound, so that the second begins with either the rough or the smooth 'breathing.' Thus it would be opposed to every form of *diphthong* (including *synizesis*), the characteristic of which is that the two vowels are slurred together, by shifting the position of the organs, without any perceptible interruption of the current of breath. This definition, however, might exclude the case of a long vowel or diphthong shortened before an initial vowel (as  $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta'\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ , where the final  $\omega$  seems to be partly merged in the following  $\sigma\upsilon$ ). Again when a final  $\iota$  or  $\upsilon$  comes before a vowel without suffering elision, it is probable that the corresponding 'semi-vowel' (more correctly 'spirant,' = our  $y$  or  $w$ ) is developed from the vowel-sound, and prevents complete hiatus.

< 380.] **Long vowels before Hiatus.** The general rule is that a long final vowel or diphthong coming before a vowel forms a short syllable in the metre. This shortening is very common in Homer: cp. Il. i. 299  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\circ\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\ \tau\varphi\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega,\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$ , where it occurs in three successive feet.

But the natural quantity may be retained before Hiatus when the vowel is in the *arsis* of the foot, as  $\text{'}\text{Α}\text{ρ}\text{ρ}\text{ε}\text{ῖ}\delta\eta\ \text{'}\text{Α}\text{γ}\text{α}\text{μ}\text{έ}\mu\text{ν}\text{ον}\iota,\ \delta\varsigma\ \kappa'\ \epsilon\lambda\text{π}\text{ο}\iota\ \delta\tau\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$  And in a few instances a long vowel or diphthong is allowed to remain long in *thesis*, as Il. i. 39  $\Sigma\mu\text{ιν}\theta\epsilon\upsilon'\ \epsilon\lambda\ \nu\text{ο}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\circ\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$

The readiness with which long syllables are allowed before Hiatus varies with the several long vowels and diphthongs; partly also it depends on the *pauses* of the sense.

The long diphthongs (as they may be called), viz.  $\eta$  and  $\varphi$ , are the most capable of resisting the shortening influence of Hiatus; next to them are  $\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\sigma\upsilon$ , and the long vowels  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ : while  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota$  and  $\alpha\iota$  are at the other end of the scale. A measure of this may be gained by observing how often each of these terminations is long before a vowel, and comparing the number with the total number of times that the same termination occurs. Thus it appears that out of every 100 instances of final  $\varphi$ , it is long before Hiatus about 23 times. Similarly final  $\eta$  is long 19 times,  $-\epsilon\upsilon$  6·7 times,  $-\sigma\upsilon$  6 times,  $-\eta$  5·7 times,  $-\omega$  4 times,  $-\epsilon\iota$  1·8 times,  $-\omicron\iota$  1·6 times, and  $-\alpha\iota$  only 1·3 times. Thus Hiatus after  $\varphi$  and  $\eta$  is scarcely avoided, while after  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota$  and  $\alpha\iota$  it is very rare.

In a large proportion of the instances in which a long vowel retains its quantity before Hiatus it will be found that the Hiatus coincides with a division either in the sense or the rhythm. Of the examples in the *arsis* of the foot, more than half occur



before the penthemimeral caesura, where there is almost always a pause: while in thesis the same thing is chiefly found to occur either after the first foot, as Il. 2. 209 ἡχῆ, ὥς δτε κτλ., Od. 11. 188 ἀγρῶ, οὐδὲ κτλ.; or after the fourth foot (in the Bucolic diaeresis).

× 381.] Shortening of diphthongs before Hiatus. Regarding the nature of the process by which a diphthong before Hiatus was reduced to the time or metrical value of a short syllable two probable views have been maintained.

1. Curtius holds that whenever long syllables are shortened by the effect of Hiatus something of the nature of *Elision* takes place. Thus η and ω lose the second half of the vowel sound, while α, ε, ο lose the ι. In support of this he points to the facts of Crasis: thus καὶ ἐγὼ in becoming καὶ-γὼ may be supposed to pass through the stage κα ἐγὼ.

2. According to an older view, which has been revived and defended with great ingenuity by Prof. Hartel,\* the second vowel in a diphthong, being ι or υ, is turned into the corresponding spirant; so that καὶ ἐγὼ becomes κα-γ-εγὼ, and ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθόν becomes ἐκ Πύλο-φ-ελθόν.

It is certainly in favour of this latter supposition that (as Hartel urges) it does not oblige us to suppose the frequent elision of the two vowels which in general are the least liable to be elided. The same scholar has also considerable ground for his contention that the two sounds which we have denoted by γ and φ—the palatal and labial spirant—may have existed in the spoken Greek of Homeric times. The explanation however is not a complete one. It does not account for the shortening of ε, η, φ, which on the principle assumed by Hartel would become -εγ-, -ηγ-, -φγ-. Nor does it account very well for the shortening which is found with Synizesis, as -εῷ in γνῶσεαι ἔπειτ', and even -εφ in χροσέφ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, δειδρέφ ἐφεζόμενος.

On the whole it seems most probable that the shortening in question was effected, for diphthongs as well as for simple long vowels, by a process in which ancient grammarians would have recognised rather 'Synizesis'—viz. the slurring of vowels together without complete loss of any sound—than either Elision or Contraction (κράσις). And this conclusion is supported by the general tendencies of the Ionic dialect, which was especially tolerant of hiatus, and allowed numerous combinations, such as εα, εο, εω, εοι, to have the value either of one syllable or two.†

× 382.] Hiatus after short syllables. The vowels which are not liable to elision may generally stand before Hiatus: thus we find ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι (§ 376, 3), πρὸ ὁδοῦ, πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔμμεμαώς, ἐτάροιο ἐννέος, and the like.

Hiatus is also tolerated occasionally in the pauses of the verse;

\* *Homeric Studien*, III. pp. 7 ff.

† The use of εο for ευ in Ionic inscriptions shows, not indeed that ευ and εο were identical in pronunciation, or that εο was a true diphthong, but certainly that εο was very like ευ, and might be monosyllabic in *scansion*. Probably monosyllabic εο (when it was not a mere error for ευ) stood to ευ as the Synizesis εα, εω, εοι, &c. to the contracted η, ω, οι. See Erman in *Curt Stud.* V. pp. 292 ff.

(1) In the trochaic caesura of the third foot: as—

Il. 1. 569 *καὶ ῥ' ἀκέουσα καθήστο, ἐπιγνάμψασα κτλ.*

Od. 3. 175 *τέμνειν, ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπὲκ κτλ.*

(2) In the Bucolic diaeresis: as—

Il. 8. 66 *ὄφρα μὲν ἤως ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἥμαρ.*

Od. 2. 57 *ἐλαπινάξουσιν πίνουσί τε αἶθοπα οἶνον.*

The vowel of the Person-endings -*ro*, -*vro* seems to be especially capable of standing before Hiatus in these places. It appears in more than a fourth of the whole number of instances given by Knös (pp. 42-45).

The original -*a* of the Neut. Plur. (especially after another vowel) may account for some instances, such as *χάλασα ὑπάρκνημα* (Il. 5. 723), cp. Il. 2. 87., 5. 90, 568., 11. 678., 16. 404., 20. 170., 22. 266., 23. 465, Od. 10. 458., 14. 432., 24. 273, 466.

Hiatus in the Bucolic diaeresis is commoner in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, in the proportion 2 : 1. Hiatus after the vowel *e* is also comparatively rare in the *Iliad*: Knös reckons 22 instances (many of them doubtful), against 40 in the *Odyssey*. It is worth notice that in both these points books 23 and 24 of the *Iliad* agree with the *Odyssey*.

### *Doubtful Syllables.*

383.] Besides the cases in which the metrical value of a syllable may be made uncertain by its place in a particular verse—*i. e.* by the circumstances of Position, Hiatus, Ictus, &c.—there are many instances in which the ‘natural’ quantity of the vowel appears to be indeterminate. Two probable examples of this have been already noticed, viz. the -*i* of the Dat. Sing. (§ 373), and the -*a* of the Neut. Plur. (§ 374).

Under the heading of ‘doubtful vowels’ should be classed, not only the words in which the same letter may stand either for a long or a short vowel, as *ἄρης, ἀνὴρ*, but also those in which the change is shown by the spelling, *i. e.* in which a short vowel interchanges with a long vowel or diphthong: as *νέος* and *νηός*, *ὄνομα* and *ὄννομα*, &c. And with these variations, again, we may place, as at least kindred phenomena, the doubtful syllables which arise from the interchange of single and double consonants: *Ὀδυσσεύς* and *Ὀδυσεύς*, *Ἀχιλλεύς* and *Ἀχιλεύς*. As we speak of doubtful vowels, these might similarly be called ‘doubtful consonants.’

× In all such words the variation of quantity may either mean that there were two distinct forms in actual use, between which accordingly the poet had a choice, or that the ‘natural’ quantity—the quantity as it existed in the spoken language—was in fact intermediate. In the latter case the poet could often give the syllable either metrical value; or (as in so many instances) he might treat the syllable as ordinarily short, but capable of being lengthened by the *ictus*, or by the pauses of the verse.

× 384.] Doubtful vowels appear to arise chiefly in two ways:

(1) By the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before a vowel: viz.—

η, in the oblique cases of νηῦς (except the Dat. νηϊ): ἀφῆη (§ 80); ἦς and ἐς, ληῖστοι and λείστη (Il. 9. 408).

ι, in ιερός, κοινή, λίην: Comparatives in -ίων: Patronymics, as Κρονίων: ἴομεν, ἴημι (ἀφίει, &c.), λαίνω, and Verbs in -ιω, as τλώ, οἶω (§ 51, 1).

υ, in Verbs in -υω (§ 51, 4).

ω, in ἦρωος (— υ υ in Od. 6. 303): cp. § 55, γ.

αι, in ἀεί for αἰεῖ, ἔμπαιος (— υ υ in Od. 20. 379), and the Compound χαμαιεῦναι, χαμαιενάδες.

ει, in πλέος, σπέος, χρέος, χρεώ (for πλείος, &c.), νέος (Superl. νεάτος): ὠκέα, βαθέης (for ὠκέα, βαθείης): Adjectives in -ειος, as χάλκειος and χάλκεος: ρεία and ρέα: λείων and λέων: βείομαι and βέομαι, and many Verbs in -εω (§ 51, 3).

οι, in ὁλός and ὁλοίς; also οἶος (υ υ), as in Il. 13. 275 οἶδ' ἀρετὴν οἶός ἐσσι, cp. Il. 18. 105, Od. 7. 312., 20. 89.

ευ, in δεύομαι and δέομαι, ἔχευα and ἔχεα.

ου, in λούω, Aor. λοέσσατο.

υι, in υἱός (Il. 4. 473., 5. 612, &c.).

Interchange of quantity is occasionally found: ἔως, τέως for εἶος (or ἦος) and τεῖος (or τῆος): στέωμεν, κτέωμεν, φθέωμεν (for στήομεν, &c.), § 80.

(2) By compensatory lengthening, of—

ε to ει, in ξείνος (ξένφος) but ξενίη, κεινός and κενός, πείραρ and πέρας, εἵνατος, εἵνεκα.

ο to ου, μούνος (but μονωθείς Il. 11. 470); οὔρος (a *watcher*) but ὄρ-άω: perhaps οὔνομα for ὄ-γνομα.

ᾶ in παρέχη (παρ-σέχω), and ῦ in συνεχές (Od. 19. 113., Il. 12. 26).

Under this head we should place double forms arising by Epenthesis, as ἔταρος and ἑταῖρος (for ἔταρ-yos): ἐνί, ἐν and εἰνί, εἰν: ἀπερείσιος (for ἀπερέσιος).

Other variations, of which no general account can be given, are seen in Ἄρης, ἀνήρ (ā in arsis); φίλος (ī in φίλε κασίγνητε); ἀτίρος and τίτός; ὕδωρ, ἀντικρύ (ū in arsis); δύο and δύω, δεῦρο and (once) δεύρω, Διόνυσος and Διώνυσος, πολὺς and πολὺς, ὄρος and οὔρεα, Ὀλυμπος and Οὐλύμποιο. The chief cases of a doubtful vowel being long in *iheis* as well as in arsis are, ἀρή, ἀλῶναι (ἀλόντε with ā in Il. 5. 487), ἱμάς, πιφαύσκω.

× 385.] Double consonants, causing doubtful syllables: chiefly—

σσ, in the First Aorist (§ 40, 1), and Dat. Plur. (§ 102); also ὄσσος, μέσσος, νεμεσσάω (where σσ=τγ), Ὀδυσσεύς.

λλ, in Ἀχιλλεύς.

ππ and ττ, in the Pronominal Stem πο-, τι-, as ὅπως, ὅτι, &c.

κκ, in πελέκκῳ (κκ=κφ?), cp. πέλεκυς.

^ 386.] **Metrical licence.** In a few cases the use of a vowel as long appears to be merely due to the necessities of the metre. Such are:

α in ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματος, ἀπονέεσθαι, ἀποδίωμαι, ἀγοράασθε.

ε in ἐπίτονος (Od. 12. 423), ζεφυρή (Od. 7. 119).

ι in Πριαμίδης, διά (in διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος κτλ. Il. 3. 357, &c.).

υ in θυγατέρες (Il. 2. 492, &c.), δυναμένοιο (Od. 1. 276, &c.).

In these cases there is every reason to believe that the vowel was naturally short, and the lengthening must therefore be regarded as a *licence*, to be compared with the neglect of Position before Σκάμανδρος, &c. (§ 370), or the exceptional Synizesis of Αἰγυπτή and Ἰστιάια (§ 378 *fin.*).

#### *Vocatives.*

^ 387.] The short final syllable of the Vocative appears in several places as a metrically long syllable: as—

Il. 4. 155 φίλε κασίγνητε, θάνατον κτλ. and so 5. 359: also

Il. 19. 400 Ξάνθε τε καὶ Βάλιε, 21. 474 νηπύτιε,  
Od. 3. 230 Τηλέμαχε.

4. 338 ὦ νῆε Πετεῶο κτλ.

18. 385 ὄρσο Θέτι τανύπεπλε: so Od. 24. 192 Λαέρταο πάι.

14. 357 Ποσειδάων ἐπάμυνε: so Il. 24. 569., Od. 8. 408, &c.

23. 493 Αἴαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε: cp. 17. 142 Ἑκτορ, εἶδος ἄριστε.

The reason may be found (as Hartel thinks\*) in the nature of the Vocative as an interruption of the natural flow of a sentence. It is very possible, however, that the Nominative ought to be read in these places: see § 164. In Il. 4. 338 ὦ νῆε Πετεῶο the Plur. νῆες may be read.

#### *The Digamma.*

^ 388.] In seeking to arrive at general conclusions as to the rules and structure of the Homeric hexameter, it was necessary to leave out of sight all the words whose metrical form is uncertain on account of the possible or probable loss of an initial consonant. It is time to return to this disturbing element of the enquiry.

The scholars who first wrote on this subject had few materials for their investigations outside of the Homeric poems. To them,

\* *Homeric Studien*, I. p. 64.

therefore, the 'Digamma' was little more than a symbol—the unknown cause of a series of metrical anomalies. In the present state of etymological knowledge the order of the enquiry has been to a great extent reversed. It is known in most cases which of the original sounds of the Indo-European languages have been lost in Greek, and where in each word the loss has taken place. Hence we now come to Homer with this knowledge already in our possession. Instead of asking what sounds are wanting, we have only to ask whether certain sounds, of whose former existence we have no doubt, were still living at the time when the poems were composed, and how far they can be traced in their effect on the versification.

389.] **Nature of the evidence from metre.** The questions which are suggested by the discovery in Homer of traces of a lost 'Digamma' cannot be answered without some reference to the very exceptional circumstances of the text.

Whatever may be the date at which writing was first used in Greece for literary purposes, there can be no doubt that the Homeric poems were chiefly known for some centuries through the medium of oral recitation, and that it was not till the time of the Alexandrian grammarians that adequate materials were brought together for the study and correction of the text. Accordingly when these scholars began to collect and compare the manuscripts of Homer, they found themselves engaged in a problem of great complexity. The various readings, to judge from the brief notices of them preserved in the *Scholía*, were very numerous; and they are often of a kind which must be attributed to failure of memory, or the licence of oral recitation, rather than to errors of transcription. And the amount of interpolation must have been considerable, if there was any ground for the suspicions so often expressed by the ancient critics.

It follows from these circumstances that an attempt to restore the lost *F* throughout the text of Homer cannot be expected to succeed. Such an attempt necessarily proceeds on the assumption that the text which we have is sound as far as it goes, or that it is so nearly right that we can recover the original by conjecture. With an imperfect text the process can only be approximate. We may be satisfied if the proportion of failure is not greater than the (probable) condition of the text would lead us to expect.

The loss of the *F*-sound, moreover, must have been itself a cause of textual corruption. It led to irregularities of metre, especially to frequent hiatus, and there would be a constant tendency to cure these defects by some slight change. The insertion of the *ν* *ἐφελκυστικόν* was almost a matter of course

(see however § 391). The numerous alternative forms used in the poetical language, and the abundance of short Particles such as γέ, τέ, ῥά, &c. made it easy to disguise the loss of *F* in many places. We cannot be surprised, therefore, if we have often to make the reverse changes. Indeed it is part of the case in favour of the restoration of the Digamma in Homer that there are so many places in which emendations of an easy and obvious kind are sufficient for the purpose.

A few instances will serve to show the existence in pre-Alexandrian times of corruption such as would naturally arise from a tendency to repair defects of metre

In Il. 9. 73 the common text has πολίσσαι δ' ἀνάσσει, but Aristarchus read πολίσιν γὰρ ἀνάσσει. These are evidently both derived from the original πολίσιν δὲ ἀνάσσει (i. e. *Φανάσσει*), corrected in two different ways.

In Il. 13. 107 the MSS. have νῦν δ' ἕκαθεν, the reading of Aristarchus: but Zenodotus and Aristophanes had νῦν δὲ ἕκας (i. e. *Ἔκας*).

In Il. 13. 609 most MSS. have καὶ ἔλπετο νίκην, Zenodotus read μέγα δ' ἔλπετο.

In Il. 9. 88 the reading τίθεντο δὲ δόρυτα ἕκαστος was that of Aristarchus, other ancient sources had δόρυπον (the reading of most MSS.): Zenodotus had τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν.

In Il. 14. 235 πείθεν, ἐγὼ δὲ κέ τοι ἰδῶ χάριν ἡματα πάντα, the ancient sources were divided between εἰδῶ χάριν and χάριν εἰδῶ, the latter being preferred by Aristarchus.

Two very similar instances are—

Il. 5. 787 κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί (Ar. ἐλεγχέες).

9. 128 γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας (Ar. ἀμύμονας).

In Od. 5. 34 ἡματί κ' εἰκοστῇ . . ἴκοιτο the 'common' texts of Alexandrian times (al. *κοινότεραι*) omitted the κ', which is not necessary, and may have been inserted in imitation of ἡματί κε τριτάτῃ κτλ. (Il. 9. 363).

It should be observed that the argument from these instances is equally good, whether the readings ascribed to Zenodotus, Aristarchus, &c. are conjectures made by them, or were derived (as is more probable) from older sources. They equally serve to illustrate the process by which traces of an original *F* were liable to be gradually effaced. And it is not necessary to suppose any deliberate attempt to emend Homer on metrical grounds. It is enough to assume that the metre helped to determine the preference given (consciously or unconsciously) to one or other of the existing variants.

✕ 390.] **Words with initial *F*.** The former existence of the *F* in a given Homeric word may be inferred either from its appearance in some other dialect of Greek, or (where this kind of evidence fails) from the corresponding forms in the cognate languages. Thus an original *Ἰέκασσι* is supported by the forms *Ἰέκατι* and *Ἰέκατι* on Doric and Boeotian inscriptions, by the Laconian *βεῖκατι* (given by Hesychius), and again by Latin *viginti*, Sanscrit *vimśati*, &c.: an original *Ἰέσπερος* by the form *Ἰέσπαριων* on a Locrian inscription, as well as by Latin *vesper*: original *Ἰέδειν*, *Ἰέδιδα*, &c. by *Ἰέστρος* on inscriptions, *γοῖδα* and *γοῖδημι* in Hesychius (erroneously so written, as Ahrens showed,

for *Foīda* and *Foīdḡmi*), *βῖδοι* and *βῖδοι* (officials at Sparta, lit. 'witnesses'), and also by Latin *video*, Sanscrit *vedmi*, *veda*, Engl. *wit*, &c. We do not, however, propose to discuss the external evidence, as it may be called, by which the loss of an initial *F* is proved, but only to consider the degree and manner in which the former existence of such a letter can be shown to have affected the versification of Homer. For this purpose it will be enough to give a list of the chief words in question, and in a few cases a statement, by way of specimen, of some of the attempts made to restore the *F* to the text.

#### ἄγνυμι.

The initial *F* is to be traced by the hiatus in Il. 5. 161 ἐξ αὐχένα δῆη, Il. 8. 403 κατὰ θ' ἄρματα ἄξω (similar phrases in 8. 417., 23. 341, 467), and Il. 16. 769 πάταγος δέ τε ἄγνυμενάων (so Od. 10. 123): and less decisively by the lengthening of the final -ω of the preceding word in Il. 4. 214 πάλιν ἄγεν ὄξέες ὄγχοι. The evidence against an initial consonant is very slight. In Od. 19. 539 πᾶσι κατ' αὐχένας ἦξε we should read αὐχένα ἄξε (or αὐχέν' ἔαξε), understanding the Singular distributively (§ 170). In Il. 23. 392 for ἱππειον δέ οἱ ἦξε may be read ἱππειόν οἱ ἔαξε (as Hoffmann proposed, *Quaest. Hom.* II. 93).

#### ἄναξ (ἄνασσα, ἀνάσσειν).

The words of this group occur in Homer about 300 times, and in about 80 instances they are preceded by a final short vowel which would ordinarily be elided. This calculation does not include the numerous examples of hiatus after the Dat. Sing. in -ι, after the Genitives in -οιο, -ειο, -αο, and in the phrase ἱφι ἀνάσσειν.\*

The cases in which a slight correction of the text is needed to make room for the *F* are as follows:

- Il. 1. 288 πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν (read πᾶσιν δέ).
- 9. 73 πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις (read πολέσιν δέ, § 389).
- 2. 672 χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος (read χαρόπου τε).
- 7. 162 (= 23. 288) πρῶτος μὲν ἀναξ (read perhaps πρῶτιστα).
- 15. 453 κροτίοντες· ἀναξ (read κροτίοντε, the Dual).
- 16. 371 (= 507) λίπον ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων (read ἄρμα, § 170).
- 523 σύ περ μοι ἀναξ τόδε καρτερὸν ἔλκος ἄεσσαι (read με).
- 23. 49 ὄτρυνον, ἀναξ (read ὄτρυνε, the Pres. Imper.).
- 517 ὅς βά τ' ἀνακτα (read ὅς τε or ὅς βα).
- Od. 9. 452 ἦ σύ γ' ἀνακτος (omit γ').
- 17. 189 χαλεπαὶ δέ τ' ἀνάκτων (omit τ').
- 21. 56 (= 83) τόξον ἀνακτος (read τόξα).

\* For a complete analysis of the examples in the Iliad see Dawes, *Miscellanea Critica*, Sect. IV.

The Imperfect ἤνασσε, which occurs five times, can always be changed into ἔνασσε. The remaining passages are:—

Il. 19. 124 σὸν γένος οὐ οἱ δεικὲς ἀνασσίμεν Ἀργείοισιν (a verse which is possibly interpolated).

20. 67 ἔναντα Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος (in the probably spurious θεομαχία).

24. 449, 452 ποίησαν ἀνακτι.

Od. 14. 40 ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἀνακτος κτλ.

395 εἰ μὲν κεν νοστήσῃ ἀναξ.

438 κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἀνακτος.

24. 30 ἧς περ ἀνασσεσ (perhaps ἧς ἔνασσεσ).

ἄρνα (ἄρνες, &c.).

The *F* is supported by three instances of hiatus, viz. Il. 4. 158 αἰμά τε ἄρνων, 4. 435 ὅπα ἄρνων, 8. 131 ἥύτε ἄρνες: and by the metrical length given to the preceding syllable in Il. 3. 103 ἐς δίφρον ἄρνας, 16. 352 λύκοι ἄρνεσσι.

The passages which need correction are—

Il. 3. 103 οἴσετε δ' ἄρν' (the δέ is better omitted).

119 ἡδ' ἄρν' ἐκέλευεν (read ἰδὲ ἄρν').

22. 263 οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες (omit τε).

Od. 4. 86 ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι (omit τ').

9. 226 ἐρίφους τε καὶ ἄρνας (at the end of a line).

Note, however, that the evidence for *F* is confined to the Iliad, and that the derivative ἄρνεϊός shows no trace of it.

ἄστυ.

The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in nearly 80 places. In two places the text is uncertain: Il. 24. 320 ὑπὲρ ἄστεος (but διὰ ἄστεος in the Bankes papyrus, and several MSS.), Od. 3. 260 ἐκὰς ἄστεος (ἐκὰς Ἀργεος in most MSS.).

Two passages admit of the easiest correction:

Il. 3. 140 ἀνδρὸς τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος (read προτέρου).

15. 455 τοὺς μὲν δ' γ' Ἀστυνόμῳ (omit γ', or read τοὺς δ' γε).

Two remain, viz.

Il. 11. 733 ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστυ (ἀμφέσταν Bekk.).

18. 274 νύκτα μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ σθένος ἔφομεν, ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι (ἔξετε Bekk.).

The changes made by Bekker in these places are not improbable, but are hardly so obvious as to exclude other hypotheses.

ἔαρ, εἰαρινός.

Hiatus is found in Il. 8. 307 νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῇσι, and a short final syllable is lengthened in Od. 19. 519 ἀείδησιν ἔαρος. In the phrase ὥρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ we should probably omit the ἐν, as in ὥρη χειμερίῃ (Od. 5. 485).

εἴκοσι.

The *F* appears in ἀνὰ εἴκοσι (Od. 9. 209), and the combination



καὶ εἴκοσι (which occurs 9 times, including the compounds with *δυωκαίεικοσι-*).

In Il. 11. 25 χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι read χρυσοῖο: and so in the combination τε καὶ εἴκοσι (in three places) omit τε. In the recurring ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει κτλ. Bekker reads ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ (Cobet well compares Od. 23. 102 ἔλθοι εἰκοστῷ κτλ.). On Od. 5. 34 ἡματί κ' εἰκοστῷ κ.τ.λ. see § 388.

#### εἴκω.

Two instances of hiatus indicate *F*, in Il. 24. 100, 718, besides many places in which the word is preceded by a Dat. Sing., as οὐδένι εἴκων, κάρτεϊ εἴκων.

Two places may be easily corrected: Il. 4. 509 μῆδ' εἴκετε (μῆ εἴκετε), and 12. 48 τῇ τ' εἰκουσι (omit τε). In Od. 12. 117 for θεοῖσιν ὑπέιξεαι read θεοῖς ὑποείξεαι. There remains Il. 1. 294 εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπέιξομαι.

#### ἔοικα, ἔτσικω, εἴκελος.

The *F* of ἔοικα appears from hiatus in 46 instances (not counting the numerous places in which it follows a Dative in -ι). The adverse instances are 11 in number, besides the form ἐπ-έοικε (which occurs 11 times). The corresponding Present εἴκω is generally recognised in Il. 18. 520 ὅθι σφίσιν εἴκε λοχῆσαι *where it suited them to be in ambush*. The form ἔτσικω has hiatus before it in 3 places, but rejects *F* in 2 (Od. 9. 321., 11. 363). The adjective εἴκελος or ἱκελος usually needs an initial consonant (except Il. 19. 282, Od. 11. 207).

It seems probable that this is the same word as εἴκω *to yield*. The notion of *giving way* easily passes into that of *suiting* or *fitting*, hence *conforming to*, *resembling*.

#### ἐκῶν, ἔκητι, ἔκηλος.

Hiatus indicating *F* is found in 22 places (not reckoning οὗ τι ἐκῶν, Il. 8. 81, &c.).

In Od. 4. 649 for αὐτὸς ἐκῶν we may read αὐτὸς ἐγῶν (cp. Od. 2. 133, where these forms are both found in good MSS.). In Od. 17. 478 ἔσθι' ἔκηλος two MSS. have ἔσθ' (i.e. ἔσθε). The remaining exceptions are; with ἐκῶν, Il. 23. 434, 585, Od. 5. 100 (where we may perhaps read τίς δὲ ἐκῶν... διαδράμοι; the Opt. without ἄν being used as in negative Clauses, § 299 *f*): with ἔκηλος, Il. 8. 512, Od. 2. 311.

#### ἐκάς, ἔκατος, &c.

Traces of *F* are to be seen in the hiatus νῦν δὲ ἐκάς (Il. 5. 791., 13. 107), ἀλλὰ ἐκάς (Od. 15. 33), οὐδὲ ἐκηβολίαι (Il. 5. 54): and in the lengthening in Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο (Il. 7. 83., 20. 295), εὐπλόκαμος Ἐκαμήδη, &c.

The exceptions are, Il. 1. 21, 438., 17. 333., 20. 422., 22. 15, 302, Od. 7. 321—mostly admitting of easy correction.

#### ἔκαστος.

The original *F* of this word (recently found on a Locrian inscription, see Curt. Stud. II. 441 ff.) is traced by means of

hiatus in 115 places. The adverse instances, however, are about 50 in number, and the proportion that can be removed by emendation is not so large as in most cases. About a fourth of the exceptions appear in the recurring phrase μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.

The form ἐκάτερθε shows slight traces of initial *F* in Od. 6. 19 σταθμοῖν ἐκάτερθε, 11. 578 γῦπε δὲ μιν ἐκάτερθε, 22. 181 τῷ δ' ἔσταν ἐκάτερθε. It is preceded by elision in Il. 20. 153 (omit β'), and in Il. 24. 273, Od. 7. 91 (omit δ').

ἐλω (ἐλσαι, ἐάλην), ἀλῶναι, ἄλις.

The *F* is shown by hiatus in Il. 1. 409 ἀμφ' ἄλα ἔλσαι: 16. 403 ἦστο ἄλεις (and five other examples of this Tense, viz. Il. 5. 823., 21. 571, 607., 22. 308, Od. 24. 538): Il. 18. 287 κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι: Il. 12. 172 ἦε ἀλῶναι (so 14. 81), Il. 21. 281 ἔμμετο ἀλῶναι (so Od. 5. 312., 24. 34), Il. 21. 495 τῇ γε ἀλώμεναι. Before ἄλις hiatus occurs in about 12 places: cp. also Il. 23. 420 εἰνότερες ἄλις ἦσαν.

In Il. 21. 236 κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλις ἔσαν some MSS. read ἔσαν ἄλις, and at v. 344 the same transposition may be made. The only other instance against *F* is Il. 17. 54 δθ' ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν (ἀναβέβροχεν Zenod.), where Bentley read δ ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν.

ἐλίσσω, εἰλύω.

Before ἐλίσσω hiatus is found in four places, and the recurring phrases καὶ ἑλικας βοῦς and εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βοῦς point in the same direction. The only exceptions are Od. 12. 355 βοσκέσκουθ' ἑλικας κτλ., and Il. 18. 401 γναμπτάς θ' ἑλικας (*spirals*?).

It is probable that in many places the forms ἐλέλικτο, ἐλελίχθη, &c. are old errors for ἐφέλικτο, ἐφελίχθη, &c.: see Cobet's Misc. Crit. pp. 275 ff.

Traces of *F* in εἰλύω should perhaps be recognised in Od. 5. 403 (ἐρευγόμενον, εἰλυτο) and 14. 479 σάκεσιν εἰλυμένοι: cp. Il. 20. 492 φλόγα εἰλυφάσει. In Il. 18. 522 ἴζοντ' εἰλυμένοι it is easy to read ἴζον (as Bekker does). The Aor. Part. εἰλυθείς has no *F*: but it may be from a different Verb-stem (see Buttm. Lexil. s. v. εἰλύω).

ἐλω (ἐολπα).

The initial *F* of this word is proved by 10 instances of hiatus (including καὶ ἐλπίδος, Od. 16. 101., 19. 84). The Perfect ἐολπα also shows traces of *F* in the reduplicated syllable, viz. in Od. 2. 275., 3. 375., 5. 379.

In Il. 8. 526 εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος should perhaps be (as Zenodotus read) ἐλπομαι εὐχόμενος. In four places *F*ελπω can be restored by very slight corrections:

Il. 15. 701 Τρωσὶν δ' ἐλπετο (Τρωσὶ δέ Hoffm.).

18. 194 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς δθ', ἐλπομ' (αὐτὸς ἐέλπομ' Hoffm.).

Od. 2. 91 (= 13. 380) πάντας μὲν β' ἐλπει (omit β').

Two others are less easy; Il. 15. 539 ἐτι δ' ἐλπετο, and Il. 24. 491 ἐπὶ τ' ἐλπεται. Hoffmann reads καὶ ἐλπετο, καὶ ἐλπεται.

The passages which tell against *F*έφολπα are, Il. 20. 186 χαλεπὸς δέ σ' ἐολπα τὸ βέξειν (read σὶ ἐολπα), 21. 583 μάλ' ἐολπας (μάλ' ἐλπε Hoffm.), 22. 216 νῶϊ γ' ἐολπα (omit γ'), Od. 8. 315., 24. 313.

## ἔπος, εἰπεῖν.

The *F* of ἔπος is supported by about 26 instances of hiatus, and a much larger number in which preceding syllables are lengthened (as in the common line καὶ μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα κτλ.).

Of the apparent exceptions, about 35 are removed by reading ἔπεισαι for ἐπέσαι (as in Il. 5. 40 χειρὸς ἰλαοῦσ' ἐπέσαι προσήδα, read ἰλαοῦσα ἔπεισαι): and 11 more by scanning ἔπεα as a dissyllable (υ -) in the formula φωνήσασα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. Another small group of exceptions is formed by phrases such as Od. 4. 706 ὅψι δὲ δὴ μιν ἔπεισιν κτλ., where perhaps εἰ may be put for μιν. There remain two instances in the Iliad (5. 689., 7. 108), and seven in the Odyssey (11. 146, 561., 14. 509., 15. 375., 16. 469., 17. 374., 24. 161).

In εἰπεῖν the *F* is proved by about 80 instances of hiatus, besides lengthening such as we have in the forms ὦδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε, ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι, &c. The exceptions number about 35.

Of these exceptions 10 are found in the recurring line ὄφρ' εἴπω τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει. It has been suggested as possible that εἴπω has here taken the place of an older ἔπω (*F*έπω), or ἔσπω (cp. ἔσπερε). This supposition would of course explain other instances of neglected *F*.

## ἔρδω, ἔργον, &amp;c.

The Verb ἔρδω is preceded by hiatus in two clear instances, Il. 14. 261, Od. 15. 360. In Il. 9. 540 πόλλ' ἔρδεσκειν there is an ancient v.l. ἔρρεξεν. In Il. 10. 503 ὅτι κύντατον ἔρδοι we may read κύντατα. But there are several instances on the other side in the Odyssey (viz. 1. 293., 5. 342, 360., 6. 258., 7. 202., 8. 490., 11. 80).

The reduplicated form ἔοργα (for *F*έφοργα) is preceded by hiatus in 7 places. Instances on the other side are, Il. 3. 351 ὃ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε (where the Aor. ἔρεξεν is more Homeric, cp. § 28), 21. 399 ὅσσα μ' ἔοργας, 22. 347 οἰά μ' ἔοργας (in both places με may be omitted), Od. 22. 318 οὐδὲν ἔοργάς (read οὐ τι, cp. § 356).

The Noun ἔργον, with its derivation ἐργάζομαι, occurs in Homer about 250 times, and the *F* is required to prevent hiatus in about 165 places. There are about 18 instances against *F*.

## εἴρω, ἐρέω.

The *F* of εἴρω is required by hiatus in the three places where it occurs, viz. Od. 2. 162., 11. 137., 13. 7; that of ἐρέω by about 50 instances of lengthening (such as ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, and the like), against which are to be set three instances of elision (Il. 4. 176., 23. 787, Od. 12. 156).

## ἐννυμι, εἴμα, ἐσθής.

The *F* is shown by hiatus in more than 80 places, including the instances of the Perfect Mid. (εἴμαι, ἔσσαι, &c., see § 23, 5). The contrary instances are of no weight. The superfluous ρ' may be omitted in ἐπέε' ῥ' ἔσσαντο (three places), and τ' similarly in Od. 14. 510., 24. 67. This leaves Il. 3. 57, Od. 6. 83., 7. 259.

*ἔσπερος.*

Hiatus occurs in six places, after the Prepositions *πυρί* (Od. 17. 191) and *ἐπί*. There are no instances against *F*.

*ἔτος.*

The *F* is supported by the lengthening of the preceding syllable in five places, such as Il. 24. 765 *ἔεικοστόν ἔτος ἐστί*. In the only adverse instance, Il. 2. 328 *τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα*, we may read and scan *τοσσαῦτα ἔτεα*, as in the case of *ἔπεα* (*supra*).

*λάχω, λαχή, ἡχή.*

The *F* in *λάχω* and *λαχή* is chiefly indicated by 23 instances of a peculiar hiatus, viz. after a naturally short final vowel in arsis; as *ἡ δὲ μέγα λάχουσα, ἡμεῖς δὲ λάχοιτες, γένετο λαχή*, and the like. There are also 3 instances of lengthening by Position. The *F* is also proved by *ἀλάχος* (= *ἀ-Flaxos*) *without a cry*. The exceptions, 11 in number, are confined to the Impf. *λαχον* (i), which never admits *F* in Homer. Hence it is probable that the true form of the Impf. was *ελαχον*, standing for *ἐφίλαχον*.

The derivative *ἡχήεις* follows hiatus in two places (Il. 1. 157, Od. 4. 72): elsewhere in Homer *ἡχή* only occurs at the beginning of the line.

*ἰδεῖν, οἶδα, εἶδος.*

In the different forms of the Second Aor. *ἰδεῖν* the *F* is shown by upwards of 180 instances of hiatus, and about 12 instances of lengthening of a short syllable. The Indicative (*εἶδον* in Attic) is nearly always a trisyllable (*i.e.* *ἐφιδον*) in Homer. On the other side we have to set nearly 50 instances of neglected *F*, about half of which are susceptible of easy emendation (such as putting *ἰδεῖν* for *ἰδέειν*, omitting superfluous *δέ*, and the like).

In the Perfect *οἶδα* there are about 125 instances of hiatus, against 24 which need emendation. Of these, however, only about seven or eight present any difficulty. The proportion is much the same with the other forms, as *εἶδομαι, εἴσομαι*, &c., and the Nouns *εἶδος* (11 instances of hiatus, two adverse), *ἴστωρ, ἰδρεῖη, εἰδωλον*, &c.

*ἴον (ἰόεις, ἰοδνεφές).*

The *F* is supported by hiatus in Od. 4. 135., 9. 426, and is nowhere inadmissible.

*ἴς, ἴφι (ἴφια), ἴνες.*

These words, with the derived proper names *Ἰφιδάσσα, Ἰφίτος*, &c., show *F* in about 27 places, while seven or eight places need slight emendation.

*ἴσος.*

The *F* is traced in about 30 instances of hiatus; the adverse passages being 8 or 9 in number. In three of these (Il. 11. 705,

Od. 9. 42, 549) the form *ἴσῃς* should perhaps be changed to *αἰσῃς share*. The others are easily corrected.

*ἴσῃς, ἰρέῃ.*

The *F* is shown by hiatus (Il. 4. 486, Od. 10. 510). The Particle *τε* may be left out before *καὶ ἰρέαι* in Il. 21. 350.

*οἶκος.*

The *F* is required in 105 places by hiatus, in 14 by the lengthening of a short syllable. About 25 places are adverse.

*οἶνος.*

The *F* is required by hiatus in nearly 100 places. The adverse places are about 20 (including the names *Οἰνέως* and *Οἰνόμαος*).

391.] Words with initial *σF* (*'F*). Since the change of initial *σ* into the rough breathing (as in *ἐπτά*, Lat. *septem*) must have taken place, at least in Ionic Greek, at an earlier period than the loss of *F*, it may be presumed that words which originally began with *σF* were pronounced at one time with the sound *'F* (= our *wh*). The following are the chief examples in Homer:—

*ἴο, οἶ, ἔ, ὄς, &c.*

The *F* is proved by hiatus in upwards of 600 instances, by lengthening of a preceding short syllable in 136 instances. There are also about 27 places in which a short vowel in arsis is lengthened before it: as *ἀπὸ ἴο, προτὶ οἶ* (υ--), *θυγατέρα ἦν, πατέρη φ*, &c. About 43 places do not admit *F* without some change; of these 30 are instances of the Possessive *ὄς*.

This Pronoun is noticeable as the only word in which the original *F* is recognised in the spelling of our texts. The moveable *-ν* is not used before the forms *οἶ, ἔ*: thus we have *δαίε οἶ, ὥς κέ οἶ, &c.*; and, similarly, *οὐ οἶ, οὐ ἔθεν* (not *οὐχ οἶ, οὐχ ἔθεν*). This rule is observed not only in Homer but also in the later Elegiac and Lyric poets, and even the lyrical parts of Tragedy (Soph. El. 195, Trach. 650). It does not apply, however, to the forms of the Possessive *ὄς*.

The Reflexive Pronoun has the further peculiarity, first pointed out by Prof. Hartel,\* that it is the only word in which the *F* lengthens a preceding short syllable in *thesis*, as—

*ἐρρέτω, ἐκ γάρ εὐ φρένας κτλ.*

*αὐτάρ οἶ πρόφρων κτλ.*

*Λαοδόκῳ ὄς οἶ σχεδὸν κτλ.*

Hartel observes further that in all the instances in which a short syllable is lengthened in *thesis* the Pronoun is *enclitic*, and that with one exception it is the Dative of that has this effect. Even that exception—the first of the instances quoted above—might be got rid of by reading *ἐκ γάρ ἴο φρένας*.

\* *Homerische Studien*, III. pp. 72 ff.

ἀνδάνω, ἡδύς, ἦθος.

The *F* appears in 12 or 15 instances of hiatus, and in the 2 Aor. form εὔαδε (for ἐFαδε). The exceptions are, Il. 3. 173 ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἄδειω (read perhaps ὥς μ' ὄφελεν θάνατος ἄδέειω), see App. E *ad fin.*, and 6 places with ἡδύς, two of which (Il. 4. 131, Od. 19. 510) may be easily emended. The Substantive ἦθος occurs chiefly in the phrase ἐσσεταί ἦθος, where ἐσταί may perhaps be read.

ἔθος, ἦθος.

The *F* is indicated by the hiatus κατὰ ἦθεα (Od. 14. 411). In μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομόν ἱππων (Il. 6. 511., 15. 268) the τε is better omitted. The Pf. εἴωθα or ἔωθα probably had no initial *F*, since σF- would give in reduplication σσF- or ἐσF- (not σFσF-).

ἐκυρός.

The only place bearing on the question before us is Il. 3. 172 φῶλε ἐκυρέ, where the metre points to an initial consonant.

ἐξ.

The *F* may be traced by hiatus in Il. 5. 270 τῶν οἱ ἐξ κτλ., by lengthening in Il. 24. 604, Od. 10. 6. Adverse instances are, Il. 23. 741, Od. 3. 115, 415., 14. 20.

ἐτης.

The *F* appears from hiatus in seven places, and can always be restored. The word is probably formed from the pronominal stem σFε- (so that it is = *unus e suis*).

392.] *F* inferred from metre. A few words may be added here which in all probability had initial *F*, though the traces of it in the metre are not supported by good independent evidence.

ἀραιός.

The hiatus in three places indicates the loss of a consonant.

ἔθνος (perhaps akin to ἔθος, ἦθος).

Hiatus precedes in 12 places, and there is only one instance on the other side, viz. Il. 11. 724 τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν (where we may read ἐπέρρεε).

ἐρύω, ἔρρω.

Hiatus is found before ἐρύω *to draw* in 14 places (not counting those which are indecisive; such as ξίφος δέξῃ ἐρυσσάμενος, or ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἐρυσσαν), and preceding short syllables are lengthened in 17 places. There are 17 instances against *F*, one of the strongest being Il. 1. 141 νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν (= Od. 8. 34., 16. 348). The Verb ῥύομαι *to protect* is unconnected with ἐρύω.

The Verb ἔρρω (probably Lat. *verro*) shows hiatus in the phrase ἐνθάδε ἔρρων (Il. 8. 239., 9. 364); cp. ἀπό-ερσε, ἀπο-έρσειε.

**ἦνοψ.**

The word occurs six times (counting the proper name ἦνοψ), and except in one place (where it begins the line) always requires an initial consonant.

**ἦρα.**

In the phrase ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν: referred to the root *var* meaning to choose or wish.

**ἦριον.**

The only instance (Il. 23. 126 μέγα ἦριον) is in favour of initial *F*.

**ἦλιος.**

An initial consonant is indicated in about 50 places; the number of adverse instances is 14. The derivation of this important word is unknown.

**ἦρος, ἦρις.**

These words may be connected with εἶρω to tell. If so, the *F* of ἦρις is to be traced in ὤκέα ἦρις (19 times), ὥς ἔφατ', ὥπρo δὲ ἦρις (three times), βάσκ' ἴθι, ἦρι κτλ.; that of ἦρος, Od. 18. 73, 334 (but not always, see vv. 38, 56, 233).

✓ 393.] **Loss of *F* in Homer.** The chief instances in which loss of an original *F* can be shown to have taken place in the language of Homer fall under the following rule:—

When the original initial *F* is followed by the vowels *ο*, *ω*, or the diphthong *ου*, it produces no effect on the metre of Homer.

The following are words to which this rule will apply\*:—

ὄρῳ, οὔρος (and οὔρεϋς) a *watcher*; ὄρεσθαι to *watch*. The original *F* (Germ. *wahr*-) explains the forms ἐώρων (for ἐφόρων) and ἐπί-οὔρος, but there are no traces in the *metre* of such forms as *Fopάw*, &c.

ὄρος *mountain* (cp. Βορέας), and ὀρθός *upright*, which may be from the same root (cp. the Laconian Ἀρτεμῖς Βωρθία). There is only one instance of hiatus (viz. Od. 3. 290 ἴσα ὄρεσσιν).

ὄρυξ (Sanscr. *vartakas* a *quail*) appears in the name Ὀρυγίη, which does not admit *F* (Od. 5. 123).

ὄχος *chariot* (Lat. *vehō*); ὄχλος (lit. *movement, tossing*), ὀχλέω to *disturb* (cp. ὀχλεύς and Lat. *vectis*); ὀχθέω (Lat. *vehē-mens*). A trace of *F* appears in the form συνεοχμός (Il. 14. 465).

ὄψ, ὄσσα, ὀμφή *voice*. The traces of *F* are, one instance of hiatus before ὄπα (Od. 11. 421), two of lengthening of a short syllable (Il. 18. 222, Od. 12. 52), and one or two phrases such as

\* See an article by Prof. Leo Meyer in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xxiii. pp. 49 ff.

ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ, &c.; while there are three undoubtedly adverse places (Il. II. 137., 21. 98, Od. 5. 61). In the case of ὁμῆ the evidence is clear against *F*; in ὄσσα it is indecisive.

οὐρανός (Sanscr. *varuṇas*).

οὐλαί *coarsely ground barley*, connected with the root *Fελ-*, meaning *to roll*, &c. Neither this word nor the derivative οὐλοχύται admits *F*.

οὐλαμός *crowd, press of battle*, shows traces of initial *F* in Il. 20. 379 ἐδύσετο οὐλαμόν ἀνδρῶν and the phrase ἀνὰ οὐλαμόν ἀνδρῶν (Il. 4. 251, 273., 20. 113). It does not occur except in these places.

οὐτάω, ὠτειλή *wound*: cp. ἄ-ουτος *unwounded*, and the form γατάλαι in Hesychius.

ᾠθέω (ἔωθεον, ἔωσα), root *vadh* *to beat*.

ᾠνος *price*, Impf. ἔωνομένην (Sanscr. *vasnas*, Lat. *venum*).

Other words which may have originally had initial *F* are, ὄρκος (cp. ἐπί-ορκος), ὀνύχημι (ἐρι-οὔνιος), ὄγγυμι (ἀνα-οίγεσκον, ἀνέφυγε, &c.), ὀπυῖω, ὄκνος, οὐρή, &c. (L. Meyer, *l. c.*). However this may be, none of them show traces of *F* in Homer. There remain the forms of the Possessive *δς* to which the rule would apply, viz. οὐ, δν, ᾠ, ᾠν, οὐς. Hiatus is found before δν in 18 places (before δνδε δόμονδε seven times, δν κατὰ θυμόν six times, in προσὶ δν four times), οὐς twice (Il. 2. 832., 11. 330), οὐ once (Od. 15. 358). On the other hand there are 22 places in which the forms in question do not admit *F*. The significance of this proportion appears when we know that in the case of the remaining forms of the Possessive *δς* the places with hiatus number 50, the adverse instances 8, and that with the forms of the Personal Pronoun (ἐγώ, σὺ, &c.) the proportion is 728 to 19. It seems probable, therefore, that in the forms οὐ, δν, &c., the *F* was no longer pronounced, though *traces* of the former pronunciation remained (as in the case of οὐλαμός and perhaps δψ). Similarly in English the sound of *w* is lost in *who*, *whom*, *whose*, but retained in *which*, *what*, &c.

The retention of *F* before the diphthong *οι*, as in *οι*, *οιο*, *οις*, also in *οίκος* and *οἶκος*, may indicate that *ο* before *ι* had not its ordinary sound, but one approaching to *ε* (possibly like French *eu*). This agrees with the fact that *οι* and *υ* were afterwards identical in sound, and that in the modern language both are = *ι*.

Words with initial *υ* are not found in Homer with *F*; but we cannot in this case speak of the loss of *F*—the combination *Fυ* having been *originally* impossible.

The remaining instances in which loss of *F* may be assumed in Homeric words are few, and for the most part open to question.



ἐμέω (Lat. vomo), only in Il. 15. 11 αἶμ' ἐμέων (perhaps αἶμα φεμέων), and the Compounds ἀπ-έμεσσε (Il. 14. 437), ἐξ-εμέσειε.

ἔλαω, root *valk* or *vlak* (Knös, following Curtius): *F* is perhaps seen in κατὰ ἔλαα (Il. 13. 707., Od. 18. 375). This account separates it from Lat. *sulcus*.

ἐλεῖν, ἔλωρ, possibly to be connected with Lat. *vultur* the bird of prey. The instances of hiatus before ἔλωρ are hardly enough to prove *F*.

ἔλος, from which the name Velia is said by Dionysius Hal. (Arch. 1. 20) to be derived, has no *F* in Homer (Il. 2. 584, 594., 20. 221, Od. 14. 474). The *F* of this word is also wanting in the Cyprian dialect (Deecke and Siegmund, *Curt. Stud.* VII. 249).

ἔλος, ἔλειος is without *F* in Homer: φαλήϊοι is the form found on Elean and Laconian inscriptions.

ἔλλος (Lat. *vallus*) rejects *F* in Il. 11. 29 ἐν δέ οἱ ἔλλοι: the two other places where it occurs prove nothing.

ἔδω, ἔδρως (root *sviā*): the σ*F* is lost in Homer.

ἔκω, ἐκνέομαι: the derivation from the root *vic* is quite uncertain.

ἑστῆν (Lat. *Vesta*): the forms ἀν-έστιος, ἐφ-έστιος show that the *F* is lost in Homer (as also in the Laconian, Locrian, and Boeotian dialects, see § 404).

394.] Initial δ*F*. This combination is to be recognised in two groups of words:

δ*F*ι-, ἔδεια (so Ar.), δέος, δεινός, δειλός, &c.

A short vowel is frequently lengthened before these words, as Il. 1. 515 οὐ τοι ἐπὶ δέος, Il. 11. 37 περὶ δὲ Δειμός τε Φόβος τε, Od. 5. 52 ὅς τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κτλ., Qd. 9. 236 ἡμεῖς δὲ δέισαντες κτλ.

The cases in which a vowel is allowed to count as short before the δ of this root are extremely few: Il. 13. 165 ἀπὸ τοῦ δέισε δὲ (read ἀπὸ εὐ); Od. 12. 203 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων (read ἄρ). There remain only Il. 8. 133., 13. 278., 15. 626., and the forms ὑποδέισατε (Od. 2. 66), δεδέωσι (Il. 24 663), ἀδειής (Il. 7. 117).

δῆν, δηρόν, δηθά.

In δῆν the *F* is required in the phrases οὐ τι μάλα δῆν, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δῆν, &c.; there are no contrary instances. In δηρόν it is traced in two places, Il. 9. 415 (ἐπὶ δηρόν δέ μοι αἰών), Od. 1. 203: but is more commonly absent (οὐκέτι δηρόν, &c.). The instances of δηθά do not show anything.

It is to be observed that except in ἔδεια the original δ*F* does not lengthen a vowel in *thesis*. Compare the rule as to initial *F* lengthening a short syllable in *thesis* by Position, § 391.

395.] Initial *F**p*, &c. The metrical value of an initial *p* which represents *Fp* differs in the several words. It has always the effect of a double consonant in ῥήγνυμι, ῥίπτω, ῥάκος, ῥν- (in ῥνός, &c.), ῥη- (in ῥητός, ῥητήρ), and nearly always in ῥινός (except Od. 5. 281), ῥίζα (Od. 9. 390). But lengthening is optional in ῥέζω, ῥιγέω, ῥεῖα: thus we have ἔρρεξα and ἔρεξα (in 27 places); ἵπποι δὲ ῥέα (Il. 8. 179), but ἔνθα κε ῥεῖα κτλ.; ἐρρίγησαν, but ὥς φάτο ῥίγησεν δὲ κτλ. As to *p*- standing for

an older  $\sigma\rho$ -, and the other letters ( $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ) which lengthen a preceding short vowel, see § 371.

396.] *F* not initial. The metrical tests by which initial *F* is discovered generally fail us when the sound occurs in the middle of a word. Loss of *F* however is shown in a few instances by Contraction: as in  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , 1 Aor.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  (for  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ). Knös\* observes that none of the forms in which initial  $\epsilon\iota$  appears for  $\epsilon$  (except of course when it arises by *reduplication*) show traces of *F*, e.g.  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ . Similarly the form  $\iota\alpha\chi\omega\nu$  (with  $\iota$ ), which never takes *F*, is probably for  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\chi\omega\nu$  (i.e.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\phi\alpha\chi\omega\nu$ ). Other instances are  $\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\upsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu$  (Il. 6. 134) for  $\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\acute{o}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (Il. 11. 699) for  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron$ -. Loss of *F* is also shown by Synizesis, as  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  (for  $-\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\epsilon\phi\alpha\varsigma$ ),  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  (for  $\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omega\nu$  (Od. 1. 183),  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  (Od. 13. 194).

Compound Verbs usually recognise *F*, as  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\delta\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$ , also  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$  (with  $\alpha$ ), &c. But this proves nothing as to the retention of the sound of *F*.

Exceptions are:  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$  (Od. 1. 91),  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Il. 19. 75),  $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$  (Il. 10. 425),  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\pi\eta$  (Il. 1. 555):  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (Od. 8. 151., 14. 332., 19. 289):  $\epsilon\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha$ :  $\epsilon\pi\iota\acute{o}\iota\kappa\epsilon$  (11 places):  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Il. 1. 294, Od. 12. 117). In some of these forms metrical necessity may be pleaded; thus  $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\pi\phi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\phi\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$  (—) are alike impossible in the hexameter. Hence we may suppose a *licence* by which (as in the case of  $\phi\rho$ ,  $\beta\rho$ , &c. § 370) the combinations  $\nu F$ ,  $\tau F$ ,  $\pi F$ , did not 'make Position.' The instances to which this excuse does not apply are very few.

397.] *Loss of initial  $\sigma$  and  $\gamma$ .* The traces of these sounds in the metre of Homer are chiefly of interest for the purpose of comparison with the facts relating to *F*.

The effects of initial  $\sigma$  may perhaps be seen in a few cases of the non-elision of prepositions, in  $\epsilon\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (Lat. *salio*),  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Lat. *sal*),  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu$  (Lat. *sequor*),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\iota\sigma\chi\omega$  for  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\omega$ ), and the lengthening in  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\chi\eta$  (Od. 19. 113) and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\chi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  (Od. 9. 74). Hiatus is also found twice before  $\epsilon\lambda\eta$  (Il. 14. 285, Od. 5. 257), once before  $\epsilon\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (Od. 10. 68), and 18 times before  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  (mostly in the principal cæsure). These instances however are too few to prove anything.

Initial  $\gamma$  is chiefly traced in the Adverb  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , which when used after the Noun to which it refers is allowed to lengthen the final syllable: as  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\rho\nu\iota\theta\epsilon\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , &c. (so in 36 places). On the other hand there are nearly as many places which do not admit an initial consonant: as  $\kappa\acute{\tau}\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (Il. 3. 196),  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\theta'\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (Il. 11. 383., 12. 293., 16. 756),  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\delta'\acute{\omega}\varsigma\kappa\tau\lambda$ . Probably there-

\* *De digammo* &c. p. 101.

fore no *y*-sound was heard, and the lengthening of the syllable before *ds* was a mere 'survival' or traditional rule.

Another example of initial *y* in Homer is found by Curtius and most writers in the Verb *ἔμαι* *to desire*, which they regard as the Middle of *ἔημι*, originally *yiyāmi*. The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in 23 places (ὁ δὲ ἔτο, οἴκαδε ἑμένων, &c.): while there are only 4 adverse places (Il. 18. 501, Od. 2. 327., 10. 246., 14. 142). Others (as L. Meyer) separate *ἔμαι* from *ἔημι*, referring it to the root *vī* which means *to aim at, wish*.

Two undoubted instances of the Middle of *ἔημι* occur in Homer, viz. Il. 4. 77 τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἔνται, and Od. 22. 304 ταὶ μὲν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσαι ἔνται: and these instances differ from *ἔμαι to desire* not only in meaning but also (1) in rejecting *F* and (2) in the quantity of the *ι*, which is always long in *ἔμαι to desire*, generally short in the Active *ἔημι*. Thus there is at least a presumption in favour of separating the two sets of forms. It may be further pointed out that the supposed *yiyēmi*, Mid. *yīye-mai*, is not formed in accordance with analogy. The combination *yi* is originally impossible (just as *vu* is): the reduplication of a root *yā* would give *iyāmi*, not *yiyāmi*. Thus the initial consonant of *ἔμαι* is still unaccounted for.

\* 398.] **Summary.** According to the computation of Prof. Hartel there are 3354 places in which the effect of the Digamma can be traced on the metre of Homer. In 2324 places its presence is shown by hiatus after a short vowel (*i.e.* it prevents elision); in 359 places it justifies the lengthening of a short syllable ending in a consonant, in other words, it helps to make 'Position'; in 164 places it prevents the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong in thesis: and in 507 places it follows a long vowel or diphthong in arsis. It is further to be noticed that in many places a short final vowel in arsis is lengthened before the *F*: see especially the instances given under *ῥο* (§ 390), and *ἰάχω* (§ 389).\* On the other hand there are 617 places where the *F* is neglected. Short vowels suffer Elision before it in 324 places: it fails to lengthen by Position after another consonant in 215 places: and long vowels or diphthongs are shortened before it in 78 places. Also the power to lengthen by Position is confined, except in the case of the enclitic *εὖ, οἶ*, to lengthening of syllables *in arsis*. And these phenomena, it is important to add, are distributed pretty equally over the text of the Iliad and Odyssey.

399.] **Theories of the *F*.** The main question which arises on these facts evidently is: How can the great number of passages

\* A short vowel is also lengthened in arsis before *ἔπος* (Od. 10. 246), *ἔρξαν* (Od. 14. 411), and in the Compounds *ἀπο-εἰπών* Il. 19. 35 and *ἀπο-ἔρπον, ἀπο-ἔρπει* (Il. 21. 283, 329).

in which the *F* affects the metre of Homer be reconciled with the not inconsiderable number of passages in which it is neglected?

The scholars who first became aware of the traces of a lost letter in Homer assumed that in the original form of the poems this letter, or at least the consonantal sound for which it afterwards stood, was consistently used—that it was in fact one of the ordinary sounds of the language—; and accordingly they directed their efforts to restoring it to the text. This was the principle on which Bentley made his famous series of emendations: and which was carried out by Bekker in his edition of 1858. It is still held by eminent scholars, among others by Cobet. Of late years, however, different views of the matter have been taken. Prof. Leskien\* seems to have been the first to maintain that the passages which do not admit *F* are not necessarily corrupt or spurious, but are to be regarded as evidence of an original fluctuation in the use of the sound. His view is adopted and defended by Curtius (*Grundz.* p. 560, 5th ed.). Prof. Hartel has more recently put forward (in his *Homerische Studien*, pt. III.) a theory which agrees with that of Curtius in treating the apparent neglect of the *F* as part of the original condition of the text. But he ascribes this neglect, not to irregularity in the use of the sound, but to the intermediate half-vowel character of the sound itself.

If we are not satisfied that the *F* had the value of an ordinary consonant at the time when the Homeric poems were produced (or when they received their present form), we may explain the influence which it has on the metre in several ways.

400.] **Hypothesis of alternative forms.** We may suppose that the sound of *F* was one which might be introduced or not as the poet chose. That is to say, each word that originally had initial *F* may have been known to Homeric times in two forms, an older form with the *F*—confined perhaps to the archaic or poetical style—and a later in which *F* was no longer heard. Just as the poet could say either *οὖς* or *ὕς*, either *πόλις* or *πτόλις*, either *τελέσσαι* or *τελέσαι*, so he may have had the choice between *φάναξ* and *άναξ*, *φῆδύς* and *ῆδύς*, &c.

There is evidently no antecedent improbability in this supposition: we have only to consider whether it explains the proportion found to subsist in the case of the several words between the passages which admit or require *F* and those which tell against it. Let us take a few common words of different metrical form, and which show no trace of *F*, the words Ἄρης, ἄριστος, ἔγχος, ἡμᾶρ, ὄμιλος, ὀφθαλμός, ὕδωρ, ὕπνος. These words, with their immediate derivatives, occur in the Iliad 1022 times; and the places that would not admit an initial consonant number 684, or just two-thirds of the whole. Again, take some of the commonest words with *F*, *άναξ*, *άστρ*, *ἔργον*, *οἶκος*, and the Aorist *ἔειπ*. These occur in the Iliad 685 times, and the exceptions are hardly 50, or about

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\* *Rationem quam I. Bekker in restituendo digammo secutus est examinavit Dr. A. Leskien: Lipsiæ, 1866.*

one-fourteenth. Compared with the other proportion (of two-thirds) this surely proves that the recognition of the *F* in these words was not arbitrary, but was the rule in Homeric verse.

This argument obviously does not exclude the supposition of alternative forms, with and without *F*, in the case of individual words. It only tends to show that the number of such words cannot be great.

401.] Explanation from fixed phrases, &c. The traces of *F* may also be ascribed to the conventional phrases of the early epic style. The word *δορυ* for example, is found very-frequently in the combinations *πρὸς δορυ*, *ἀνὰ δορυ*, *κατὰ δορυ*, &c.; but these, it may be justly said, do not prove the pronunciation *φάστυ* for Homeric times any more than (e.g.) *ἐπιεικής* proves the existence of an Attic *ἐπιφεικής*. Such phrases were handed on ready-made, so to speak, with a fixed metrical value, and served as models for fresh combinations, in which the hiatus was retained as part of the familiar rhythm. It was only when imitation failed him that the poet would follow the actual pronunciation, and thus produce exceptions to the apparent use of *F*.

The question of the adequacy of this explanation is ultimately one of degree. Tradition and imitation will go far to account for traces of an earlier state of things: will they account for the decisive predominance of the traces of *F* which we find in Homer? This question must surely be answered in the negative, for several reasons:

(1) The instances of *F* are not confined to the commonest words, or to frequently recurring phrases. Thus it is found in *lov a violet*, *τρὺς the fellow of a wheel*, *ῥιτή a willow*, *ἀρνες lambs*. And it is used (generally speaking) in all the different forms of each Verb or Noun, whether of common occurrence or not (*ἰδεῖν* as well as *ἰδέειν*, *ἴδωσι* as well as *ἴσι* and *ἴφι*, &c.).

(2) There is no evidence of *false* instances, such as we should expect to arise from a merely imitative use. There is no confusion (e.g.) between the reduplicated forms which ought to take *F* (as *ἰόλπα*, *ἰούκα*, *ἰόσκω*), and the augmented forms (as *ἴειπον*, *ἴδον* or *εἴδον*) which are without it: or between similar words distinguished by one having the *F*, as *φέρω* to draw and *ρύομαι* to protect, *φέρω* to tell and *εἰρωμαι* to ask, *φραχέ* cry and *ταχον* they cried.\*

(3) Some of the most striking exceptions are found (as Hartel well shows) in passages of a distinctly conventional type: such as—

*ὄφρ' εἰπὼ τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει* (11 places).

*ὄφρ' εἰδέω, ὄφρ' εἰδῶ* (Il. 8. 406, 420, Od. 9. 348., 16. 236., 22. 234).

*καὶ μιν φανήσας ἔπεια πτερόνεπτα προσήδα* (9 places).

*ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει εἰς πατρίδα γαίαν* (4 places in the Odyssey).

*φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκίσθαι* (6 places in the Odyssey).

*ὅς εἰπὼν ὅτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου* (11 places).

*Αἶας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο* (Il. 17. 279, Od. 11. 550).

*ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν* (Il. 1. 141, Od. 8. 34., 16. 348).

*νῆας μὲν πάμπρωτον ἐρύσσαμεν* (3 places in the Odyssey).

\* Curtius indeed regards the form *ἔεισατο* went as due to confusion with *ἔφεισατο* seemed: but this hypothesis does not appear to be quite necessary. Wackernagel (*Bezenberger's Beitr.* iv. p. 269) identifies the Tense with the Sanscr. *aydsam*, which would appear in Greek in the form *ἔησα*. He holds that the true Homeric form was *ἔησατο*, and that this *ἔησατο*, written in the old alphabet ΕΕΣΑΤΟ, was misread *ἔεισατο*. G. Meyer refers it to the root *ei*, *eē*, which agrees remarkably in meaning; see Grassmann, *Wb.* z. R. V. 1311.

Some of these places, it is true, may be easily emended so as to admit *F*. But the strength of the theory now in question lies in its claim to dispense with such emendations.

(4) The other cases in which tradition can be shown to have had the effect of retaining older phrases and combinations are not really parallel. In the Homeric Hymns the *F* can be clearly traced: but the proportion of instances which do not admit *F* is markedly different. Taking the words already used as examples, viz. *ἀναξ*, *δορυ*, *ἔργον*, *οἶκος*, *ἰδέν*, we find them in the Hymns 152 times, while the *F* is neglected in 36 places, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Again if we look at the Homeric use of *οὐλαμὸς*, *δψ*, and the Possessive *δς*, we find similar conditions. The *traces* of *F* are undoubted, but do not predominate as with *ἀναξ* or *δορυ*. Other examples may be seen in the use of *ῶς* (§ 397), and in the traces of the double consonants, *σρ*, *σλ*, *σν*, *φρ* discussed in § 371. Compare (e.g.) the free use of alternate forms, as *ἔρφα* and *ἔρρεφα*, *πρῶ-πῶ* and *ἔν-πῶ*, with the almost invariable recognition of *δF* in *δῶς*, *δελῶς*, &c. In these groups of instances we seem to be able to draw a broad line of distinction between the *predominating* influence of the *F* in Homer and the arbitrary or occasional influence of the older forms elsewhere. And this distinction surely can be best explained by supposing that these other cases give us a measure of the force of tradition in such matters, while in the case of the Homeric *F* the effect is due to its retention as a living sound.

402.] *Hiatus &c. as a survival.* Another supposition, akin to the last discussed, and, like it, adopted by Curtius (*Grundzüge*, p. 560), is that in the words which originally had initial *F* the ordinary effects of an initial consonant remained after the sound itself was no longer heard. Such a phenomenon would be by no means without parallel in language. In French, for instance, elision is not allowed before certain words beginning with *h*, as *le héros*, *la hauteur*: the reason being that in these words the *h* was formerly pronounced.\* Similarly, then, it may be held that the facts of Homeric metre do not prove the actual pronunciation of *F*, but only the habit or rule of treating certain words as if they began with *F*. The exceptions are easily accounted for by supposing that the rule, being one of an artificial kind, was not always remembered.

On the other side it may be urged that the parallels are not complete. The *h* of *héros*, *hauteur*, &c. is only traced in one way, viz. by hiatus, and that only in a small number of combinations; whereas the *F* not only protects hiatus, but also makes Position. Moreover the retention of a traditional usage of this kind is very much easier in an age of education. Anomalies which would naturally disappear in a few years are kept alive by being taught to successive generations of children. It seems difficult to believe that the *F* would have kept its present place in the memory of the poets unless it were familiar, either to the ear as a present sound, or to the eye as a letter in the written text. And whatever may be thought of the date of writing in Greece, it cannot have been *familiarly* known in Homeric times.

403.] *Explanation from the nature of the F.* The theory recently advanced by Prof. Hartel is one to which it is difficult to do justice in a short statement. The careful re-examination which he has made of the metrical facts

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\* French Grammars indeed tell us that in these words *h* is pronounced—a still more signal instance of the force of mere tradition.

has convinced him that the influence of the *F* is not occasional or arbitrary, but in the strictest sense universal in Homer. He does not however regard the passages in which the *F* appears to be neglected as corrupt or spurious, but explains them on the theory that the *F* in Homer has not the full value of an ordinary consonant: comparing it, for instance, not with the initial *V* of Latin, but with the sound which that letter has in the combination *QV*. Accordingly he holds that initial *F* need not lengthen a preceding syllable by Position: and that elision before *F* is occasionally allowed.

Hartel's chief argument for these conclusions is based on the observation that, of the metrical facts pointing to a lost *F*, hiatus after short vowels is the most common, and especially that it is much commoner than lengthening by Position, the numbers being 2995 and 359 respectively. In later poetry, viz. in the writers of elegiac and iambic verse, and in Pindar, he shows that the inequality is still greater, and indeed that hiatus is the *only* effect by which the former presence of *F* may be traced. It may be doubted, however, whether the proportion in the Homeric instances is such as to prove anything. It depends in the case of each word on the metrical form: thus before a trochee we may find hiatus, but not lengthening: before an anapaest the reverse holds good. Now if (using Hartel's list) we take the instances in which *F* is followed in the verse by two short syllables—the words being *ἄγεν*, *ἔλιν*, *ἔαρος*, *ἔλικες* (with *ἔλικαρες*, &c.), *ἔπος*, *ἔρως*, *ἔρος*, *ἔλχῃ*, *ἔσον*—we shall find that they number 415, and the *F* makes Position in 98. But this is not materially different from the proportion which would obtain in the case of any common word of the same metrical form (such as *πόλεμος*).

It may further be pointed out that if the *F* were naturally more efficacious in filling up hiatus than in lengthening preceding syllables, neglect of the *F* would oftenest appear in neglect of Position, while elision before it would be comparatively rare. In fact, however, elision forms the largest group of exceptions (see § 398).

404.] *F* in other Greek dialects. It seems desirable here to say something of the uses of the Digamma which are found on the older inscriptions of the chief Doric and Æolic dialects. The forms preserved on these inscriptions do not indeed prove anything directly as to the Homeric digamma. We cannot infer from them, for instance, that it was ever used in any written copies of the poems, or that the sound which it represented in other dialects was known to the Homeric language. But they may serve by way of analogy to direct and assist our conjectures on these questions.

The supposition that the *F* may have been retained as an initial sound after it had ceased to be heard in other parts of the word is fully borne out by the evidence now in question. The most striking examples of both uses are found on the inscriptions of Corinth and its colony Corcyra (as *Ἰεκάβα*, *Ἰεόλαφος*, *Ἰεφίτος*. *Δῖεινλας*, *Αἰφας*, *Ξένφων*, *Ξενφάρεος*, *Ἰρφος*, *Τλασίαφο*, &c.). With these may be placed the Argive inscriptions (in one of which occurs *Διφ*) and the few Laconian inscriptions. In the older monuments of these dialects initial *F* is never wanting; but omission in the body of the word is

occasionally found, as in *Δαίφοβος* and *Πολυζένα* (on the same Corinthian vase), and several names ending in *-κλῆς* (for *-κλέφης*), and *-λας* (for *-λαφος*). The scanty Phocian inscriptions yield the important forms *Φέξ*, *αἰφέλ*, *κλέφος*, with no early examples of omission; and the little known Pamphylian dialect is equally constant, so far as it has been made out. The Locrian dialect shows more decided indications of falling off in the use of the digamma. On the inscriptions of that dialect (discussed by Prof. Allen in *Curt. Stud.* III. pp. 207 ff.) we find it in *Φαστός*, *Φέκαστος*, *Φεκών*, *Φέτος*, *Φεσπάριος*, *Φοῖκος* and its compounds (*ἐπίφοικος*, &c.), also in *καταιφέλ*, *Φεφαδηκότα*: but not in *δαμνωργός*, *ξένος*, *ἐννέα*, *Ὀπώντιος* (for original *Ὀποφέντιος*). The only initial *F* which is wanting is in the word *ιστῖαι* (we may compare the Laconian and Homeric *ἐφέστιος*). Similarly in the older Elean inscriptions initial *F* is regular (*Φάργον*, *Φέπος*, *Φράτρα*, &c.); and we have also *Ἐρφαοιοί* (*people of Ἡράα*), *ἐφερεν* (prob. an Infinitive), but *ξένος*, *Διός* without *F*. Another stage in the use of *F* is well exemplified by the numerous Boeotian inscriptions. In these the general rule is that initial *F* is retained: the only word from which it is regularly absent is *ἐκαστος*. On the other hand the only instances of *F* in the body of a word are, the compound *Φικατιφέτιες* (= *εἰκοσιετίες*), and a group of derivatives of *αἰίδω* (*αἰλαφυδός*, *τραγαφυδός*, &c.). The same rule applies to the Arcadian inscriptions, which however are too few to be of importance. The further progress of decay may be seen in the Doric dialect of Heraclea, of which a specimen remains in the well known *Tabulae Heracleenses* (of the 4th cent.). We there find *Φέξ*, *Φέτος*, *Φίδιος*, *Φίκατι* and the compound *ἐγ-Φηληθίωντι* (= *ἐξ-εἰληθῶσι*), but *ἐκαστος*, *ἴσος*, *ἀφ-ερζόντι*, *πενταέτηρῖς*, *ἐργάζομαι*, *οἰκία*, *ρήτρα*: from which it follows that the use of *F* even as an initial sound must have been fluctuating. A similar condition of at least partial loss of *F* is found in inscriptions of Melos.

If we do not confine our view to the character *F*, but look to the other indications of the sound which it represented, the most important evidence is that furnished by the recently deciphered Cyprian inscriptions. The forms which they yield belong, generally speaking, to an earlier period of the language than is known from alphabetical inscriptions. Yet the use of the sounds answering to *F* is not uniform: we have *Διφός* and *Διός*, *βασιλέφος* and *βασιλέος*.

It will be sufficient to mention the cases in which an original *F* is represented by *β* or *υ*. The former occurs in several parts of Greece, especially Laconia, Elis, Crete: but probably the *β* is merely a graphical substitute for *F*. It is found in the inscriptions of later times, when *β* was probably = our *v*. The latter substitution is characteristic of the Æolic of Lesbos, as *εὔδε* (for *ἔφδε*), *αἰώς*, *δεύομαι*, *ἐνδεύης* (= *ἐνδέης*). In these forms the *F* is vocalised; cp. Homeric *αἰάχος* (= *ἀ-φάχος*), *εὔαδε*, *ταλαύρινος*.

It is necessary here to notice a group of uses of the *F* in which it cannot



be explained etymologically, but seems to have been developed from a neighbouring vowel (*υ* or *ο*). The vowel usually precedes, as in Laconian *ἔδῃδοφας*, *ἔδῃδοφε*, Corcyrean *ἀριστεύοντα*, Boeotian *Εύφατα*, *Βακυφαι*, Cyprian *Εύφέλων*, *Εύφαιδρω*, *κατεσκεύασε*: but we also find *Θαστάφο* (Corcyr.), *Γίλγυφος* (Cypr.), *Τυμοχάρφος* (Cypr.), *φότι* (Locr.). So perhaps the Boeotian *αὔλαφιδός*, *τραγαφιδός*, &c. (see above). With the former instances we might compare Italian *Genova*, *Padova* (for *Genua*, *Padua*); with the latter the *u* of Italian *uomo*, *wopo*, the *w* of *whole*, the provincial English pronunciation *wuts* for *oats*, &c. With *φότι* we should compare the form *Ναφώκτιος*, also Locrian. Both are exceptional, and indeed must be considered as mere errors:\* but they help to show how near *φ* was to a pure vowel sound. It is evident that this redundant *φ*, growing out of the vowel *υ* or *ο*, is a parallel phenomenon to the loss of *φ* before these vowels which was noticed above as a characteristic of Homer (§ 393).

405.] *φ* in Ionic. There remains the interesting question whether the existence of the *φ* in Ionic can be traced in inscriptions. The evidence appears to be as follows (Tudeer, *De digammo* &c. pp. 5. ff.):—

(1) The form *ΑΨΥΤΟ* (= *αὐτοῦ*) on a Naxian inscription of the end of the 6th century B.C.

(2) The forms *φΙΟ*, *ΓΑΡΥΦΟΝΕΣ*, *ΟΦΑΤΙΕΣ*—all proper names—on vases found in Magna Graecia, and supposed to have come from Chalcis in Euboea, or one of its Italian colonies.

(3) The name of the city of Velia, which was founded by exiles from Phocaea (§ 393).

Kirchhoff (*Studien* &c. p. 71) doubts the possibility of a form *ἄφυρός*, which he assumes would be trisyllabic, and points to *ἐοῖδεσθε* on another Naxian inscription to show that the *φ* was wholly lost. But, as has since been pointed out,† the *φ* of *ἄφυρός* indicates at most a special way of pronouncing the *υ*, and is to be compared with the erroneous *Νάφτακτος* noticed above. Hence it only shows that the *character φ* was known to the inscriber, and might express a sound derived from adjoining *υ*: not that the sound of *φ* had retained its original place in any word. In the three examples from the vases which Kirchhoff holds to be Chalcidian, it is worth notice that one *φ* at least is of the same derivative kind, viz. that of *Γαρυφονης*, and one other, that of the unknown word *Οφατης*, may well be so. Thus the only epigraphical evidence of *original φ* is the form *φιο*, which is to be read as a feminine proper name, *φιώ* (from *φίον violet*). On the other hand the inscriptions of Euboea itself show no instance of *φ*.

As to the evidence afforded by the name *Ἰέλη*, in Latin *Velia*, we can hardly say more than that it holds good (if at all) for the usage of Phocaea.

\* The ordinary form *Ναύτακτος* occurs on the inscription 19 times, the form with *Ναφ*- only once. Similarly against the single *φότι* are to be set 2 instances of *δοτι*, and 5 others of the Relative *δς*, in the older Locrian inscription. See Allen in *Curt. Stud.* III. p. 252; Brugman, *ibid.* IV. p. 133, n. 57: Tudeer, *De digammo*, p. 45.

† By Brugman, *Curt. Stud.* IV. p. 132, n. 55, and Tudeer, p. 7.

From the appearance of *F* on Chalcidian vases it is inferred by Tudeer (*l.c.*) that it must have been a living sound in the Ionic dialect of Euboea at the time when the colonies of Chalcis were sent to Magna Graecia, *i.e.* probably in the 8th century B.C. On the other hand, since there is no example on the inscriptions of Euboea itself, the sound does not seem to have survived there down to the date of the earliest examples of writing, viz. the 6th century B.C. Hence Tudeer puts the loss of the *F* in Ionic Euboea at some time between the 8th and the 6th centuries. In Phocaea, he thinks, it may have been preserved longer, and may have been part of a general difference of character between northern and southern Ionic.

These conclusions, though (as we have seen) they have a slender basis of positive fact, are at all events in harmony with the general probabilities of the case. It cannot indeed be said that they do much towards clearing up the question of the *F* (or of the labial sound which it represents) in the Ionic dialect of Homer. But we must regard it as some confirmation of the usual date assigned to 'Homer' when we find that his Ionic is in this respect so different from the Ionic of the earliest monuments.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the text was in type a wholly new view of the Homeric dialect has been put forward by Aug. Fick, in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, vii. pp. 139 ff. According to Fick, the poems were composed in Æolic, and afterwards Ionicised by the Ionian singers and rhapsodists. This process would generally be an easy one; but sometimes the metre stood in the way, and then the Æolic form was retained. Hence (*e.g.*) the preservation of the original Æolic Genitives in *-ἰο*, *-ἰων* (instead of the Ionic *-εω* *-εων*), and the Pronouns *ἄμμε*, *ἄμμι*, *ὕμμε*, *ὕμμι*: and hence, above all, the traces of the Digamma. In a few cases there was no Ionic form exactly corresponding: hence (*e.g.*) the retention of *θεά* (Ion. *θεός*), *ἄμυδς*, *ἄλλυδς*, the proper names *Ναυσικάδ*, *Θεοσίτης*, &c.

It is impossible to discuss a theory such as this in the brief space which can be given to it here. The proof, it may be observed, depends upon the possibility of showing, not merely that the Æolic peculiarities of Homer are prior to the Ionic element, but also that they cannot be regarded as originally common to the two dialects. The *f*, for instance, was certainly Æolic and Doric. But there must have been a time when the ancestors of the Ionian Greeks had the sound: and how do we know that Epic poetry does not reach back to that time? This is a question which the comparative lateness of our evidence as to the Greek dialects makes it very difficult to answer.

## APPENDIX.

### A. On the Tenses with Stems ending in -ā.

1. The Tenses to which this description applies are, the Perfect, the Sigmatic Aorist, the Aorists in -*ā*, and the other Aorists in *ā* (§ 15), the Pluperfect in -*ā* (§ 68), and the two Imperfects *ḡa* *I was*, and *ḡia* or *ḡā* *I went*.

In all these Tenses it may be shown that the -*ā* is not originally part of the Tense-Stem, but belongs to the Ending of the First Person Singular, from which it has been extended by *analogy* to other forms. The Tenses therefore were originally formed in the same way as other Non-Thematic Tenses, and the employment of *ā* as an 'auxiliary' or 'connecting' vowel is the result of a comparatively late development.\*

2. The original type is best preserved in the two Imperfects *ḡa* *I was*, *ḡia* *I went*.

1 Sing. <i>ḡa</i> (for <i>ḡσ-α</i> ), <i>ḡa</i>	Sanscr. <i>ās-am</i>
2 „ <i>ḡσθα</i> , <i>ḡas</i> (Hdt.)	<i>ās</i> , later <i>ās-is</i>
3 „ <i>ḡs</i> (Dor.), <i>ḡev</i> , &c.	<i>ās</i> , later <i>ās-it</i>
Dual [ <i>ḡσ-τον</i> ], <i>ḡσ-την</i>	<i>ās-tam</i> , <i>ās-tām</i>
1 Plur. [ <i>ḡσ-μεν</i> ], <i>ḡμεν</i>	<i>ās-ma</i>
2 „ <i>ḡσ-τε</i> , <i>ḡate</i> (Hdt.)	<i>ās-ta</i>
3 „ <i>ḡσ-αν</i>	<i>ās-an</i>
1 Sing. <i>ḡia</i> , <i>ḡā</i>	Sanscr. <i>āy-am</i>
2 „ <i>ḡei-s</i> , <i>ḡεισθα</i>	<i>āi-s</i>
3 „ <i>ḡei</i> , <i>ḡie</i>	<i>āi-t</i>
Dual <i>ḡ-τον</i> , <i>ḡ-την</i>	<i>āi-tam</i> , <i>āi-tām</i>
1 Plur. <i>ḡ-μεν</i>	<i>āi-ma</i>
2 „ <i>ḡ-τε</i>	<i>āi-ta</i>
3 „ <i>ḡi-σαν</i> , <i>ḡ-σαν</i>	<i>āy-an</i> .

The 2 and 3 Sing. *ās*, found in Vedic Sanscrit, stands for hypothetical *ās-s*, *ās-t*, and so Doric *ḡs* stands for *ḡσ-τ*. Thus the oldest

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\* The chief points in this theory have been demonstrated by K. Brugman, first in *Curtius' Studien*, IX. pp. 309 ff., and then in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, II. pp. 245 ff. The only important difference between his view and that which is followed in the text concerns the 1 Plur. of the Sigmatic Aorist. According to Brugman, 'the *α* is oldest in the 1 Sing *ἔλυ-σα*, then it arose in forms such as *ἔδεικ-σμεν* in a purely phonetic way' (*Bezz. Beitr.* II. 245). That is to say, the *μ* of *ἔδεικ-σμεν*, &c., developed the corresponding nasal vowel, and so became *αμ*. But this explanation fails in the Perfect (e.g. *οἶδαμεν* cannot be derived *phonetically* from *ἵδμεν*), and will only apply, indeed, when the Stem is the same in the Singular and Plural. Hence we must explain the 1 Plur. *-α-μεν*, like the rest of the Plural, as the result of direct imitation of the 1 Sing. in *-α*.

Greek and Indian forms are essentially the same, and agree in confining the  $\alpha$  to the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.; while the process by which it extends to other forms is exemplified in the  $\epsilon\alpha$ -s,  $\epsilon\alpha$ -te of Herodotus, in which  $\epsilon\alpha$ - is treated as the Tense-Stem. The 3 Sing.  $\eta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\eta\epsilon$  may be regarded as borrowed from the Thematic Conjugation.

3. The final  $\alpha$  of  $\eta\alpha$  and  $\eta\iota\alpha$  (=Sanskrit. -am) is to be identified with the -v (original -m) of  $\epsilon\phi\eta$ -v,  $\epsilon\beta\eta$ -v,  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ -v,  $\epsilon\phi\upsilon$ -v, &c. This will appear when these and the corresponding Sanskrit forms are compared with other instances of the same Non-Thematic formation. Thus—

1 Sing. $\epsilon\beta\eta$ -v	$\acute{\alpha}g\bar{a}$ -m	$\epsilon\phi\upsilon$ -v	$\acute{\alpha}bh\bar{u}$ v-am
2 „ $\epsilon\beta\eta$ -s	$\acute{\alpha}g\bar{a}$ -s	$\epsilon\phi\upsilon$ -s	$\acute{\alpha}bh\bar{u}$ -s
3 „ $\epsilon\beta\eta$	$\acute{\alpha}g\bar{a}$ -t	$\epsilon\phi\upsilon$	$\acute{\alpha}bh\bar{u}$ -t
1 Plur. $\epsilon\beta\eta$ -μεν	$\acute{\alpha}g\bar{a}$ -ma	$\epsilon\phi\upsilon$ -μεν	$\acute{\alpha}bh\bar{u}$ -ma

and, with loss of -s, -t in the 2 and 3 Sing.—

1 Sing. $\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha$ -am	$\acute{\alpha}kar$ -am	$\acute{\alpha}doh$ -am	$\acute{\alpha}dur\epsilon$ -am
2 & 3 „ $\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha$	$\acute{\alpha}kar$	$\acute{\alpha}d\acute{o}k$	$\acute{\alpha}dr\acute{a}k$
1 Plur. $\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha$ -ma	$\acute{\alpha}kar$ -ma	$\acute{\alpha}duh$ -ma	

The rule in Sanskrit is that -m of the 1 Sing. becomes -am whenever it follows a consonant, or the vowels  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  (which then pass into  $y$ ,  $v$ ). In Greek, under the same conditions, original -m generally appears as - $\alpha$ . But -v is found after  $\bar{u}$ , viz. in  $\epsilon\phi\bar{u}$ -v,  $\epsilon\delta\bar{u}$ -v. In Sanskrit, again, the -s and -t of the 2 and 3 Sing. are lost after consonants; in Greek the only instance of this is the Doric 3 Sing.  $\eta\varsigma$ .

4. The three Aorists  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$  are hardly ever used in Homer except in the Singular and 3 Plur. Active (§ 15). That is to say, the original inflexion having been  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa$ -a,  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa$ -(s),  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa$ -(t), and so on, the analogy of the 1 Sing. has not extended its influence beyond the creation of new forms for the 2 and 3 Sing. The 3 Sing.  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ (v), &c. is parallel to  $\eta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\eta\epsilon$ (v): accordingly the Homeric inflexion of these three Aorists only differs from that of  $\eta\alpha$  and  $\eta\iota\alpha$  in respect of the 2 Sing., in which the -a has come to be part of the Stem ( $\epsilon$ - $\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ -s, &c.). The further extension of this Stem is to be traced in the later  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ -μεν,  $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ -το, &c.

The short Stems  $\theta\epsilon$ -,  $\acute{\epsilon}$ -,  $\delta\omega$ - (seen in  $\epsilon$ - $\theta\epsilon$ -μεν,  $\epsilon$ - $\theta\epsilon$ -το, &c.) do not answer in form to  $\theta\eta\kappa$ -,  $\eta\kappa$ -,  $\delta\omega\kappa$ -. The inflexion is in fact made up in each case from two Roots: see § 22 (7), with the footnote.

5. The four Aorists  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$  (or  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha$ ),  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ ,  $\eta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta$ , and  $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$ , are originally of this kind. As the Sanskrit root  $\epsilon ru$  gives  $\acute{\alpha}r\tau\alpha\upsilon$ -am, so the equivalent Greek  $\kappa\lambda\upsilon$  would give  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ , thence  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$  or  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ , and 3 Plur.  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ -αν or  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon$ -αν. Thus the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. Active in these Tenses are primitive. The remaining forms, 2 Sing.  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ -s, 1 Plur.  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ -μεν, with the Middle  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ -το, &c., are later, and must have been formed by taking  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ - as a Tense-Stem. For the Sanskrit  $\acute{\alpha}r\tau\alpha\upsilon$ am,  $\acute{\alpha}r\tau\bar{o}$ -s,  $\acute{\alpha}r\tau\bar{o}$ -t, &c., lead us to expect, not  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ -s,  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ -ε, but  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ -α,  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ -s,  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ , &c.

6. Going on to the forms which contain the short Stem ( $\chi\bar{u}$ , &c.), we find further traces of the primitive inflexion. Generally, as we

have seen, the short Stem is used in the Dual and Plural (to this there are numerous exceptions in Sanscrit), the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus we have—

	<i>áçrav-am</i>	<i>ákar-am</i>	<i>ádōh-am</i>
1 Plur.	<i>áçrō-ma</i>	<i>ákar-ma</i>	<i>áduh-ma</i>
3 Sing. Mid.	<i>áçru-ta</i>	<i>ákr-ta</i>	<i>ádugdha</i>
3 Plur. „	<i>áçrav-ata</i>	<i>ákr-ata</i>	<i>áduh-ata.</i>

Evidently the Middle Aorists *έχύ-μην* and *έσσύ-μην* belong to this scheme (*έχυν-το* and *έσσυν-το* agreeing in form with *άçru-ta*, &c.): so that *έχυν-το* is to *έχυν-α* as *έσυν-το* to *έσυν-ν*. And the longer forms *έχέυα-μεν*, *έχέυα-το*, &c., are parallel in formation to *έθήκα-μεν*, *έθήκα-το*, though chronologically they belong to a very different period of the language.

7. The ordinary Aorists in -σά owe the final *ά* of the Tense Stem to a similar development. This is made clear by comparison with the *s*-Aorists in Sanscrit, which are all purely Non-Thematic. Thus—

Root	<i>jī (βι)</i>	<i>rudh</i>
1 Sing.	<i>ájāi-sh-am</i>	<i>árāut-s-am</i>
2 & 3 „	<i>ájāi-s</i>	[ <i>árāut</i> ], <i>árāut-s-īs</i> , - <i>īt</i>
1 Plur.	<i>ájāi-sh-ma</i>	<i>árāut-s-ma</i>
3 Sing. Mid.	<i>ájē-sh-ta</i>	<i>árutta</i> (for <i>árut-s-ta</i> )
1 Plur. „	<i>ájē-sh-mahi</i>	<i>árut-s-mahi</i>
3 Plur. „	<i>ájē-sh-ata</i>	<i>árut-s-ata.</i>

This inflexion may be represented in Greek by supposing that instead of *έρευα*, *έρευα-s*, &c. (with *ρευά-* as Tense-Stem), we had—

1 Sing.	<i>έρευα</i> (i. e. <i>έ-ρευκ-σ-ά</i> )
2 & 3 „	<i>έρευξ</i> (for <i>έ-ρευκ-σ-s</i> , <i>έ-ρευκ-σ-τ</i> )
1 Plur.	<i>έρευξ-μεν</i> (or <i>έ-ρυξ-μεν</i> )
3 Sing. Med.	<i>έρυκτο</i> (for <i>έ-ρυκ-σ-το</i> )
1 Plur. „	<i>έρύξ-μεθα</i>
3 Plur. „	<i>έρύξ-ατο</i> (for <i>έ-ρυκ-σ-ντο</i> )

The Greek language got rid of this cumbrous scheme at a very early period: and the Tense-Stem with -*ά* was further extended to the Optative (*ρεύα-μι*), the Participle (*ρεύα-s*, *ρεύα-ντος*), and the Imperative (*ρεύά-τω*, &c.). But the -*αι* of the Inf. Act. is not to be referred to this origin: see Max Müller, *Chips*, IV. p. 53.

8. A very similar process is observed in the history of the Perfect. It can be traced very clearly with the help of Sanscrit, and also in some degree by comparing the Homeric inflexion with that which afterwards became 'regular.'

The original inflexion is best preserved on the whole in *οἶδα*:

1 Sing.	<i>οἶδα</i>	Sanscr. <i>vêda</i>
2 „	<i>οἶσθα</i> (for <i>οἶδ-θα</i> )	<i>vêttha</i>
3 „	<i>οἶδε</i>	<i>vêda</i>
1 Plur.	<i>οἶδ-μεν</i>	<i>vid-má</i>
2 „	<i>οἶσ-τε</i> (for <i>οἶδ-τε</i> )	<i>vidá</i>
3 „	<i>οἶσασι</i> (for <i>οἶδ-σασι</i> )	<i>vid-ús.</i>

These are the established forms, but we also find *οἶδα-s* (once in Homer), *οἶδα-μεν*, *οἶδα-τε*, *οἶδασι* (found in Hdt., and even in Attic, see Veitch). These forms are evidently due to the analogy of the 1 Sing. *οἶδα*.

No other Homeric Perfects occur often enough to furnish the complete inflexion; but by putting together the known forms of several, esp. *μέμονα*, *γέγονα*, *ἔοικα*, *πέποιθα*, *πέπονθα*, *λέλογχα*, we may make the following Homeric paradigm:—

	Root γεν, γᾶ.	πειθ, πῖθ.
1 Sing.	γέγονα	πέποιθα
2 „	γέγονα-s	πέποιθα-s
3 „	γέγονε	πέποιθε
Dual.	γέγα-τον	(πέπιστον, for πέπιθ-τον)
1 Plur.	γέγα-μεν	πέπιθ-μεν
2 „	γέγα-τε	(πέπισ-τε, for πέπιθ-τε)
3 „	γέγα-σι (for -σᾶσι)	(πεποίθ-ᾶσι), πεποιδᾶσι.

Here the extension of the Stem in -ᾶ is seen in the 2 Sing. (cp. *οἶδα-s* for *οἶσθα*), and occasionally in the 3 Plur. in -ᾶσι (for -α-ντι). The 3 Plur. in -ᾶσι is primitive, see § 7.

9. The Perfects in -κα, like the Aorists *ἔθηκα*, &c., are confined in Homer to the Singular and 3 Plur. Thus we have—

1 Sing.	ἔστηκα	πέφυκα
2 „	ἔστηκα-s	πέφυκα-s
3 „	ἔστηκε	πέφυκε
3 Plur.	ἔσθηκᾶσι	πεφύκᾶσι.

The short Stems which we see (e.g.) in *ἔσθᾶ-μεν*, *ἔσθᾶσι* (for *ἔσθᾶ-ᾶσι*), *πεφνᾶσι*, &c., do not strictly correspond to the long Stems *ἔσθηκα*, *πεφύκ-* (we expect *ἔσθᾶκ-*, *πεφύκ-*). But evidently *ἔσθηκα* is to *ἔστα-μεν* as *ἔθηκα* to *ἔθε-μεν*; and, for inflexional purposes, *ἔσθηκα*, *ἔθηκα*, &c., correspond to *ἔσθᾶ-* and *θε-* as completely as *ἔφη-ν*, *ἔχενα*, &c., to the short Stems *φᾶ-*, *χῦ-*, or *οἶδα* to the Stem *ἴδ-*.

The long Stem with -ᾶ did not penetrate into the Perfect Middle in Greek. In the 3 Plur. forms *τετεύχεται*, *τετεύχαστο* the ᾶ belongs to the ending (-ᾶται, -ᾶτο for -νται, -ντο). Nor did it affect the Pf. Optative or Pf. Imperative. But, except in *οἶδα* and *ἔσθηκα*, it became regular in the Indicative Dual and Plural: *πεποίθα-τον*, *πεποίθα-μεν*, &c. The result was to create the marked unlikeness between the Pf. Active and Pf. Middle which characterises the Greek Verb.

10. The Pluperfect in -εα (as *ἦδεα*) appears to correspond to Sanscrit forms such as *arirēc-ish-am* (= *ἐλελοίπ-εα*), 2 and 3 Sing. *arirēc-is*, -*it* (for -*is-s*, -*is-t*). The Greek 2 and 3 Sing. *ἦδης* and *ἦδει(ν)* are generally explained by contraction from *ἦδεα-s*, *ἦδεε*. If so, the form *ἦδεα* has been taken as a new Stem.\* For *ἦδει*, however, Aristarchus read *ἦδη*, contrary to the usage in other Pluperfects, as *γεγόνει*, *δεδήει*, &c. (See Cobet, Misc. Crit. pp. 298 ff.)

\* Possibly the form *ἦδησθα* (Od. 19. 93) is a trace of an original *ἦδεσ-θα*, related to *ἦδεα* (i. e. *ἦδεσ-α*) as *ἦσθα* to *ἦα*.

## 11. The Sanscrit Optative takes the Endings now in question :

1	Sing.	<i>bharēy-am</i>	( <i>φέρει-μι</i> )
2	"	<i>bharē-s</i>	<i>φέρει-ς</i>
3	"	<i>bharē-t</i>	<i>φέρει.</i>

It is evident that Greek *φέρει-μι* does not answer to *bharēy-am*; and as the *-μι* is anomalous, we can hardly doubt that the original Greek form was *φέρει-α*. Similarly in the 3 Plur. we expect *φέρει-αν* (cp. the Elean *ἀποτινοῖαν*).

The Aorist Optative in *-σεια* (3 Plur. *-σειαν*) may bear the same relation to the other form in *-σαιμι* as this supposed *φέρεια* bears to *φέρωμι*. The extension of the stem *-σεια* to *-σεια-ς*, *-σειε* was natural, as *-σει-ς*, *-σει* would be ambiguous (§ 83, 3).

12. The original Non-Thematic character of the Tenses now under discussion appears further in the circumstance that they all form the Subjunctive in the same way as the ordinary Non-Thematic Tense-Stems, viz. by adding the Thematic *ε* or *ο* to the long form of the Stem; cp.—

1	Sing.	<i>āgrāy-am</i>	Subj. <i>grāv-dni</i>	<i>ἔχει-α</i>	S. <i>χεύ-ω</i>
2	"	<i>āgrō-s</i>	<i>grāv-asī</i>	"	<i>χεύ-ης</i>
3	"	<i>āgrō-t</i>	<i>grāv-ati</i>	"	<i>χεύ-η</i>
1	Plur.	<i>āgrō-ma</i>	<i>grāv-āma</i>		<i>χεύ-ομεν</i>
3	Sing. Mid.	<i>āgru-ta</i>	<i>grāv-atē</i>	<i>ἔχυν-το</i>	<i>χεύ-εται</i>
3	Plur.	" <i>āgrāv-ata</i>	<i>grāv-antē</i>	<i>ἔχυν-το</i>	<i>χεύ-ονται</i>
1	Sing.	<i>ājaiśh-am</i>	S. ( <i>jēsh-āni</i> )	cp. <i>ἦα</i>	S. <i>ἔ-ω</i>
2	"	<i>ājais</i>	<i>jēsh-as</i>	<i>ἦσθα</i>	<i>ἔ-ης</i>
3	"	<i>ājais</i>	<i>jēsh-at</i>	<i>ἦς</i> (Dor.)	<i>ἔ-η</i>
1	Plur.	<i>ājaiśh-ma</i>	<i>jēsh-āma</i>	<i>ἦ-μεν</i>	<i>ἔ-ομεν</i>
3	Sing. Mid.	<i>ājēsh-ta</i>	( <i>jēsh-atē</i> )	<i>ἄλ-το</i>	<i>ἄλ-εται</i>
3	Plur.	" <i>ājēsh-ata</i>	( <i>jēsh-antē</i> )	( <i>ἔδ-</i> )	<i>ἔδ-ονται</i>
1	Sing.	<i>dadāṣa</i>	S. <i>dadāṣ-āni</i>	cp. <i>πεποιθ-ω</i>	
2	"	<i>dadāc-ītha</i>	<i>dadāṣ-as</i>	<i>πεποιθ-ης</i>	
3	"	<i>dadāṣa</i>	<i>dadāṣ-ati</i>	<i>πεποιθ-η</i>	
			<i>-at</i>		
1	Plur.		<i>dadāṣ-āma</i>	<i>πεποιθ-ομεν.</i>	

The Homeric forms differ from those here given from the Vedic Sanscrit (1) in the use of certain long vowels (*-ης*, *-η*, *-ωσι*, *-ωνται*, &c.),—but only where they make no metrical difference (§ 80),—and (2) in being confined to Primary Endings.

B. On *σ* in Verbal Stems.

The cases in which *σ* appears in Verbs before the Person-Ending or the Tense-Suffix, and in Nouns before the Nominal Suffix, are analysed by Curtius somewhat as follows (*Verb. II.* 366 ff.):—

1. Roots ending in  $\sigma$ : as  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\nu\mu\iota$  ( $\epsilon\acute{\sigma}\text{-}\nu\mu\iota$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\sigma}\text{-}\sigma\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\sigma}\text{-}\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , &c.:  $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\nu\mu\iota$  ( $\sigma\beta\epsilon\sigma\text{-}$ ),  $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\sigma\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\text{-}\sigma\beta\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$  (for  $\nu\alpha\sigma\text{-}\gamma\omega$ ),  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{-}\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{-}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{-}\tau\eta\varsigma$ :  $\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\omega$  (for  $\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ),  $\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\sigma\epsilon$ :  $\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\omega$  (for  $\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ),  $\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\sigma\epsilon$ .

2. Roots ending in other dentals, which pass into  $\sigma$  before certain consonants: as  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  (for  $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\text{-}\tau\iota\varsigma$ ),  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  (for  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ ):  $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$  (for  $\iota\delta\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ ),  $\iota\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$  (properly  $\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ , for  $\iota\delta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  (for  $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\delta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\iota$ , from the root  $\sigma\epsilon\delta\text{-}$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\text{-}$ ),  $\phi\acute{\rho}\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (for  $\phi\acute{\rho}\alpha\delta\text{-}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ),  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$  (for  $\acute{\rho}\alpha\delta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , cp.  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\alpha\delta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ ): see § 40 (1).

Under this head, as a special group, are to be placed the words in which  $\theta$  is a Root-Determinative (§ 45); as  $\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$  from  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omega$  ( $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu\text{-}\pi\lambda\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$ ).

3. Denominative Verbs, from Nominal Stems in  $-\sigma$ : as  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  ( $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\sigma\text{-}$ , § 114, n. 1),  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ :  $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$  ( $\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\sigma\epsilon$ , &c.,  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$  ( $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , &c.:  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\sigma\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

4. Denominative Verbs in  $-\acute{\zeta}\omega$  (for  $-\delta\text{-}\gamma\omega$ ), as  $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , Aor. Subj.  $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (for  $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\delta\text{-}$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\zeta\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\delta\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ ),  $\xi\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$  (for  $\xi\acute{\rho}\iota\delta\text{-}\mu\alpha$ , cp.  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\delta\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota\eta$ ):  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\eta$  (for  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\delta\text{-}\theta\epsilon\eta$ , cp. the Ionic  $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  from  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ).

It has already been observed (§ 120, 3) that these Verbs form their Tenses and derivative Nouns as from a Stem ending in  $\delta$ , although there is usually no  $\delta$  in the Nominal Stem from which they come; thus  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\rho}\iota\zeta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  (for  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\rho}\iota\delta\text{-}\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ), &c., are from  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\rho}\iota\text{-}\varsigma$  (Gen.  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\rho}\iota\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ ), and the Verbs in  $-\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  are generally from Nouns in  $-\eta$  ( $-\acute{\alpha}$ ). The explanation seems to be that the Tenses and other derivative forms came into existence when the original  $-\alpha\text{-}\gamma\omega$ , &c., had already passed into  $-\alpha\delta\gamma\omega$ , &c., so that the Stem in  $-\delta$  was felt as the root of the Verb. Or (what comes to the same thing) the *analogy* of the Verbs which had a radical  $-\delta$ , as  $\phi\acute{\rho}\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (perhaps when in the earlier form  $\phi\acute{\rho}\alpha\delta\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ) was extended to those in which the  $\delta$  was only developed from the  $\gamma$  of the Present Tense.

When the  $\sigma$  cannot be traced to a Stem-ending in  $\sigma$ , or a dental, or to a Verb in  $-\acute{\zeta}\omega$ , the explanation may be sought in two ways. We may either suppose (1) that the Stem in  $-\sigma$  formerly existed, but has not been preserved; or (2) that the formation is due to mere analogy. And as we have no method of determining what forms have formerly existed, it is in general impossible to decide between these alternative explanations. Some cases, however, may be noticed:—

a. The forms  $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  are doubtless for  $\kappa\lambda\iota\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (cp. Doric  $\tau\epsilon\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ),  $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (not  $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\text{-}\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , as Curtius suggests); i.e. they are formed like  $\beta\alpha\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi\eta\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\eta\eta\iota\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , &c., as if from Verbs in  $-\theta\omega$ , such as  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{-}\theta\omega$ ,  $\nu\acute{\eta}\text{-}\theta\omega$ , &c. It need not be supposed, of course, that the corresponding Verb in  $-\theta\omega$  actually existed in all or even in some of these cases. The habit of forming Nouns in  $-\mu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $-\mu\alpha$  from the form in  $-\theta\omega$ , instead of the original root, would easily lead to the use of  $\theta$  as part of the suffix.

b. The  $\sigma$  which is found before the suffixes  $-\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $-\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $-\tau\eta\rho$ , &c., may sometimes be explained as representing this  $\theta$ . Thus the stem of  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  may be identified with that of  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi\eta\theta\text{-}\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ : so probably  $\kappa\eta\eta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\eta\eta\text{-}\theta\omega$ ),  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  (cp.  $\beta\epsilon\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ), also  $\mu\acute{\eta}\eta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ,  $\delta\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ , and similar forms.





θήης, θήη, &c., and so in all similar cases, δαμήη, σαπήη, &c. As to θείω, δαμείω, &c., no express statement of his opinion has been preserved. If we may argue from this silence, we should infer that the question had not arisen, and therefore that the spelling -ειω, -ειομεν, &c., was anciently universal.

3. The spelling with ει appears in some forms of the Aor. ἔκηα (for ἔκηνα, see § 15), esp. κείομεν, κείαντες, κείαντο, κειάμενοι, κακ-κείαι; also in the Pf. Part. τεθνηώς, and the 3 Plur. forms εἵαται, εἵατο, ἀκαχέιατο. Aristarchus certainly wrote ἔκηα, τεθνηώς: and the form ἦαται (for original ἦσ-αται) is supported by Heraclides Ponticus (ap. Eust. ad Od. 20. 354).

4. In the declension of Stems in -εσ (for -εφεσ-) we sometimes find η throughout, as Ἡρακλῆος, Ἡρακλῆϊ, Ἡρακλῆα, sometimes η before ει and ι, but ει before α, ο, ω: as ἀκλῆεις, ζαχρηείς, but ἀκλειῶς, εὐκλειῆας, εὐρρηίως, ζαχρειῶν. So δειούς, σπείους, but σπῆϊ, σπήσσει. In all these cases, however, the uncontracted εε should probably be substituted for η or ει (§ 105, 5). In other cases there is no contraction: hence this solution will not apply to the η of Ἡρακληείη, Ἑτεοκληείη, &c., and the ει of the Nom. Οἰκλείης, ἀδείης: but in these the choice of η seems to depend on euphony (cp. ἀήρ, ἡέρ-ος, &c.). So with χέρηϊ, χέρηες, but χέρεια (Aristarchus, and most MSS.).

5. The Attic -εω- in πλείως, κρεω-φάγος, χρεωκοπέω points to original πλῆος, κρῆας, χρῆος, instead of the usual πλείος, κρείας, χρείος. So ἔως, τῆος are for ῆος, τῆος (not εἶος, as in the MSS.).

The rule adopted by Bekker and La Roche is purely phonetic. They write ει before ο, ου, ω, α, but η before ε, ει, η, ι. Thus they give στείω, στήης; θείω, θήης; ἤμαι, εἵαται: and so on. This rule, however, is purely empirical.

On the other hand the scholars who look at the question as an etymological one are inclined to prefer η in all the instances in question. They hold that if (e.g.) we find the long Stem θη- in τί-θη-μι, θή-σω, ἔθηκα, &c., the presumption is that it will also be found in the Subjunctive. And they point out that in this and similar cases there is a special reason for distrusting, not only the extant MSS. (which are admittedly liable to error from 'itacism'), but also the statements of the ancient grammarians, so far at least as they may be regarded as founded upon MSS. of the 4th century B.C. The older alphabet, which was used in Athens down to 400 B.C., employed the same character E for three distinct sounds, viz. the short ε, the long η, and (in many words) the diphthong ει. This would not lead to practical difficulty with a living language, and when Homer came to be transcribed in the improved alphabet, the words which still belonged to the spoken language would be written in it without much risk of error. But in the case of distinctively Homeric forms there was nothing to prevent confusion, except the metre, and (it may be) the traditional pronunciation of the rhapsodists. There is therefore no good ground for believing that the spelling even of the 4th century B.C. could be trusted to decide between η and ει in any form which was then archaic.

There is one point in the case, however, that is not sufficiently met by these considerations. The MSS. and (as far as we can judge) the ancient critics recognise a broad difference between A-Stems and E-Stems. Why should this be so, if there was no difference in actual usage? That is to say, why should we sometimes find *βήομεν* in MSS. but never *θήομεν*, if both were written *-εομεν*, and were alike unfamiliar to the scribes? And why should Aristarchus read *βήομεν* but *θειομεν*? The answer may perhaps be sought in the fact that the long vowel of E-Stems, such as *θη-*, *δαμη-*, &c., was not originally the same sound as the Ionic *η* which represents older *ā*. That this was so is shown by a Naxian inscription\*, on which E represents the *η* of the word *ἀνέθηκε*, while H is used for *η=ā*. Hence we can conceive phonetic influence having changed *-ηω* to *-εω* in the former case (that in which *η* was a sound approaching more nearly to *ε*), while it was unable to make the same change in the latter. On this ground then it may be well to retain *θειομεν*, &c., in the text of Homer for the present.

Much of what has been said might be extended to the forms *ἔει*, *ἐρίθει*, &c., for which Bekker substituted the more regular *ἤη*, *ἐρίθη*, &c. (§ 18). In this case, however, the change from *η* to *ε* undoubtedly took place. The doubt is only whether we have grounds for supposing that it had not taken place in Homeric times, and so for restoring the more ancient forms. In the absence of any such grounds it is well to adhere to existing tradition.

#### D. On the Assimilated Forms (§ 55).

A new explanation of all these forms is given by J. Wackernagel (in *Bezzenger's Beitr.* IV. pp. 259 ff.). He holds that the true Homeric forms are the original uncontracted *ὀράω*, *ὀράεις*, *ὀράοντες*, *ὀράουσι*, *μυρόμενοι*, &c.: that for these in course of time were substituted the ordinary contracted forms *ὀρῶ*, *ὀρᾷς*, *ὀρῶντες*, *ὀρώσι*, *μυρόμενοι*, &c., to the injury of the metre: and that finally the metre was restored by the early critics and transcribers, who expanded the long vowel again, so as to give *ὀράω*, *ὀράας*, *ὀράωντες*, *ὀράωσι*, *μυρόμενοι*. His chief argument is that in Ionic the sounds *āω*, *āο* pass into *ηο*, *εω*, not into *ωω*, *ωο*, or *ωο*. But, as Curtius has shown (*Leipziger Studien*, III. pp. 192 ff.), this argument is not conclusive. Because *-āων* of the Gen. Plur. (for original *-āsām*) or *-āο* of the Gen. Sing. (for *āsya*) or *āο* of *ναός* (*ναF-ός*) become *-εων*, *-εω*, it does not follow that *-αω*, *-αο* in Verbs (for *-ayāmi*, *-aya*) must do so. The *α* need not represent exactly the same sound in all cases. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that so extensive a process as the substitution of the contracted forms (*ὀρῶ*, &c.) throughout Homer can have taken place without leaving some trace in the history of the text. These forms would have affected 133 different

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\* Discussed by Dittenberger in the *Hermes*, xv. 2.

verses (as Curtius reckons), and yet we never hear of one of them, even as a reading rejected by Aristarchus or his predecessors. Wackernagel points to the modernisation of *ἔως*, *τέως* (for *ἕως*, *τῆος*, which the metre still requires), and to the Genitives, such as *Αἰόλου*, *Ἰλίου* (for *Αἰόλοο*, *Ἰλίοο*). But these are comparatively isolated words: and they offer no parallel to the *restoration* of metre which he supposes. In general, too, it may be said that while the Homeric language contains a large *conventional* element—due to the persistence in it of consecrated poetical forms—it cannot be shown to be *artificial*, in the sense in which that epithet may be applied to the imitative work of Alexandrian and later poets.

### E. Order of the Particles and Enclitic Pronouns.

The Homeric language is distinguished by the variety of its Particles, and also by the number of successive words of that kind which it often combines in a single clause. On the other hand, the place of the Particles in the sentence, as well as the order in which they are arranged, is determined by peculiarly strict rules. And similar rules are found to obtain for the enclitic Pronouns and Adverbs.

The Particles may be divided in the first place into those which begin the sentence, as *ἦ*, *ἤέ* (*ἦ*), *αὐτάρ*, *ἀλλά*, *καί*, *εἰ*, and those which follow one or more words. It is rare to find the same Particle used in both ways: the chief instances are, *δὲ* (§ 350), and perhaps *τοί* (§ 346).

The Particles of the second class, again, either follow single words, to which they give a special emphasis, or belong rather to the whole Clause, in which case they are placed after the first word of the Clause. Of the former kind are the enclitics *πέρ* and *γέ* (§ 353-4). To the latter kind belong the various Connecting, Causal, Illative, and Temporal Particles—*τέ*, *δέ*, *μέν*, *γάρ*, *ἄρα*, *ῥά*, *οὖν*, *δή*, *νύ*, *τοί*. The order of these words is generally subject to the following rules:—

1. *γέ* and *πέρ*, when they belong to the first word in a Clause, come before all other particles. Hence *εἴ περ γάρ*—, *πόθεν γε μὴν*—, &c.

2. The Connecting and Adversative Particles *μέν*, *δέ*, with *τέ* in its *use as a connecting word* (§ 332), come before other Particles.

3. Of the remaining Particles of this kind (including *τέ* in its *generalising use*, § 332), *γάρ* is placed first: thus we have *γάρ δή*—, *γάρ οὖν*—, *γάρ ῥά*—, *γάρ τοί*—, *γάρ τε*—, *γάρ ἄν*—, *γάρ κεν*—. Among these Particles again we may note the fixed sequences *ἄρα τε* (*ῥά τε*)—, *ἄρα δή*—, *ἄν δή*—, *κεν δή*—, *δή ῥά*—, *ῥά νύ*. Regarding the place of *τέ* in its two main uses, see p. 244.

Note, however, that *ἄρα* is sometimes put later in the Clause, with a single word: as *ὅς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο*. Cp. II. 5. 748, &c.

4. The Indefinite *τις* and the corresponding Adverbs *πού*, *πώ*, *ποτέ*, &c., follow the Particles; hence we have *ὅτε κέν τις*—, *αἶ κέν πως*—, *ὅν ῥά τις*—, &c. But *τέ* follows *τις* (§ 332): and the combination *ὅς τις* is not broken up by Particles. Similarly the order *εἴ ποτε δή*— is sometimes used (as well as the more regular *εἰ δή ποτε*—).

Observe also that *τις* sometimes comes later when it follows a Genitive Plural which it governs; as *σφῶν δ' ἔδε θεῶν τις κτλ.*

5. The enclitic Personal Pronouns usually come after all the Particles and Pronouns already mentioned: thus we have *ἡ ῥά τί μοι—, ἡ θῆν πού τοι—, εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι, &c.*

Exceptions to these rules arise from the habit of giving emphasis to words, especially Pronouns, by bringing them forward in the clause, so that they come before one or more Particles: as—

*οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας* (instead of *οὐ μὲν ποτέ τοι—*).

*ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἔνεκά σφιν κτλ.* (for *ὥς δὴ σφι . . τοῦδ' ἔνεκα*).

*τοίγαρ ἐγώ τοι, ξείνε, κτλ.*

The effect of this order is to make a kind of fresh beginning of the Clause. It is especially found with the negative Particles *οὐ* and *μή*: in particular the Indefinite *τις, ποτέ, &c.*, always follow *οὐ* and *μή* in this way, as *τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε—, σὺ δὲ μή τι—, &c.* So when the *οὐ* is repeated, as *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεν—*.

The same form arises by inversion, when a word is put at the beginning for emphasis: the natural beginning of the Clause retains the Particles *except the connecting Particles*: thus—

*πληθύν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ κτλ.* (= *οὐ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πληθύν—*).

*μετάλλησάν γε μὲν οὐ τι* (= *οὐ μὲν τι μετάλλησάν γε*).

So *κείνοισι δ' ἂν οὐ τις—, ἀνὴρ δὲ κεν οὐ τι—, πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὐ τι—, &c.* Under the same head we may bring the place of *ἂν* in the emphatic—

II. 1. 205 *ἥς ὑπεροπλίησι τάχ' ἂν ποτε θυμὸν δληται.*

5. 362 *Τυδεΐδης, δε νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο.*

The sentence in these places begins as it were afresh after the *cæsura*.

Without attempting to discuss all the instances of anomalous arrangement of the Particles, we may note one or two places where it is accompanied by other grounds for suspecting the text:—

II. 3. 173 *ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἄδειν* (neglect of *F* in *φάδειν*).

6. 289 *ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι* (neglect of *F* in *φοι*).

10. 453 *οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα σὺ πῆμά ποτ' ἔσσεαι* (no good *cæsura*).

Od. 1. 37 *ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἵπομεν ἡμεῖς* (neglect of *F* in *φείπομεν*).

### Other Notes and Corrections.

P. 4. The form *ἔτιθεν* is doubtful; the only authority is Od. 1. 112, where Aristarchus read *πρότιθεν, τοὶ δὲ κτλ.*, others *προτίθεντο ἰδὲ κτλ.* But *ἔν* (*ξύν-εν, μέθ-εν*) occurs. The Ending *-ν* is also found in the forms *ἔφα-ν, ἔβα-ν, ἔστα-ν, ἔφθα-ν*, and in many Passive Aorists (*ἔβλαβε-ν, ἤγερε-ν, &c.*).

The form *μῑάνθην* is in all probability the regular 3 Dual of a simple Non-Thematic Aor. of *μαίνω*, for *ἐ-μῑάν-σθην* (like *πεφάνθαι* for *πεφάν-*

σθαι). It should therefore be added to the examples given at the end of § 13.

P. 6. § 7, *note*. Brugman's supposition that *ἐστᾶσι*, *τεθνᾶσι* are wrongly accented is improbable, since these forms are Attic, and may therefore be presumed to have been known to the early grammarians from actual use. It is otherwise with the 3 Plur. forms *ιστάσι*, *τιθείσι*, *διδούσι*, *ζευγύσι*, &c., as to which the grammarians can hardly have had any trustworthy source of knowledge.

P. 10. In the paradigm of εἰμί the 1 Sing. Impf. forms *ἦν*, *ἔην* should have been omitted, as they do not occur in Homer. In Attic, too, the form *ῆ* (for *ῆα*) is more correct than *ἦν*: see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, pp. 242-3.

P. 14. § 19. Add under -αω the form *ῥηαι* (Od. 14. 343), 2 Sing. Mid. of *ῥάω*. The form *ῥῆτο* read by Zenodotus (Il. 1. 56) would be of the same kind.

P. 21. For *συνοχωκότε* Cobet would read the more correct *συνοκωχότε* (Misc. Crit. p. 303).

P. 22. The use of the Perfect to express a state of mind may be seen even in the New Testament, in *ἐλπικα* *I hope*, *τεθαύμακα* *I wonder*. See Mr. Field's *Otium Norvicense*, III. p. 65.

P. 34. § 49. It should have been added that the Iterative Tenses formed from the Aor. in -σά, such as *ἐρητύσα-σκε*, *δασά-σκετο*, are peculiar to Homer.

P. 36. § 53. Note however that the λλ of the Presents *ἄλλομαι*, *στέλλω* may stand for λν (as in *ἄλλυμι* for *ἄλ-νυ-μι*), and these Verbs may therefore belong to the Nasal Class (§ 47).

P. 38. § 56, 1. Other uncontracted forms with short α occur in the Verbs *ναίεσθαι*, *τηλεθᾶν*, *κραδᾶν*, *ιδᾶσθαι*; with long α in *πεινάω*, *διψᾶν*, *μαιμάω* (see § 54).

P. 41. l. 1. *ὁμῶμαι* is for *ὁμό-ομαι*, but the 3 Sing. *ὁμείται* must be for *ὁμέ-εται*. Probably it follows the analogy of *δλείραι*, *μαχείραι*.

P. 42. § 64, *note*. The last sentence is incorrect. The Doric Futures, such as *πλευσοῦμαι*, are not common in good Attic writers: see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, pp. 91-95.

§ 65. *κεκαδησόμεθα* should rather be translated *we will care*: see Classen, *Beob.*, p. 162.

P. 43, *foot-note*. This explanation of *ἐάφθη* was given by Ebel, in K. Z., iv. 167. The scholar to whom I owe this reference, F. Froehde, derives it from Sanscr. *vapāmi*, *I throw, strew about*: and so *ἄπτο-επής* = 'one whose words are thrown about at random' (*Bezz. Beitr.* III. 24).

P. 55. On the accent of *εἰμί* and *φημί*, see Benfey, *Vedica und Linguistica*, pp. 90 ff.

P. 58. § 92. The name *Πουλυδάμας* forms in the Voc. *Πουλυδάμα*, according to Aristarchus (Schol. A. Il. 12. 231). But Zenodotus gave the regular *Πουλουνδάμαν*. On the other hand *κάλχα* was read by Ar., *κάλχα* by Zen. (Schol. A. Il. 1. 86, &c.). *Λαοδάμα* is read in Od. 8. 141, 153, doubtless on the authority of Aristarchus.

P. 63. § 105, 1. Add *γένευσ*, read by La Roche in Od. 15. 533.

P. 75. § 115, 7. Add that Stems in -τη are mostly oxytone: and

accordingly Masculine Nouns of the Agent in -της can generally be distinguished from Denominatives in -της (§ 117). Thus we have ἀγορητής *a speaker*, ἡεροπευτής, ἰεδνωτής, &c.: but ναύτης, πολίτης, ὀδίτης, ἀγρότης, τοξότης, &c. (Chandler's *Greek Accentuation*, §§ 51-57).

P. 76. § 116, 1. The use of πικρός as a Fem. is very doubtful. In the place referred to—πικρὸν ἀποπνέουσαι ἄλδς πολυβενθέος ὀδμήν—it seems better to take πικρὸν as an Adverb with ἀποπνέουσαι.

P. 77. § 116, 4. In Od. 12. 369 we may perhaps read ἡδὺς αὐτμήν, as suggested by Baumeister on Hom. H. Merc. 110.

P. 81, l. 21. The ω of λαρώτατος (Od. 2. 350) is against the rule, unless the Homeric form of the Positive was λαρός (Curt. Gr. p. 361).

P. 81, note. The forms χέρηα, χέρηϊ, χέρηες are related to χερείων almost exactly as πλέες to πλείων. Since the text was printed I have found, through Joh. Schmidt's article in the last number of *Kühn's Zeitschrift* (xxvi. 381), that this explanation of πλέες and χέρηες was recently given by G. Mahlow.

P. 98. Cp. the examples of the Dat. with a Participle, § 246 note.

P. 115. § 162, 4, a. Cp. also the adverbial Neut. Plur. used as a Predicate in Thuc. 1. 25, 4 ὅντες . . . ὅμοια, 3. 14, 1 ἴσα καὶ ἰκέται ἔσμεν.

P. 138. § 198. Add the use (7) after a Comparative, in Od. 7. 216 οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο. Cp. Hdt. 4. 118 οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον.

P. 158. § 236. It should have been noticed here that the Tense of the Inf. used with πρὶν and πάρος is nearly always the Aorist: see Prof. Gildersleeve, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 8.

P. 165. § 243, note 3. So Hes. Op. 12 τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαυήσειε νοήσας *he* (i. e. *any one*) *who perceives it will praise it*.

P. 171. § 252, 3. According to some grammarians the unemphatic forms of αὐτός were enclitic: e. g. Il. 12. 204 κόψε γὰρ αὐτον.

P. 186. § 265, note. Against taking ὅς as a Demonstrative in Od. 4. 388, it may also be urged that the other examples of this use are all in the *Iliad*.

P. 191. § 269, note. The form δ τε=*in that* is supported by the grammarian Aristophanes, Schol. H. P. Od. 5. 357 γρ. δ τε με' χωρίζει Ἀριστοφάνης διὰ τὸ ὅτε (i. e. to avoid confusion with ὅτε *when*.)

P. 202. § 281, 1, note. The Subj. with μή may also be used after a Verb of swearing: Od. 12. 298-301 ὁμόσσετε . . . μή πού τις . . . ἢ βούνῃ τι μῆλον ἀποκτάνῃ: 18. 55-57 ὁμόσσετε . . . μή τις . . . πλήξῃ.

P. 251. §§ 344, 345. According to Cobet (*Misc. Crit.* p. 365) Homer has only ἦ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, not ἦ μὴν, μὴ μὴν (as Bekker generally writes); and this view seems to be supported by the metrical facts. But καὶ μὴν is proved by Il. 19. 45 καὶ μὴν οἱ κτλ.

P. 264. § 362, 1, note. In Od. 11. 218 the common reading is ὅτε κέν τε θάνασι: La Roche reads ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσι, with several MSS. The true reading is perhaps ὅτε τίς τε θάνῃσι: see § 332.

# INDEX I

## OF HOMERIC FORMS.

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